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RESEARCHING THE TEACHER'S WORLD :
A CASE STUDY OF TEACHER-INITIATED INNOVATION

by

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A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the award of Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of
Technology.

October 1986

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ABSTRACT

The study is an investigation of unplanned change initiated by teachers in the physical education department of Forest School, an Upper School and Community College in England. The events at Forest are conceptualised as a case of teacher-initiated innovation. The study draws on interviews with teachers, observations of lessons and analysis of curriculum documents in the collection of data. Three issues provide foci for the study. First, the study investigates the temporal dimensions of innovating, and reveals that the innovative idea of health related fitness based physical education became formalised and objectified over time. This process of formalisation had important implications for the second area of focus, the teachers' involvements in the innovative process. While each of the physical education teachers played important roles in the implementation of the innovative idea, each participated in the innovation with varying degrees of involvement, and held disparate conceptions of the innovative idea and of its implication for practice. Third, the study locates and attempts to understand the process of innovating in the work context of teaching. The teachers at Forest saw innovating and teaching as synonymous activities, and the study documents the extent to which the innovative situation exacerbated teachers' everyday preoccupations with success, reward and students. The study provides information on the dynamics of unplanned educational change and the findings lend qualified support to the trend towards school-centred innovation.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank a number of people without whom the production of this thesis would not have been possible. First of all I owe a huge debt of gratitude to the staff in the Physical Education Department at Forest School for their goodwill and patient forbearance with my presence in the school. Additionally, I wish to thank the Principal for giving me permission to conduct this research at Forest.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Len Almond for his insightful and inspiring criticism in the supervision of the study. Finally, the production of this thesis owes a great deal to the patience and faith of my wife, Susan, whose support throughout has been unfailing.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

P.E.	Physical education
SCI	School-centred innovation
HRF	Health related fitness
SBCD	School based curriculum development
HCP	Humanities curriculum project
SCISP	Schools council integrated science project

Explanatory Notes

1. This study uses the masculine 'he', 'his' etc. throughout as a grammatical convenience only. Its use is not meant to convey an impression that the author believes only men are teachers or researchers. 'She', 'her' etc. is of course used when referring to female teachers and researchers.
2. Reference is made to the Appendix - the Case Record - in footnotes throughout the thesis. When raw data from the Case Record is cited, the following system is used - e.g., KE, 1/6. The initials refer to the teacher's name, in this case KE for 'Kevin Edmonds', the first number is the number of the interview with this particular teacher, and the second number refers to the page in the interview.
3. The names of the school and teachers have been changed to protect their identities.

PUBLICATIONS

Temporal Dimension of an Innovative Idea: A Case Study of Teacher-Initiated Innovation. Journal of Curriculum Studies, 18(3), 311-330, 1986.

Health Related Fitness as an Innovation in the Physical Education Curriculum. pp.167-181 in J. Evans (Ed.) Physical Education, Sport and Schooling: Studies in the Sociology of Physical Education Teaching. Falmer Press, 1986.

Structure and Agency as Two Problematics in School-Based Curriculum Development: A Case Study. (Accepted for publication in Australian Journal of Education).

Introduction

"Curriculum planning in schools and colleges is frequently bedevilled by the actions of unreflective pragmatists whose judgements are dominated by such factors as tradition, logistics, power, political expediency, and economic constraints. In many cases demands for innovation result in a mild curricular face-lift in which fundamental reform is sacrificed to those surface changes which will not threaten the 'status quo'. Admittedly, any radical change will focus on both the formal and informal structure of the institution - on its administrative processes, its decision-making machinery, and on its underlying culture - thus not limiting itself to aspects of curriculum and teaching methods. Nevertheless, as the curriculum lies at the heart of the educational process, the teacher has a moral responsibility to continually reappraise the nature of those curricular activities for which he is concerned." (Renshaw, 1976, 46)

This rather lengthy quote from Renshaw is an illuminative and in many ways appropriate opening paragraph to this study. His initial comments, which characterise the school teacher generally, but more specifically the teacher of physical education as an 'unreflective pragmatist', reflects a tacit assumption on the part of many curriculum developers that this is the actual state of affairs in schools, an assumption that has for too long formed the consensus view. There is more than a hint in Renshaw's comments that this 'unreflective pragmatist' should shoulder much of the blame for the failure of innovative efforts to bring about little more than cosmetic change in schools' practices. The implication is that the teacher should, instead, be guided by rational thought towards clearcut and systematically developed educational aspirations. However, in his qualification in the latter section of his statement, Renshaw himself indicates the

shaky empirical basis of his unsympathetic characterisation: there are indeed other factors which need to be considered in relation to innovation and change in schools besides the teacher's apparent recalcitrance, such as the 'structures' of power, of economic necessity, and of contingency, which do much to shape the teacher's daily professional activity. Renshaw's recognition of the centrality of curriculum to the wider educational enterprise suggests that sanctimonious moralising and prescriptive theorising about the teacher's role in curricular processes is an inappropriate and unhelpful perspective on research in the curriculum field; however, his comments indicate the direction that this research effort might take. The teacher's 'unreflective pragmatism', and his dependancy on, and consideration of tradition, power and so on should not be taken as given and beyond explanation or understanding, but treated instead as problematic. For instance, we need to question whether this state of affairs does in fact exist. If so, why? What are the mechanics of change in schools? What are teachers' perspectives on the teaching act, and on change? What are the factors which structure teachers' actions in schools?

It is questions such as these which have guided the research effort in this study. The teacher, as the mediator and purveyor of educational goods, is granted a central position in curricular processes, and his perspective on his professional world is seen as a means of capturing something of the essence of such processes. In this respect, researching the teacher's world is a fairly recent occurrence; or to put this

another way, research which has sought to illuminate educational and curricular phenomena from the perspectives and through the understandings of members of schools - teachers, pupils, administrators - has only recently gained a notable popularity amongst researchers. The 'sixties marked the beginning of the re-emergence of the ethnographic study of schools in the Sociology of Education, of which Hargreaves' (1967) and Lacey's (1970) participant-observation studies are exemplars. In America, Jackson (1968) and Smith and Geoffrey (1968) were similarly exploring the possibilities of an ethnographic approach to the study of educational phenomena.

The theoretical foundations for a focus on the curriculum as it is practiced in schools as a legitimate research topic, and in particular on the worlds of the teacher and the pupil who are the main players in the practice of curriculum, was laid by writers such as Esland (1971). The growing availability and popularity of the work of symbolic interactionists such as George Herbert Mead (1934) and in particular the phenomenological social theory of Alfred Schutz (1962; 1964; 1967) has provided researchers with a rationale for a focus on the 'life-world' of the purveyors and receivers of curriculum.

Although the research focus on the teachers' and pupils' worlds has remained the responsibility of the sociologist and social psychologist, more recent applications of a phenomenologically influenced research effort is evident in

the curriculum field; Olson's (1980) study of change in the school science curriculum is a recent example. Other researchers, such as Parlett and Hamilton (1972) and MacDonald and Walker (1974) have begun to develop a similar approach to the evaluation of innovative programmes. The major feature which appears to distinguish the efforts of researchers such as Ball (1981) and Turner (1983) in the Sociology of Education, from those of Hamilton (1977) and Olson (1980) in the curriculum field is a difference in substantive concern. Sociological issues such as social class, equality of opportunity, the distribution of knowledge, and the issue of knowledge and control have tended to preoccupy the group of researchers represented by the former writers, whilst the latter groups have focused more directly on curricular issues such as the organisation of learning experiences, the structuring and transmission of knowledge, and the processes and problems in innovation. There is of course some overlap in interest, but I would argue that this general delineation holds. This study is located, then, in the vanguard of a relatively new and recent approach to the investigation of the empirics of curricular practice, which aims to avoid allegiance to any particular discipline of the social sciences. The field in which this study is located is determined, not by its methodological orientation but by its substantive concerns. These reside entirely in the area of curriculum and education, and the interpretative efforts of the researcher are aimed at the generation of theory which can be used to illuminate educational and curricular

practice. This general exposition of the theoretical orientation of the study is more fully substantiated in the first chapter. However, before moving on to this I will provide a brief explanation of the research, and an overview of the structure of the thesis.

The study reported here was conducted over a fifteen month period between March 1983 and June 1984. It involved intensive interviewing, supplemented by observation and document analysis, of the teachers in the Physical Education Department of Forest Upper School and Community College. The teachers have been involved in a series of developments in their curriculum over a number of years. My aim in carrying out this study was to document the contemporary events in this developmental process. In the course of doing the study, I came to conceptualise this process as a case of 'teacher-initiated innovation'; the defining attribute of this characterisation is that the teachers themselves took the initiative to change their practices, and carried this initiative through to develop a working programme as a part of the physical education curriculum provided in their department.

In the first section of the thesis, entitled 'Researching the Teacher's World', I elaborate in three chapters the theoretical and methodological orientation of the study. Chapter one argues a rationale for researching the teacher's world as an appropriate focus for research in the curriculum field that aspires towards contributing to a theory of

curricular practice. The teacher is characterised as an active agent in the teaching situation and in the change process, and the methodological imperatives of this analysis are sketched briefly. Chapter two begins to elaborate these imperatives in describing the 'Research Design' in this study, and details the various aspects of conducting field-based research at Forest School. Chapter three discusses a number of methodological issues which are cast as problematics in descriptive/interpretative research in an attempt to clarify further the theoretical and methodological orientation of the study. My overriding concern throughout the chapters in this first section is to make as explicit as possible my own assumptions and preconceptions which have inevitably influenced the cast of the study. This is in recognition of the reflexive role of the researcher in conducting the research act; the researcher is a part of the social setting he seeks to investigate, and this 'existential fact' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) is treated not as a confounding factor, but as a source of data. Thus, the exposition in the first three chapters attempts to expose to the reader's scrutiny my theoretical and personal biases as author of this study.

The second section, which reports 'A Case Study of Teacher-Initiated Innovation', outlines the findings of the research through four chapters. Chapter four describes the conditions and context of the innovation at Forest School, detailing a number of structural dimensions of the school's operation,

such as the legacy of past events, and the school's management operations, which impinge upon the teachers' actions and perspectives. Chapter five provides more detailed and specific historical and contextual information about the developments in the PE curriculum, and the temporal progress of the innovative idea - which is a conceptualisation of the change process as one of increasing formalisation and objectification. The analytic device of 'formal doctrine' of the innovation is borrowed from Smith and Keith's (1971) study at Kensington, and is developed to analyse and explain this process. Chapter six maps out the various levels of involvement in the innovative process of the teachers at Forest, and suggests that these differences can be explained by the proposition that there is a primacy of teachers' values in pedagogic action. Thus, both teaching and the level of involvement in the innovative process are underpinned by teachers' beliefs, values, and aspirations, in relation to teaching. Chapter seven locates this discussion and the lines of argument developed in the preceding three chapters in the context of teachers' perspectives on teaching as work. This location is significant because teachers' attempts to innovate are for them intrinsically and ultimately bound and interwoven with the implicit awareness that what they do when they teach is work. Thus, teaching and innovating are, for teachers, conceived as work.

In the final chapter, I attempt to bring together the important issues raised by discussion in these two sections in a reflective and speculative effort. This involves a discussion of the substantive and methodological problems encountered in the study, and speculation as to what this discussion implies for future developments in the curriculum field.

SECTION ONE: Researching the Teacher's World

Chapter 1

Towards a Theory of Curricular Practice

This chapter represents an attempt to make explicit the theoretical orientation of this study, and in so doing, develops a rationale for research in the curriculum field which is sensitive to, and serves the professional development of, practitioners in schools. Stenhouse (1975) is one of a growing number of researchers in this field who have argued that the development and professional growth of teachers is vital to the health and progress of the educational enterprise.¹ I share with them in this conviction and would argue, in support of this point, that the teachers' centrality in curriculum processes is derived from their role as mediators. They are the living medium through which educational goods are transmitted, and so in this sense can be seen as the link between the school's overt and covert purposes, and eventual pupil outcomes. Thus, the teacher's world represents a focal point for research that aspires to inform the professional judgement of educationists in the broadest sense - teachers, administrators, and policy-makers. It is also a focal point for researchers who wish to learn something of 'what it feels like to be in'² the curriculum processes of schools. One aim in this chapter

¹ eg see Smyth (1982); and also Kelly (1982) on school-based curriculum development

² Stenhouse, (1978, 34)

then, is to argue a rationale for the development of a theory of curricular practice, a theory which is generated from the concrete situations in which practitioners, in this case teachers, operate, and which aspires to

"start with, and remain close to, the common sense knowledge of the practitioner, and the constraints within which he works. It would aim to systemmatise and to build on practitioner lore rather than supplement it."
(MacDonald and Walker, 1974, 21)

In the process of developing a rationale for this study, I am also attempting to make explicit the preconceptions, aspirations, and values I, as researcher, bring to this research. The identification and elaboration of these values acknowledges an awareness of the essential reflexivity of the research act, the 'existential fact' that the researcher is a part of the social world he seeks to study.³ As Handel puts this, 'Social scientists are no less human than their subjects and no less subject to the laws governing human conduct.' (1982, 4). Thus, the features of the theoretical orientation of this study such as, for example, my attempts to make sense of and locate myself in relation to the previous work in this field, are cast as what Malinowski has called 'foreshadowed problems'.

"Good training in theory, and acquaintance with the latest results is not identical with being burdened with 'preconceived ideas'. If a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove certain hypotheses, if he is incapable of changing his views constantly and

³ See Hammersley and Atkinson, (1983, 15); and Schutz, (1962, 10)

casting them off ungrudgingly under the pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless. But the more problems he brings with him into the field, the more he is in the habit of moulding his theories according to facts, and of seeing facts in their bearing upon theory, the better he is equipped for the work. Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of a scientific thinker, and these problems are first revealed to the observer by his theoretical studies."
(1922, 8-9)

Foreshadowed problems represent the issues, puzzles, and opinions which any researcher will bring into the field. They arise on the one hand, as Malinowski suggests, from reading in and around the field of inquiry. They also arise in the researcher's biography of experiences, thoughts, and actions,⁴ and will inevitably influence the cast of the study. These experiences are treated, where relevant, as data, and are written in to the text.⁵ The focus and emphasis of the study has also been shaped and formed by the phenomenon itself, the actual research situation. There is then, something of a compromise in the presentation of an account of this research, between ideas derived from reading, and from the researcher's biography of experience generally, and reality. Indeed, the effect has been an alteration, conflation, and fusing of ideas and issues in the process of the research act; hopefully these ideas have become more coherent, focused, and pertinent as a result.

⁴ See Berger and Luckmann, (1971, 40); and Lofland and Lofland, (1984, 8)

⁵ After Davies (1982), and Cicourel (1968)

The foreshadowed problems are made explicit as an essential means of allowing the reader to judge the adequacy of the account rendered in Chapters Four to Seven, of the innovation at Forest School, and so measure the compatability of this researcher's avowed intentions and the results of his efforts.⁶ Three considerations in relation to the study group the foreshadowed problems. These are, the researcher's intentions and purposes in conducting this research; the audiences to whom he wishes to report; and his conception of the nature of the phenomenon under study.⁷ These considerations undergird the conception and design of the study, and structure the expression of the foreshadowed problems. The foreshadowed problems which are contained by these considerations are made explicit in this and the following two chapters.

Theoretical studies and reading in the field of curriculum research represents an important influence in the researcher's identification and clarification of foreshadowed problems, and this reading has lead to the creation of a set of research problems which this study has attempted to investigate. The line of argument developed in the following sections is an attempt to disclose and make explicit the problems that have been investigated in this study. These problems are identifiable initially through an exploration of previous work in the field of curriculum.

⁶ This is the issue of 'construct validity' which is dealt with in chapter three, page 120

⁷ After Simons, (ed), (1980)

1 Previous Work in the Field

Schwab claimed in 1969 that the curriculum field was at that time 'moribund'. He suggested that the field 'is unable, by its present methods and principles, to continue its work and contribute significantly to the advancement of education'. Much has happened since that time in terms of curriculum development and research⁸, but despite the influence of a massive 'curriculum movement' on both sides of the Atlantic during the sixties and seventies⁹, there remains a persistent view within the field itself that all of this work has brought about little change in the practice of schooling.¹⁰ For instance, MacDonald and Walker commented in 1976

"The enduring problem that has plagued the sponsors and planners of curriculum innovation is not the problem of creation, but the problem of impact, the failure to achieve anything like the mass conversion to new aims, new content, and new approaches that they aspire to. The schools have not, it seems, been transformed by all the organised, systematised, specialised efforts of the professional innovators."
(1976, 4-5)

The problems and areas which the efforts of professional innovators have been directed towards provide some indicators of why the apparent widespread failure of innovatory programmes and initiatives has been a persistent

⁸ For reviews see Short (1973); Leibermann and Griffin (1976); MacDonald and Walker (1976).

⁹ See Stenhouse, (ed), (1980)

¹⁰ eg Leibermann and Griffin (1976); Doyle and Ponder (1977); Kelly (1982)

and major problem. It is possible to identify from the literature two main aspects of the change process in curriculum which have interested researchers and theorists, the process of diffusion, or the spread of innovations; and the process of implementation or the application of innovation.

The work of Schon (1971) and Havelock (1971) represent two major attempts to explain the process of diffusion of innovation. It is important to note, however, that these two writers have been referred to by MacDonald and Walker (1976) as 'second-order' theorists, as their analysis is drawn from evidence gathered from areas other than education.

Schon proposes a basic Centre-Periphery model and two variations on this, a Proliferation of Centres model, and a Shifting Centres model. The essence of this conceptualisation of the diffusion process is that innovation is centrally controlled and managed, and is prepared and planned in detail prior to diffusion. Thus, the change process is a one way affair, from the centre out. All three versions of the model work on the basis of this conceptualisation, although the Proliferation of Centres and the Shifting Centres models are conceived to explain change which occurs in more ambiguous settings. For instance, Stenhouse (1975) remarks that the Proliferation of Centres model reflects most clearly the reality of attempts at curriculum development in recent years in England and Wales. Recent development in Scotland, in the wake of the Munn and Dunning Reports¹¹ are much closer

¹¹ See SED/CCC (1977)

to the basic Centre-Periphery model.

Havelock's analysis of diffusion processes has many affinities with Schon's approach. His Research, Development and Diffusion (R,D & D) model assumes a developer who identifies the problem and a receiver who is essentially a passive recipient of innovation. Thus a 'generator' at the centre of the creative process, and a 'target system' on the periphery is presumed. In the light of difficulties with the centre-periphery conception, Havelock added the processes of adoption and implementation to his model. And so, his second model of diffusion, the Social Interaction (SI) model recognises that the key to the adoption of an innovation and so its successful diffusion rests in the social climate of the receiving body. However, it is still assumed within this model that there exists a central planner who defines the needs of the consumer. Havelock's third model, the Problem-Solving (PS) model is underwritten by what appears to be a different conception of the diffusion process. The essence of this model is that the consumer identifies the problem to be solved and so initiates the process of innovation. Thus, the relationship of the consumer and the external support agent is one of collaboration rather than the sending and receiving of messages. This model recognises that problem-solving may in fact be situation-specific, and so the solutions that are derived need not be applicable to other consumers. It could be argued that this PS model is not a model of diffusion at all but instead suggests the

structure of school-based innovation. It is interesting to note, however, that examples of this model in operation are seldom documented in the curriculum literature.¹²

What is evident from the work of Schon and Havelock summarised here is a conception of the change process which suggests that the initiative to innovate invariably comes from agents out with the concrete situation in which the innovation is intended to operate.¹³

The second area of interest for theorists and researchers in curriculum has been the process of implementation of innovations, and this research effort has been located within some form of Schon's and Havelock's models of diffusion. This group can be further sub-divided into those who have essentially been involved in the process of implementing innovation in an interventive capacity, which is by far the largest group, and those who have studied this process, and have generally taken no direct interventive role in the design and implementation of innovation. Researchers within this former group have been influenced by highly formalised, rational models of how curricula in schools should be structured and taught. (Doyle and Ponder, 1977). This influence can be traced principally to the behavioural-objectives model of curriculum

¹² See Almond (1983a) and the discussion in Chapter 8

¹³ The Agencies in the UK have been, eg. the Schools' Council in England; and the SED/CCC in Scotland.

design¹⁴ which has its roots in the behaviourist psychologies of Watson, James and Skinner. Early exponents of the behavioural-objectives model, such as Bobbitt (1924) and Tyler (1949) were keen to apply the scientific principles of behaviourist psychology to the organisation of the individual's learning experiences, and to the design of courses in educational establishments. The programmed instruction movement (Mager, 1962), Bloom's, (1956) 'Taxonomy of objectives, and the various attempts to create 'teacher-proof' curriculum packages (Stenhouse, 1975, 24) are located within this school of thought. There is a second influence here also which may be important, which is the 'mental measurement' movement which has dominated much American educational thinking. There are historical and sociological explanations for this association¹⁵, as well as more sinister racist motives.¹⁶

The highly formalised approaches to curriculum design derived from or influenced by these schools of thought have produced various forms of 'product model', which emphasise clearly specifiable steps in the design and structuring of learning experiences and the measurement of outcomes in pupils. Taba proposes one such model in figure 1.1.

¹⁴ See Stenhouse, (1975, 52-69); Kelly, (1982, 86-89)

¹⁵ See Hamilton (1976) on the American 'obsession' with accountability.

¹⁶ See Kamin (1974) for a discussion of the work of Jensen, Burke, Terman and Goddard

Figure 1.1 - A product model of curriculum design

- Step 1 : Diagnosis of needs
- Step 2 : Formulation of objectives
- Step 3 : Selection of content
- Step 4 : Organisation of content
- Step 5 : Selection of learning experiences
- Step 6 : Organisation of learning experiences
- Step 7 : Determination of what to evaluate
and ways and means of doing it

(Taba, 1962, 12)

Within this logical and sequential scheme, the proposed user of the curriculum is the teacher who follows a detailed, precise and systematic set of instructions¹⁷; he is expected to apply the curriculum in a rational manner. The ideal teacher, according to this scheme, is characterised as the 'rational adopter'. (Doyle and Ponder, 1977).

The available literature suggests that most of the curriculum development which has taken place from the early nineteen-sixties until the mid-nineteen-seventies, has worked within the framework outlined in the preceding analysis. For instance, the reports of some fifteen curriculum development projects in Stenhouse, (ed), (1980), indicate that all of these projects operated within some form of centre-periphery structure. Even when teachers were actively involved in the

¹⁷ See as an example the Scottish Integrated Science Scheme, SED (1969)

production of resources and in the negotiation of content to be implemented, as in the Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP) and the Ford Teaching Project, all of these projects involved an initiative from outside the situations in which innovations were to operate in practice. They all conform to some degree to a sender-receiver conceptualisation of the change process. In addition, many of the projects use a design influenced by the rational planning model.¹⁸

The group of researchers who have studied the process of implementation, rather than being involved in an interventive role in the creation and application of innovations, have suggested that it is this overall orientation to development in the curriculum field that has been a crucial factor in explaining the lack of success of these initiatives.¹⁹

However, the innovators' response to their failures to achieve the aims of innovations has generally been to hold the teachers responsible for these failures.²⁰ Whilst this accreditation of responsibility inadvertently acknowledges the teacher's central position in curriculum processes, teachers are sometimes blamed as saboteurs (Kelly, 1982, 137) or else they are characterised as 'stone-age obstructionists',

¹⁸ The exceptions are, of course, HCP and the Ford T Project; HCP is based on a 'process model' of curriculum (see Stenhouse, 1975), and Ford T grew out of HCP - see Adams, in Stenhouse, (ed), (1980)

¹⁹ Seiber (1974); Leibermann and Griffin (1976); Doyle and Ponder (1977); Olson (1980).

²⁰ House, (1974, 67)

unable to handle the complexities of the task (Doyle and Ponder, 1977).

Olson's (1980) study of reform in the school science curriculum (SCISP) suggests these characterisations to be inappropriate. He was concerned to examine primarily teachers' perspectives on the change process. His discussion of this study (Olson, 1983) reveals that teachers using materials prepared by guide-writers had difficulty in transposing the information into their own situations. Confusion arose between teachers and researchers because although both groups spoke the same language, they ascribed different meanings to what they said. For instance, the researchers recommended that teachers form a 'partnership' with pupils in undertaking to teach what the researchers saw as an important intellectual skill - 'doing problem solving' (DPS). However, in translating this notion of partnership into their own situations, teachers saw DPS as a threat to their position of influence and control in the classroom. Teachers were using the term partnership, not as it had been developed by researchers from a 'theory of mental events', but as it applied to their own 'theories of classroom influence' and their everyday language about teaching. Consequently, Olson concluded that

"In terms of this (everyday) language, they read DPS and the partnership it involved as an abdication of their authority and a failure to teach. The language they used to describe the low influence role captures their sense of withdrawal and illustrates, by default their theories of influence; uninvolved; hovering; checking off; technician; observer; referee; in the

background. Doing problem solving was translated as losing influence." (Olson, 1983, 22; emphasis in original)

The underlying problem, as far as Olson is concerned, did not reside with the teachers; it lay with the researchers who in his opinion had failed to take seriously one of the first rules of advice giving, which is to find out about the lives of those they presume to advise. They had failed to recognise that before they could understand the 'pedagogical theories' which teachers use to guide their work in concrete teaching situations, they had to become familiar with the teachers' world and the teachers' language which is the 'vernacular of everyday life' and thus the 'typifying medium' of this world (Schutz, 1962, 13).

Olson's study suggests that the teacher's role as receiver of an innovation is vital to the success of the implementation process. Leibermann and Griffin (1976) suggest in a similar fashion that it is what teachers do to innovate, that is, how they orientate themselves to, and accomodate, the messages they receive, that should be the focus for more systematic inquiry. They indicate that one particular dimension of the teacher's experience of innovation, which is the context in which innovation is applied, has been widely ignored by implementers, but represents a crucial factor in determining the success of an innovatory programme. They argue that it is the complexity of the concrete situation that is often ignored by implementers, or at best is treated

as a clutch of variable open to different degrees of control. They claim that most projects tend only to recognise complexity '*ex post facto*', and this realisation is then evoked to explain why an innovation failed. According to these writers, complexity of the situation consists in part of the setting in which the innovation is to be applied, in terms of people, the legacy of past events, the structures of institutional and group norms, expectations, common practices, and so on; and in part of the innovation itself and its fusion into this setting.²¹ These elements, they argue, require description and analysis, but in conjunction, not in isolation. This is because ideas do not remain static and unchanging; when people use an innovation, it takes on the dynamic qualities which reflect the fluid nature of working in concrete situations. Researchers, then, are guilty of too often having ignored such issues as

"the source of the innovation, inside or outside the system, the initial and continuing response of people in the system to the idea, the accommodation of the system and/or the innovation to the fusion of the two, the time span of the attempt to change, the effect of the relation of the professionals in the system to their clients and patrons, and so forth."

(Leibermann and Griffin, 1976, 418)

However, these writers acknowledge that one possible problem with the approach they advocate is that in attempting to capture the complexity of a situation, the report itself takes on an ambiguous tone. They suggest that this characteristic, for some readers, may prove an uncomfortable experience,

²¹ Leibermann and Griffin (1976, 418)

because it stands in stark contrast to the rational planning model. It may be, though, that this approach, involving a focus on the teacher's perspective, and treatment of the complexity of the situation as a research problematic, is an important means of coming to understand the reality of the change process, and the way in which teachers handle innovations.

Doyle and Ponder (1977) add further weight to this argument by suggesting, on the basis of their studies which have taken the teacher's experience of innovation as their central research problem, that a 'practicality ethic' exists amongst teachers that guides their decisions in relation to adopting particular courses of action.²² They argue this is particularly noticeable in teachers' tendencies to label certain change proposals with the term 'practical'. Doyle and Ponder use this term as an expression of teachers' perceptions of the potential consequences of attempting to implement a change proposal in the classroom. Their suggestion, then, is that teachers are likely to be guided by this practicality ethic, and its components of 'instrumentality' or usefulness; of 'congruence' or fit; and of 'cost', both in terms of time and effort to implement, in responding to innovative ideas. Doyle and Ponder's analysis contains a strong imperative for researchers to begin to look to the teacher's world, in an attempt to discover the nature of the teacher's conception of 'practicality'.

²² See also Lortie (1975, 68-70)

The paucity of literature pertaining to this topic appears to confirm this assumption. Finch's (1981) study of four high school teachers' decision to implement and develop an Optional Educational Experience (OEE) programme is one of the few reports available generally which documents a genuine teacher-initiated innovation.²³ Here, the teachers themselves took the initiative to develop their curriculum in the light of perceived problems in their own situation. All other studies which have taken into account the teacher's experience of innovation have either been concerned primarily with organisational problems rather than with the individual teacher, such as Smith and Keith's (1971) study at Kensington and Gross et al's (1971) study at Cambire; or else have described the role of the teacher as change has been experienced from the top down, as in Sarason (1971), Charters et al (1973), House (1974) and the studies discussed above. This point does not deny, of course, that these studies have made a significant contribution to our understanding of curriculum processes, and the findings from several of these studies have been particularly important here in terms of supplying data for the constant comparative method of analysis.²⁴

However, on the basis of this review of previous work in the field of curriculum research, there appears to be a crucial

²³ I would argue that even school-based innovation is still conceived within a centre-periphery structure; (see Kelly, 1982, 140-146 for a review)

²⁴ See Chapter 2, pages 75-86

inconsequential that teachers simply take these adaptations and alterations in their practices for granted, as an intrinsic part of the teaching task.

These examples bring into focus a number of issues which have been raised by this analysis of research in the curriculum field. Doyle and Ponder (1977) have pointed out that one of the basic shortcomings of the strategies adopted by professional innovators is that they have constantly misconceived the nature of the teaching enterprise, and the nature of teachers as persons. They argue, in the light of their description of the 'practicality ethic', that teachers rarely conform to the model of the 'rational adopter' which the highly idealised rational planning approach with its 'product models' of curriculum has required.²⁵

What this situation demands, then, is an alternative conceptualisation of the nature of the teaching act, and of teachers as persons, which underwrites and gives coherence to a research effort that seeks to investigate the change process through a focus on teachers' perspectives on teaching and innovating. What is required is a model which gives coherence to the conceptualisation of teacher as active agent and initiator of the change process. This conceptualisation is implicit in the work of for example Doyle and Ponder (1977),

²⁵ Schutz (1962, 27-33) demonstrates the impracticability and improbability of rational social action in everyday life.

Olson, (1980), and is to be found in the writings of a number of important social theorists and researchers. The line of argument being pursued in this chapter is further developed in the next section through a brief overview of the central ideas which have been generated by these writers and which support a view of the teacher as active agent in the change process.

2 A Model of Man as World Producer

A number of social theorists and researchers have advanced various arguments which support a view of man as world producer and creator. Although these writers have approached the characterisation of the social world and its inhabitants in different ways, there are particular threads and touchstones of similarity in their various characterisations. One common touchstone is a general opposition to a deterministic conception of man, such as that exemplified in the work of the behaviourist school of psychology. The arch-exponent of this view is Skinner.

"If we are to use the methods of science in the field of human affairs, we must assume that behaviour is lawful and determined" (1953, 6)

This particular view of science and human nature is commonly located within what has been called a 'positivist' view of social and natural phenomena.²⁶ This school of thought has

²⁶ See Giddens, (ed), (1974); and Keat (1981)

had considerable influence on social scientists, particularly in promoting and enhancing the status of experimental and survey research and the quantitative forms of analysis associated with them. Keat (1981) has proposed that positivist research can be identified as displaying at least one of four doctrines which define this tradition. The first of these is 'scientism', the view that only through a particular conception of science, as in for example Skinner's view expressed above, can genuine knowledge be discovered. One positivist conception of science, and Keat's second doctrine, is that it involves prediction and explanation on the basis of observation, by showing these observable phenomena to be instances of universal laws. A third doctrine claims a connection between scientific fact and moral judgement in the sense that accurate knowledge or the 'truth' comes prior to, and is thus an essential ingredient of, any moral or political judgement. And a fourth doctrine maintains that whilst this connection between is and ought exists, the 'truth' itself can be discovered free from human error and bias. In this sense, scientific knowledge, according to a positivist conception, is value-free.

This positivist view of the social and natural world has been a pervasive influence in philosophy also, as exemplified in the logical positivism of Russell (1961) and his associates, an influence which can perhaps be traced through to the work of the 'London school' in philosophy of education. The social theorists and researchers who propose an alternative view of human nature and human society have in various ways

defined their own positions in direct contrast to particular manifestations of this positivist tradition.²⁷

Another common touchstone of similarity is their general acknowledgement of the concept of 'Verstehen' adopted by Weber and other German social theorists, which involves an empathetic attempt to analyse and explain social action through the study of the subjective meanings whereby individuals orientate their conduct.²⁸ Bantock suggests that

"The significance of the notion of 'Verstehen' lies in the way it helps us to appreciate how understanding the social and natural world may differ. In the case of the latter, we need only to impose our concepts on the regularities observed; in the case of the former, such regularities as are observed take on meaning in relation not to the concepts we employ to distinguish them but to the social meanings they already have independently of our observations."
(1965, 154)

Thus, the concept of 'Verstehen' suggests that the essential characteristic which distinguishes human beings from other 'phenomena' is the fact of their consciousness. This suggests further that people do not respond mechanically to 'stimuli', but have the capacity to reflect upon themselves and their own actions. The fact of this consciousness, Bantock suggests, is exhibited in the meaning actions have for people. Mead (1934) argues that it is on the basis of meanings people derive from their interpretations in the world that they construct

²⁷ See Davies (1982, 182); and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 3-14)

²⁸ See Giddens, (ed), (1974, 4-11)

lines of action. Social acts are created through a process which involves the actor in interpretation and assessment of the situation confronting him. On the basis of meanings derived from interpretations, individuals interact with others by shaping their own behaviour to relate to others'. The Meadian epistemology thus argues for a dialectic view of man as world producer as well as social product (Esland, 1971).

Schutz (1962) supports this conception of man through his presentation of an intentionalist theory of consciousness which aims to move beyond the crude trichotomy of covert, overt, and sub overt behaviour which characterises the traditional behaviourist standpoint. Schutz's theorising provides a detailed account of consciousness and action, in which an individual's actions represent a visible manifestation of his subjective interpretation of 'the world of daily life'. The 'world of daily life' is an intersubjective world which is shared with consociates and in which meaning is generated in a joint project of reality construction. Schutz argues that any investigation of the social world must begin with the 'world of daily life'.²⁹

Douglas (1971) is just one of a growing number of social researchers³⁰ who, in following Mead and Schutz, have argued

²⁹ See especially Schutz (1962) 'On Multiple Realities' and 'Commonsense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action'.

³⁰ See the writers in Douglas (1971) and especially the ethnomethodologists in Handel (1982)

for the logical necessity of basing all sociological theory on an investigation of everyday life. He acknowledges that it is in the processes of everyday life that meaning is manifest. Thus, he has stated that

"Any understanding of human action, at whatever level of ordering or generality, must begin with and be built upon an, understanding of the everyday life of the members performing those actions." (1971, 11)

Douglas goes further to claim that the conceptions of man which lie behind behaviourism and particularly, a macroanalytic approach to the study of the social world (exemplified in Durkheim's work), commits the 'fallacy of abstractionism', which is that one can know something in a more abstract form what one does not know in a particular form. In other words, the fabric of the social world is woven by the meanings that exist in everyday life, and not primarily in the 'structures' and 'systems' of society.

An important point has to be made here in relation to the notion of 'structure'. The view of man which is being promoted by these writers does not imply an entirely autonomous being³¹. Recent researchers in the Sociology of Education³² have suggested that there are structures which impinge on the teacher's world and influence the degree of autonomy within

³¹ See Dearden's (1975) discussion of autonomy as an educational ideal, which illustrates the difficulty of this idea.

³² eg see Sharp and Green (1975); Woods (1979, 17-19)

that world. Thus man is, as Mead suggests, both world producer and social product. The way in which the notion of structure is applied in this study is to take account of context. For instance, interactionism emphasises that the processes through which people attribute meaning take place within, and are in part responsible for the construction of, a social context.³³ The notion of context assumes a number of structures. For instance, teachers operate within the organisational structure of the school, and the institutional norms and rules which formally define legitimate action by the school's members. There are, in addition, less formal and more subtle structures within the teacher's world, such as the informal doctrine or ethos of shared ideals amongst teachers,³⁴ the informal relationships of teacher to teacher, and teacher to pupil, which along with the school's formal structures both serve to delimit and define the boundaries of 'legitimate' action, but also to provide a framework for action within which the school's members can channel energy, intellect, and creativity. The notion of structure, then, embodied and assumed by 'context', serves to locate the teacher's world in relation to other worlds (like the 'educational system') and indicates the restraints and constraints in which teachers operate in everyday life.

³³ See eg Woods (1979, 18); and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983)

³⁴ See Chapter 6, pages 288-290

Esland (1971), in bringing much of this theoretical work to bear in the context of education, has argued that the nature of the phenomena under study, that is the social world and its inhabitants, and the complex, fluid, and dynamic nature of this world in concrete situations, has been largely ignored in the past by much educational theorising. In so doing he reinforces the point made in the previous section by researchers of the process of implementation of innovations. He goes further to argue that an objectivist view of knowledge has been a dominant and powerful force in educational theorising, and so in educational research³⁵, but has failed to render an adequate account of educational phenomena. He comments

"One finds it difficult to disagree with the claim that this epistemology is fundamentally dehumanising. It ignores the intentionality and expressivity of human action and the entire complex process of intersubjective negotiation of meaning. In short, it disguises as given a world which has to be continually interpreted."
(1971, 75)

At the heart of much educational research has been, according to Esland, an 'objectivist scientism' which has been insensitive to the essential nature of the phenomena it purports to study. What Esland suggests then is that the major task of educational research generally is to approach the problem of the nature of the concrete world of teaching and learning in schools by focusing on the teacher, and more

³⁵ See Carr (1983, a + b)

specifically, on the teacher's knowledge.³⁶ It is through the various orientations of this knowledge that the nature of the teaching act is revealed. A number of researchers have already studied the teacher's world in this way,³⁷ and in so doing have set a precedent for a broad focus on teachers' knowledge as this is expressed through teachers' perspectives, as a means of discovering the nature of the teaching act in curricular contexts. The project for this study, on the basis of the conception of human nature as it is outlined in this section as interpretative and intentional, is to attempt to explicate this knowledge which is not given, necessarily, in consciousness, but rather is taken for granted by all of us in our everyday lives.³⁸

The next step in the development of a rationale for such a focus is to take a closer look at the nature of the teaching act.

3 Theory and Practice in the Teaching Act

An initial problematic with which I began this study arose out of my own experience as a teacher and as a student of educational processes. The issue which was for me a source of puzzlement and excited my interest centred on the role of theory in educational practice, particularly in the practice

³⁶ Esland (1971, 110); see generally Berger and Luckmann (1971)

³⁷ Hargreaves et al (1975); Elbaz (1982)

³⁸ Schutz (1962)

of teachers. I was warned on more than one occasion by my teachers that such an interest led to buying into a whole set of complex and involuted philosophical problems, but for me and many of my fellow student-teachers and later colleagues, this issue represented a genuinely pressing problem which had to be solved at a practical level in the working world.

As one of a 'new breed' of degree qualified physical education teachers entering a mainly diplomate profession, I was at first surprised and not a little chagrined to discover that my four years of 'book learning' didn't count for much amongst my more experienced colleagues. I was told, in no uncertain terms, that I had only just started to learn about teaching. After a while, it seemed to me that they did have a point. The eloquent theorising of R S Peters, P S Wilson, and John Dewey an 'authority and discipline' seemed to have little place in the world I now occupied as a teacher, faced with real pupils in a real school who caused real problems. No-one seemed in the least bit interested in justifying PE's educational status on the basis of Hirst's 'forms of knowledge', and Piaget's and Bruners' theories of child development and learning might never have existed for all the relevance they seemed to have in this situation. My general curiosity aroused, I next spent a year reading educational theory at University. I looked in vain, however, through this voluminous and mind expanding literature for the reality I, and so many of my colleagues, knew as teachers. It seemed to me that much 'educational theory' simply did not address the educational

practice that many of the school's inhabitants, teachers, pupils, administrators, experienced every day. And it appeared to me that, as a result of the general redundancy of much of this theorising for teachers and administrators, that is, the practitioners of education, it had very little influence on educational, and particularly curricular practice.

It was from this point of view, which was subsequently reinforced and developed by my reading in and around the field, that the study reported here was initiated and undertaken, and so has played a crucial role in forming my intentions and purposes in doing the research. At the time when I was beginning the study, I had a vague notion that it was possible to somehow contribute to a body of knowledge which derived or was generated from teachers' actions and intentions. Thus, a systematic and thorough going investigation of the teachers' world could produce 'theory' which is accessible to other teachers. The assumption I made at the time was that it is possible for teachers to learn about teaching, not just through trial and error in the working situation, but from the experiences of other teachers. In other words, I assumed that there is a form of 'theory' which is of relevance to teachers in their professional development. A related assumption to this was my belief that what teachers do in concrete teaching situations does make sense; their behaviour is meaningful and creative. My initial task, then, was cast in this frame. I wanted to know how teachers make sense of what they do, and more importantly for my purposes,

what sense they make.³⁹

This early delineation of the research problem led me to seek support for my intuitions in the relevant literature. There I discovered Stenhouse's persistent attack on the restrictive influence of educational research, which has been informed by an objectivist and positivistic view of human nature, on the development of a theory which can inform professional practice.⁴⁰ He points to the precise nature of this influence.

"The point to get clear is that an observational science of this kind (behaviourist psychology) serves the observer rather than the actor." (1978, 23)⁴¹

As such this model, and the results it produces, fall short for the teacher.

"The results of such investigations are actuarial, describing trends or distributions in broad populations. We can readily calculate the distribution of heights of adult males in Britain, but that gives us little idea of how tall the man we are about to meet off the train

³⁹ See Handel (1982, 39). Like the ethnomethodologist, I am not asking 'What is there to know about the teacher's world?', but rather 'How do teachers make sense of what there is to know?'

⁴⁰ See eg Stenhouse (1978): (1979b): (1981, 3-6): (1982, 262-262)

⁴¹ Schutz (1962, 22-25) provides a detailed account of the necessity of a third party, as in an observer, to take consideration of the meaning of interaction between two others through the 'postulate of subjective interpretation'.

will be. We can decide with a fair degree of probability on our side what strain of wheat, what fertilisers and what other treatments are likely to maximise the yield on an East Anglian farm, but we can say little about the fate of individual wheat plants in that field. When our need is to act or to devise a policy, such research techniques guide us only to the extent that the action, treatment or policy must be the same for every case we meet."

(1982, 262)

What Stenhouse suggests is that such an approach to the researching of educational situations is inadequate because it fails to meet the needs of the people who work in the situation, by failing to take account of their intentions and purposes, and by failing to appreciate the nature of the teaching situation. To render an adequate account of the nature of these situations, the researcher must 'move up closer to the phenomenon of the teacher's world.'⁴²

In attempting to do this, Stenhouse (1978) characterises the essential element of educational action as 'responsiveness'. Much of the teacher's task is centred around this characteristic because the teacher faces the unpredictable more often than the predicted. There are few constant factors in the classroom which the teacher can accept as given. A theory which provides the teacher with probable trends of the occurrence of events cannot, therefore, inform judgement in an unpredictable and specific environment. Thus, says Stenhouse, the 'unpredicted calls for continuous responsive interpretation as a basis for resourceful action'.

⁴² Philip Jackson's advice to MacDonald (1978, 31)

This notion of responsiveness suggest similarities with Schwab's (1969) conceptualisation of 'the practical' in teaching. He suggests that the method of the practical, which he calls 'deliberation', is

"Not at all a linear affair proceeding step-by-step, but rather a complex fluid transactional discipline aimed at identification of the desirable and at either attainment of the desired or at alteration of the desired" (1969, 4)

For Schwab, deliberation represents a mode of educational action which is integrated into the larger enterprise by two further modes, the 'quasi-practical' and the 'electric'. His overriding concern, in creating this scheme, is founded in his realisation that the role of theory in curricular practice was the central problem for the curriculum field in the late 'sixties. This has come about, claims Schwab, due to a massive colonisation of the curriculum field by a variety of disciplines which have been insensitive to the nature of educational situations.⁴³ In seeking a solution to the difficulties that have resulted in this situation of the apparent redundancy of education theory in practice, both Stenhouse and Schwab have argued for research focus on the 'practical', or in other words, on the concrete teaching world in which teachers operate.

Jackson (1968) has come to similar conclusion in approaching this issue from a different angle. He noticed in his research that teacher's talk exhibited a particular feature.

⁴³ See Schwab (1969, 12); and Scheffler (1972, 184-185)

"The absence of technical terms is related to another characteristic of teachers' talk; its conceptual simplicity. Not only do teachers avoid elaborate words, they also seem to shun elaborate ideas. Obviously this characteristic is not unique to teachers. Complicated thought is difficult and people avoid it when they can, but such an avoidance (if that is what it should be called) does take on a special significance when we consider the importance of teachers' work. Superficially, at least, it would seem as if the thinking of teachers ought to be as complex as they can make it, as they set about the serious business of helping students to learn. Unnecessary simplicity, therefore, when revealed in the language of a teacher, would be interpreted by many as a cause for alarm" (1968, 144)

Jackson noted four features of this 'conceptual simplicity'. He suggests that teachers have an uncomplicated view of causality; that they adopt an intuitive rather than a rational approach; they tend to be opinionated rather than open minded about alternative teaching styles; and that narrow working definitions are assigned to abstract terms.

Essentially, Jackson is concerned by teachers' ignorance of educational theory and their apparent lack of willingness to apply this to their teaching. However, he suggests a possible explanation for this situation.

"In brief, (the teacher) lives in a world of sharp existential boundaries and those boundaries evince themselves in the way she talks this degree of specificity inhibits the easy translation of theory into practice and serves to increase the difficulty of communications between the teacher and other more abstract concerns." (1968, 147)

Thus, the teaching situation is 'embedded in the here-and-now'. The teacher's conceptualisation of, and actions in, the teaching situation are shaped in direct response to the nature of this situation, which offers 'fleeting and sometimes cryptic signs on which the teacher relies for determining his pedagogical moves'.

Schutz's theorising on the topic of individual consciousness lends support to the line of argument being developed here. He suggests (1962, 212) that there are an indefinite number of planes of conscious life, each of which is characterised by a specific 'tension of consciousness'. The 'plane of action' shows the highest tension, and that of the dream shows the lowest. The different degrees of tension reflect varying levels of interest in life.⁴⁴ Thus, 'attention à la vie' is the regulative principle of conscious life. The 'paramount reality' is the 'world of working' and is governed by 'wide-awakeness'.

"By the term 'wide-awakeness' we want to denote a plane of consciousness of highest tension originating in an attitude of full attention to life and its requirements. Only the performing and especially the working self is fully interested in life and, hence, wide-awake. It lives within its acts and its attention is exclusively directed to carrying its projects into effect, to exercising its plan." (1962, 212)

It is towards the 'world of working' that this plane of consciousness is directed, and in which it is manifest in

⁴⁴ See Heeren, page 48 in Douglas (1971)

working acts. The teacher, then, must focus his 'attention *à la vie*' on the precise and immediate situation at hand. As a result, a pragmatic motive governs action in this sphere of life⁴⁵; that is, within certain structures, it is the efficacy of action, of what works best at any given moment, which characterises teachers' action. This is because

" ... this world is to our natural attitude in the first place not an object of our thought but a field of domination. We have an eminently practical interest in it, caused by the necessity of complying with the basic requirements of our life." Schutz (1962, 227)

This analysis perhaps explains why teachers seem to pay little attention to educational theory in its traditional forms. Such theorising takes place outwith the teachers' world, and thus is geared towards different concerns. Herein arises its redundancy for teachers. This is not to say that teachers cannot or should not be informed of matters which do not pertain precisely to their own personal situations (Entwistle, 1969, 121-124). Obviously, bodies of general knowledge can be and are useful in conceptualising certain aspects of the world at large which impinge upon the teaching situation. However, when this knowledge is applied by teachers, it must be capable of taking on the fluid and dynamic character of the concrete situation, or else it will be rejected as irrelevant to immediate concerns.

⁴⁵ Schutz (1962, 209)

To bring this discussion together - I have argued that the nature of the teaching situation is characterised by a high degree of variability and so unpredictability, and teachers are required to act in this situation on the basis of being responsive to subtle cues and signs in the immediate environment. In this context, Entwistle (1969) has suggested that 'intelligent practice', of which teachers' actions are surely a species, is a complex of theoretical and practical activity. He claims that a person engaged in practical activity will also, as a necessary part of intelligent practice, be involved in theorising. This theorising is not contemplative in the sense, for instance, of conceptual analysis in philosophy, but takes place in the context of the teacher's practice and involves reflection on, and awareness of, various contextual factors in the immediate environment and a reading into this situation of appropriate actions. Thus, 'theorising-in-relation-to-practice' is concerned mainly to cope with the contingencies of specific situations. It is 'ad hoc' in nature, stimulated by and geared to solving problems in practice.

This does not admit to gulf, however, between two different kinds of theorising - that is, 'contemplative' and 'practical'. Rather, this analysis indicates a continuum of theorising which varies in terms of level of abstraction, complexity, and 'purpose at hand'. Thus, theorising is an activity which can be thought of as occupying a sliding scale in terms of 'conceptual density' (Glaser, 1978), and so is as much the prerogative of the practitioner as the theorist.

This theorising, the dynamic form of the teacher's knowledge in relation to practice, reveals the nature of the teaching situation. The argument developed here has been to demonstrate, then, that a research focus on teachers' knowledge suggested by Esland (1971), and contained broadly with teachers' perspectives on their working situations, provides the basic material, in embryonic form, of a theory of curricular practice.

4 Towards a Research Methodology

The purpose of this chapter has been to argue a rationale for the study of the teacher's world, and particularly that part of his world as it is expressed in educational action, through the curriculum process. An understanding of the curriculum process in action gleaned from this research is intended to fill a gap in our knowledge of curriculum processes which have been documented in the curriculum field, particularly processes relating to curriculum development. An acknowledgment of the nature of educational action in the teaching situation as essentially responsive, intelligent, and intuitive, and which represents the teacher as a creator and producer of this world, an active agent whose practice is infused with theorising in deciding lines of action, has important implications for a research methodology. It is especially important to recognise the reflexive aspect of such a methodology. Thus, it is recognised that the settings studied are approached in such a way as to make available to others knowledge which

will promote future curriculum development which is 'teacher-initiated', through an educational effort of enlightenment.

My substantive concern, then, is to contribute first and foremost to knowledge about education. Walker has commented in this respect

"Most of what passes as educational research is practiced in the name of one of the social sciences ... is it possible to conceive of research studies which are essentially practical and discipline free? In which education is not only the subject of the case but (also) the objective in mind?" (1980, 202)

Whether it is truly possible to work free from the practices and techniques of the major disciplines of social research is questionable. As the reader will see in Chapters two and three, I have drawn heavily on research techniques and methods generally associated with sociology and social psychology. However, I think the point Walker makes is more pertinent to the issue of the researcher's intentions and purposes in doing the research. My belief is, and I hope to substantiate this in the course of the report, that the use of such techniques, or the theoretical views which underly their use, does not restrict the researcher's purposes. Thus, my major interest is in educational phenomena, and with curricular issues, processes and events. Any knowledge which is produced and which contributes to a wider sociological theory is entirely of secondary importance; this, in other words, reiterates my earlier point that my main intention here is not to contribute to a sociological theory of education, but to a theory of curricular practice.

It is partly for this reason that I have refrained from adopting a theoretical framework based on only one or another of the schools of social theory currently in vogue, such as symbolic interactionism, ethogeny, ethnomethodology, and so on. The notion behind this abstinence is that the emerging theory can be structured, to some extent, by the substantive situations in education, and by the constructs of the people within these structures. I have used Glaser and Strauss' (1968) 'grounded-theory' approach to data collection and analysis for this reason, which allows the emergent theory to be generated from the substantive concrete situations.⁴⁶ Having said this, the reader will find that I have borrowed widely from the various schools of thought and the research they have produced, and have used their data to guide, structure, and support my research where appropriate.⁴⁷

The preceding paragraphs outline my general approach to the question of research methodology. More specifically, Stenhouse has argued for

"The practicality of an educational theory which accepts education as an eventful process and through a contemporary study analogous to history, attempts to underpin an understanding which expresses itself not as prediction but as rapid, responsive interpretation of the unpredicted. At the classroom level this means moment-to-moment judgement: at the central policy level this means effective

⁴⁶ See Chapter 2, pages 75-86

⁴⁷ This issue is discussed by Davies (1982, 15-16); it is an essential feature of the constant comparative approach to data analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1968)

monitoring and feedback."

(Stenhouse, 1978, 29)

Stenhouse's reference to history arises from his analogy of the educational researcher as 'oral historian'. Both are concerned, in Stenhouse's view, with the collection of the 'voices of participants'; thus, educational research which would satisfy the requirements of an educational theory that informs practitioners' judgement should involve interview-based field work, or what Stenhouse has called 'oral history'. His claim is that interview-based study is better suited to contribute to the professional development of educators because the 'oral historian' records the actor's observations of his own situation. (1978, 34-35)

"The people I interview are participants and they are observers of themselves and others; my object is to provide in interview the conditions that help them to talk reflectively about their observations and experiences."
(1982, 265-266)

Stenhouse's advocacy of interview-based fieldwork, and the collection of the voices of participants, finds support from a number of sources. Olson (1980: 1983) as we have seen, suggests that language is an important medium of communication which curriculum innovators have, in the past, failed to see as significant in relation to the success or failure of new ideas; thus, it has been a medium not of communication, but of translation and distortion of ideas between teachers and researchers.

Schutz, building on his notion of 'typification', makes an important point in this respect.

"The typifying medium '*par excellence*' by which socially derived knowledge is transmitted in the vocabulary and syntax of everyday language. The vernacular of everyday life is primarily a language of named things and events, and any name includes a typification and generalisation referring to the reference system prevailing in the linguistic in-group which found the named thing significant enough to provide a separate term for it. The pre-scientific vernacular can be interpreted as a treasure house of ready made pre-constituted types and characteristics all socially derived and carrying along an open horizon of unexplored content."

(Schutz, 1962, 14: emphasis added)

Through a collection of teachers' thoughts, actions and reflections on these thoughts and actions, as these are expressed in language, researchers can become sensitised to the teacher's world. In addition, applying Schutz's final point to teachers' language, this suggests that teachers' constructs, their theorising, embodied and expressed in this language and infused with meaning, provides the material in an embryonic form which is ripe for the construction of a theory of curricular practice.

The strategy and design of the research act which can fulfil the aspirations outlined here is the case study. Along with Walker, I see

"The aim of such research not so much the production of facts or theories, but in the attempt to support the process by which professional judgement is gained from professional experience. To use Bobe Stake's phrase, the aim is to construct reports which provide vicarious experience for their audience." (1974, 22)

Stenhouse makes a similar point

"One may say that the reporting of cases improves the practitioner's judgement by extending his or her experience and by treating experience more reflectively and more analytically." (1982, 262)

Case study, according to Stenhouse, provides the 'texture of reality which makes judgement possible' (1979a, 6) - in a sense, the educator's professional judgement and experience is extended in a surrogate fashion. The next chapter outlines how casestudy has been used as a research design, in attempting to fulfil the aspirations, and within the rationale, outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Research Design

The field of educational research is populated by a bewildering array of perspectives and approaches to the study of educational phenomena.¹ The problem this presents for the researcher at the outset of a study is which to choose. The approach adopted here is an interview-based case study, although some observation and document analysis are also used. The study falls into the broad 'genre' of research outlined by Smith (1978); methodologically, the three studies generally available which most closely resemble, and so serve as a model, for the report presented here are Hamilton's (1977), 'In Search of Structure'; Stenhouse's (1980) study of 'Hawthorn School' and Ball's (1980) study of 'Furzedown Comprehensive' which is part of the same project. Both Hamilton and Stenhouse describe their approach as 'descriptive/interpretative', and Ball sees his as 'ethnographic'. This study falls somewhere between the two.²

The deciding factor in this choice of research design and method is embodied in the aspirations discussed in the previous chapter. Thus, as Blumer (1969) has remarked 'each

¹ A glance at a standard methods text like Cohen and Manion (1980) bears this out

² See Barnes (1981) for a similar statement on methodology in curriculum research

part of the scientific quest, as well as the complete scientific act, has to fit the obdurate character of the empirical world under study'. The research design is created in direct response to, and in understanding of, the nature of the phenomenon under study and the researcher's purpose in doing the research. Silva and Parkhouse have made this point specifically in the context of research in physical education

"Flexibility in methodology should serve to remind us that the nature of the question often defines the manner in which the answer must be pursued." (1982, 44)

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 22) remark in a similar vein that many researchers have too often been 'hooked on the single study model'. Their affiliations are first to the research model, and only secondly involve a sensitivity to the nature of the research situation. This does not so much result in the application of inappropriate research methods in particular settings, but as Silva and Parkhouse note, leads to a delimiting in the kinds of questions asked and research problems studied. Thus, the creation of the research design in this study is governed by what Schutz (1962, 209) has called a 'pragmatic motive', a motive which is influential in structuring the researcher's actions in all areas of his everyday life. In practice, the pragmatic motive operates to guide the researcher's actions towards an achievement of his aspirations. What is required, then, is a research design which allows the researcher to focus on teachers' knowledge embodied in their perspectives. The

interview is the main data collection method employed to this purpose. The strategy within which this and the other supporting methods have been used is discussed later in the chapter. What needs to be established first of all, though, is why case study is an appropriate design for the study.

1 Case Study as a Research Strategy

"I, at least, have so much to do in unravelling certain human lots, and seeing how they are woven and interwoven, that all the light I can command must be concentrated on this particular web, and not dispersed over that tempting range of relevances called the universe."
George Eliot, *'Middlemarch'*

The point was made in the previous chapter by both Walker and Stenhouse that the case study is an ideal device for providing, for the reader, a surrogate experience of actual concrete situations. There are, however, certain methodological prescriptions and epistemological confusions underlying this conception of case study and how it can be used to this effect.³ This section sets out to make explicit how case study is conceived and used in this study.

The relatively recent use of case study in educational research represents an eclipse of interest which began with the researchers associated with the ethnographic branch of the 'Chicago School of Sociology' during the nineteen-twenties.

³ eg Cockburn's (1980) paper clearly reveals this confusion, particularly in Stenhouse's comments quoted on page 10

At this time case study featured in the work of such people as Shaw, Thomas, Cooley, Park, and Bergen, alongside studies in the survey tradition. However, rapid development of statistical analysis and the survey method displaced the case study for some thirty years, before it re-emerged, again in Chicago, this time in the work of Whyte (1955) and Becker et al (1961), (Mitchell, 1983, 208).

There has been a growth in interest during the last fifteen years in the use of case study in educational contexts. At least two trends are clearly discernible. One approach is represented by, for instance Hargreaves (1967); Lacey (1970); Ball (1981) and in America, Wolcott's study (1973). All of these studies have located themselves within the field of Sociology of Education, and have not been explicitly concerned with the development of a rationale for the use of case study in researching social phenomena. The roots of this approach are in sociology and the substantive interest of the researchers, I would argue, are primarily 'sociological' and not 'educational'.⁴

A second approach to the use of case study in education has come from Educational Evaluation. The researchers associated with this development have been concerned to develop the logical, epistemological, ethical, and methodological aspects of case study. This work originated, according to Simons, through

⁴ See Hargreaves (1967, 193-705); and Ball (1981, xvii-xix)

"Early efforts to evaluate innovatory projects in this country (which) soon revealed dissatisfaction with existing models of evaluation which failed to meet the needs of the programme and the audience for who the evaluation was intended." (1980, 4)

She points to two main areas of development which have grown out of this dissatisfaction, MacDonald's work on the Humanities Curriculum Project (see MacDonald, 1978), and later with Walker on SAFARI ('Success and Failure in Recent Innovation')⁵, and Parlett and Hamilton's (1972) *Illuminative Evaluation*. These initiatives parallel a similar movement in the USA led by, for example, Stake, and Eisner (see Hamilton et al, (eds) 1977), and arose in direct opposition to a dominant positivist influence in curriculum design. These evaluators argued that case study provides a narrative form for presenting information about actual, or 'natural' situations. Through this characteristic, they hoped to inform practitioners' judgement in professional contexts. Vivid description⁶ and interpretative insight are two major features of their approach.

More recently, Walker has outlined the appropriateness of case study research in the curriculum field.

⁵ MacDonald and Walker (1974)

⁶ eg See Eisner in Hamilton et al, (eds), (1977), on 'thick description'

"While case study methods of research have a long history of use in educational enquiry, they have a particular attraction for those with an interest in curriculum for, in curriculum research, case studies offer a means of integration across the disciplines of the social sciences. They also offer an emphasis on synthesis rather than analysis as a means of approaching hidden curriculum, informal social structures, and unintended consequences of action on the same terms as formal curriculum, social, and management structures. In other words, those who share a view of the curriculum field as organised round issues rather than theories, find case study an empirical genre appropriately flexible, eclectic, and capable of creating surprises." (1983, 155)

Walker suggests that case study is an appropriate approach to the study of curriculum processes as it is sensitive to the nature of concrete situations in education. This sensitivity lies in its flexible, eclectic nature.

However, this capacity for capturing the processual nature of concrete situations and events has never been fully explicated by case study researchers; the question is, what is it about case study which makes such investigation of the social world possible? In addition, what is the status of a research enterprise which makes use of case study? In respect of this omission, Kenny and Grotelueschen (1984) have criticised case study researchers for their general failure to justify the use of case study in educational research. They suggest that appeals made by advocates of case study to the traditions of 'phenomenology', 'hermeneutics', and 'tacit knowledge' fall short of providing convincing answers to critics. Part of this problem, they argue, derives from the frequency with which case study researchers justify

case study as a negation of traditional research. Thus, 'the reactionary posture is a legitimate approach to justifying case study' but 'is not a definition or conceptualisation of it'. They argue strongly that a more constructive approach is required in making explicit the logical and epistemological status of case study.

Some attempts have been made, in the field of educational evaluation in particular, to outline the distinguishing features of case study. For example, the participants at the 1976 Cambridge Conference on case study addressed themselves to this question and came up with the reply that

"Case study is an umbrella term for a family of research methods having in common the decision to focus an enquiry round an instance."

(Adelman et al, 1980, 48)

This fairly general statement provides a starting point in as much as a necessary link is drawn between case study and the study of 'an instance'. The precise nature of 'an instance', though, remains elusive in Adelman et al's account. It is not clear whether they are referring to an instance in time, or an instance as a singular and perhaps exemplary event or phenomenon. They go on to suggest that an instance represents 'a bounded system', an 'instance of a class of events'; or alternatively, a case is somehow 'produced', and an issue or set of issue generated (1980, 49). Some confusion remains through this explanation; for instance, the authors provide the reader with little information in

knowing how to recognise 'an instance' when it occurs.

Walker has stated a more elaborate version of Adelman et al's 'definition'

"Case study is an examination of an instance in action. The study of particular incidents and events, and the selective collection of information on biography, personality, intentions, and values, allows the case study worker to capture and portray these elements of a situation which give it meaning." (1974, 68)

In this statement, Walker provides a little more detail than Adelman et al in terms of what he thinks comprises 'an instance in action', but the problem remains as to whether these aspects - such as biography and so on - are necessary parts of case study.

It is apparent, then, that there is some debate and possible confusion amongst the researchers who have attempted to outline the parameters and necessary features of case study. Their description of a case as an 'instance in action' conveys an ambiguity which perhaps has contributed to the difficulties in justifying case study which Kenny and Grotelueschen discuss.

In approaching the problem of the logical status of case study, of what precisely case study is, Yin (1981) has provided a useful framework for understanding this problem. He identifies a frequent confusion amongst case study proponents and opponents, between 'types of evidence', 'methods of data

collection', and 'research strategies'. That there is confusion in this area is readily apparent. For instance, Nisbet and Watt suggest

"There has been a growing acceptance of case study as a research methodology in its own right, and a recognition that it is possible to develop general procedural guidelines." (1980, 4)

Their notion of 'case study as a method' can be contrasted with Kemmis' statement

"Case study is often regarded as a method. It is sometimes thought of as merely pre-experimental, as a mysterious process in which, by some alchemy, the dross of experience is transmitted into the gold of experimentally testable hypothesis." (1980, 122)

The problem as Kemmis sees it, in treating case study as a technique, is that it is regarded in the same way as experimental research, so that inappropriate tests of validity and reliability are applied. But, says Kemmis

"the method of case study is not a single technique or even a set of techniques. It is not a machine which generates a case when 'pointed at' the world." (1980, 123)

Given such disparate views as those expressed by Nisbet and Watt, and Kemmis, Yin's criticisms seem highly appropriate. His comments merit close examination. He says, first of all

"Case study does not imply the use of a particular kind of evidence. Case studies can be done using either qualitative or quantitative evidence." (1981, 108)

He cites as an example the study by Gross et al (1971). Another example is Olson's (1980) study, where he used evidence gleaned from observation, questionnaires, and indepth interviews. Yin continues

"Nor does case study imply the use of a particular data collection method. A common misconception is that case studies are solely the result of ethnographies or of participant-observation." (1981, 108)

Perhaps an example here would be Lortie's (1975) study 'Schoolteacher', which was constructed from a number of separate studies and which relied on ethnographic interviewing questionnaires, and attitude tests. This amounts to a survey-like study of the case 'schoolteacher'. Yin is leading up to the point that

"What case study does represent is a research strategy, to be likened to an experiment, a history, or a simulation, which may be considered alternative research strategies." (1981, 108)

In other words, case study represents a way of organising or designing the research act. It is not a 'method', nor does its use imply collection of a certain type of data. This discussion of the logical status of the case study as a research strategy permits identification of some of the necessary implications inherent in such a design for the research act. Yin, again, suggests that

"As a research strategy, the distinguishing characteristic of the case study is that it attempts to examine: (a) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when, (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." (1981, 108)

Case studies tend, with the exception of historical case studies, to examine aspects of the empirical world, but in a 'natural' state.⁷ This differs from the experiment which attempts to control 'variables' which create an 'artificial' situation. Case studies also examine phenomenon which, if separated out from their context of occurrence, would be rendered meaningless. Again, experiments differ from this in that phenomena are deliberately divorced from the context of their occurrence in order to control and identify cause and effect. I have already suggested that the provision of contextual information about a case is vital if the reader is to have the chance to experience the concrete situation in a vicarious or surrogate fashion. In addition, a point noted in the previous chapter is that studies in the curriculum field have commonly failed to take into account the complexity of the situation being studied. Case study necessarily, through the need to report the context in which the case is located, reports the case in all of its complexity.

⁷ See Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 3-14) and Lofland and Lofland (1984, 3) who seem to have opposing views on the issue of naturalism. I tend to side with Hammersley and Atkinson in acknowledging the researcher's reflexive role in the research setting.

Hamilton, in discussing his case study of an open plan primary school (Hamilton, 1977) reinforces this issue of 'context'.

"I assumed that an appreciation of the historical and cultural location of a 'case' is pertinent to the development of a valid interpretative account. In effect, (this) elevates 'context' to the status of a defining attribute." (1979, 22)

In this research case study is conceptualised logically, as a research strategy. The problem remains though, of the epistemological status of the case. The question here is, what is a case? How can a phenomenon be recognised as a 'case' of something? The prescription of Adelman et al, and Walker, that a case study is the study of 'an instance in action' suggests no more than a 'singular' phenomenon captured or portrayed as a dynamic and fluid process. Although this does provide a pointer in the right direction it falls short of explaining how a phenomenon is conceptualised as a 'case of' something. In this respect, Kemmis (1980) has suggested that the nature of the case is indeterminate, that is to say, cases cannot be pre-specified or pre-selected. He argues instead that it is the researcher who makes or invents the case. He says

"The case study worker makes the case a case by carrying out the study. He attempts to transform the situation from an object of perplexity into an object of understanding." (1980, 117)

Reality only becomes a 'case of' something through the researcher's interpretation, and through his objectification of what is going on in the concrete situation in space and time. As Schutz (1962, 36) has said, the research situation for the researcher becomes an 'object of his contemplation'. So, says Kemmis

"Creating the case is a kind of bootstrapping process: the objects of case study are created by the observer's and other participants' objectification of them, that is, by rendering them as objects in discourse. In short, the phenomena with which case study is concerned must be created by the observer. They are objects of the imagination." (1980, 120)

A case is identified as a case by the researcher's interaction with the reality to which it relates. The phenomenon under study is, therefore, based in substance, in the empirical world of which the case is a conceptualisation. A point that should be noted here, referring back to Kemmis's statement above, is that different people conceptualise the same concrete situation in different ways. This is a topic which is elaborated at some length in chapters five and six. Suffice to say here, though, that my conceptualisation of the concrete situation at Forest as a 'case of teacher-initiated innovation' is not the teachers' conceptualisation. Indeed, they were not particularly aware that they were innovating at all; they were simply working in the concrete setting. This difference in how people see and conceptualise the same setting does not invalidate any one interpretation; however, it could be argued that one conceptualisation may

be more appropriate than another, but only in relation to any particular person's 'purpose at hand'. The reader is left to judge, in this study, whether in the light of his 'purpose at hand' outlined in chapter one, the researcher has appropriately conceptualised the situation at Forest.

Indeed Kemmis places the researcher in a central position in social research which adopts case study as a research strategy, and emphasises that the researcher, like all other human beings, is involved in a process of 'coming to understand'.

"The status of the case as an object of knowledge is not in any way compromised by its being what we have called an 'object of the imagination'. It is a product of the interactive process of observation. All cognition has this interactive character; knowing in general entails the interaction of the object and its subject."
(1980, 125)

Thus, we recognise a phenomenon as a 'case of' something through our interaction with, and interpretation of, reality. The essential reflexivity of the researcher in social research is thus recognised and indeed celebrated in the use of case study as a research strategy.

The case study, as it is conceived and used in this research, is a strategy for designing and structuring the total project, from conception to reporting. It affords the researcher a central role in the research act, and involves reporting, in a narrative form combining description and analysis, the

context-embeddedness, and so the complexity, of the concrete world of teachers. Within this conception of the study, the research act has several dimensions, the first of which is the field work process.

2 The Field Work Process

The total field work process consisted of four 'phases', each of which had its own distinctive emphasis. This is shown in Appendix 1 which maps out a time-line of the study, from a pre-field work phase, to entry in March 1983, to withdrawal in June 1984, and indicates where data was collected and how. How the methods were used within the research act, and how the research progressed over time are discussed in later sections. In this section, I wish to deal with various aspects of the field work process which played a crucial role in creating the conditions for the collection of data and in the theory generation process.

(1) Access

Initial entry into the research setting at Forest was gained through a colleague at University. I had been casting about for a teacher who might be interested in participating in some research, and I was keen to find someone who could be approached informally. I anticipated that the first few weeks of field work might be a kind of 'pilot' for the approach I wanted to use, and so I needed to find a teacher

who was willing and sympathetic. In fact, I had anticipated some difficulty in finding teachers who might be prepared to let me follow them around, watch their teaching, and so on, on the basis of my own experience of teachers' general unwillingness to allow 'intruders' inside their classrooms.⁸ However, I was lucky in that my colleague was able to put me in touch with a teacher, Kevin Edmonds, who was ready and willing to allow me to do some research. This teacher had, in fact, maintained contacts with the University, and was a regular participant in some other research projects in the physiology department. It would appear from Lofland and Lofland's comments that my use of acquaintance or friendship to gain entry is not unusual amongst field workers.

"It seems quite typical for outside researchers to gain access to settings or persons through contacts they have already established. They cast about among their friends, acquaintances, colleagues, and the like for someone who is already favourably regarded by the person or persons with access control."
(1984, 25)

I was concerned, in the first instance, to begin the field work informally, and enter through the 'back door' so to speak. Kevin Edmonds was given permission for me to be in the department by the Head of Faculty, Pete Gardener. Initially, I saw the exercise simply as a low-key pilot study for the approach I had conceived in the pre-field work stage. I wished to weigh up the feasibility of what I wanted to do,

⁸ See the teachers' comments in this respect - KE, 2/4; and PG, 2/6

with the suitability of this setting. (Schatzmann and Strauss, 1973, 19). I met Kevin Edmonds and another of the teachers, Phil Bayle who was to become a significant figure in the research, over a cup of coffee at the University, and outlined in what now seem to me to be impossibly vague terms what I was interested in and what I hoped to do. I knew, also rather vaguely, that the teachers at Forest had been involved in some curriculum development work in their school, so the situation sounded promising.

I spent the first two weeks of the field work in Phase I following Kevin Edmonds around, watching lessons, watching interaction with colleagues and students, and I conducted three interviews. I also attended a talk Edmonds and Phil Bayle gave at the University on their work in the school, the first of a number of talks they were to give. This was tape-recorded and transcribed. As I began to realise the extent of Bayle's involvement in the developments in the curriculum, and the nature of these developments, I also interviewed him once during this period and then again later in Phase I.

My relationship with Kevin Edmonds became important for continuing access, for two reasons. First, I was regarded initially, during the first phase of the research, as his responsibility by his colleagues. This meant that I was never left hanging around in the staffroom, or left at a loose end waiting to tag along with someone. This also helped to smooth relations in the first few weeks. Secondly, Edmonds

subsequently became my sponsor in the department and in the school which gave me a lead into relationships which otherwise might have been more difficult. The only problem this relationship created for the study was that I was 'identified', in a weak sense, with Bayle and Edmonds by some of the teachers who saw themselves on 'the outside' of the mainstream of developments in the department.⁹ I only became aware of this as the study progressed, but I feel that if this had any effect, it was to motivate these teachers to take part in the research, because they wanted to have their own say and so 'balance the account'.

After the first few weeks of the field work, I made the decision that the setting at Forest School offered some exciting possibilities for my research aspirations. I decided to carry out the rest of the fieldwork there, and so now had to draw up a more formal 'code of conduct' for the research,¹⁰ and seek the permission of the official 'gatekeepers' in the school. In this latter respect, I wrote to the Principal, Michael Williams, asking his permission to carry out research in the PE department. I also had a meeting with him to discuss what I wanted to do. I had, in a sense, to 'come clean' and admit that the nature of my approach meant that issues would begin to unfold as the research progressed. However, I was able to give a brief, although I'm sure, somewhat ambiguous account of the proposed research at that time, which seemed

⁹ See eg SR, 2/11

¹⁰ See in the case record, phase I

to satisfy the Principal, and the teachers in the PE department.¹¹ I was aware of the potentially problematic nature of my approach, and so whilst I did not want to tie myself down to a precise prescription of what I expected to find, I attempted to safeguard the teachers and their involvements in the study by drawing up a 'contract'.

(ii) The contract

The contract had two elements, one which treated confidentiality, access to information, and negotiation of accounts, and this was written into a formal code of conduct; the second element outlined the 'pay-off' for the teachers, what was 'in it for them' to participate in the research.

The issues of confidentiality and negotiation of the accounts which appear in the interview transcripts had two interrelated rationales. Before each interview, teachers were reminded verbally that the interview was being conducted in complete confidentiality. Each interview was audio-taped, transcribed verbatim by hand by the researcher, and typed, sometimes by the researcher, and sometimes by a typist. All transcripts which went to the typist contained only the initials of the teachers concerned, and in later reports, all names were anonymised, in order to safeguard confidentiality. The typed transcript was then returned in a sealed envelope to the teacher, and he/she could erase sections completely,¹² rewrite

¹¹ See Lofland and Lofland (1984, 25-26) in this respect

¹² As with PB, interview 1

sections, or elaborate on points as he/she wished.¹³ Clearance was then sought on this basis from each teacher for the data obtained in interviews for use in the study. It was stressed to the teachers that clearance was being sought for exposure of this data to colleagues in intermediate field reports. Apart from the amendments outlined in the footnotes, none of the teachers chose to veto or substantially alter their transcripts. It should be noted that teachers were free to pass transcripts around to colleagues if they wished to do so. Apparently, few did. Also, no one, to the best of my knowledge, was pressurised by anyone else to reveal the contents of interviews.¹⁴ Thus, the first rationale for confidentiality and negotiation of accounts is based on an ethical consideration of respect for persons who have granted an intrusion into their world (Walker, 1974, 73-75) and access to 'their lives, their minds, and their emotions'. (Lofland and Lofland, 1984, 25)

The second rationale is based on a technical aspect of methodology. In the first place, having been assured of confidentiality, the teachers generally felt freer to talk about their work and their working environment. This issue touches on the notion of 'trust', which is developed in the paragraphs on 'field relations'. A second factor here is that accounts produced by interviews and reports were negotiated between researcher and teacher. (Kushner and Norris, 1981; Tripp, 1983). This is to say, teachers had in the interview

¹³ See KL, interview 1; and MW

¹⁴ See Walker's (1983) unhappy experience in this respect

situation, and later in discussion over a transcript or report, the opportunity to negotiate the impression created, and the meaning intended, in what was said. The importance of this negotiation of accounts was primarily to ensure an adequacy which was satisfactory to the teachers. Schutz's (1962, 44) 'postulate of adequacy' says that a model, or in this case an account, created by the researcher must be understandable to the actors themselves. This ensures that the researcher's conceptualisation of a situation is consistent (although not necessarily the same as) the actor's experience in the commonsense, concrete world. Carroll has suggested that Schutz's postulate

" implies taking the model back to the actors to see if they understand it in terms of their own constructs " (1982, 403)¹⁵

Thus, the negotiation of accounts and reports¹⁶ is a means of assessing the adequacy of the researcher's interpretation of the concrete situation, and the validity of his constructs. The problems that arose in this respect are discussed in Chapter three, pages 118-124.

The contract also included a 'pay-off' for the teachers, and this was communicated informally and verbally. First, each teacher was given a copy of his/her own interview. This in

¹⁵ Glaser (1978, 13) has made a similar point in relation to ground-theory

¹⁶ See SR and KL, Conversation in the CR.

itself, as a record of his/her reflections in response to questioning, was a beneficial factor. Walker supports this view by suggesting that

"The kinds of questions that are asked are usually enough to set trains of thought going in the interviewee's head that do not stop when the interview ends. Those who have been interviewed will know that it is quite common, for some hours, or even days after the interview has ended to keep rethinking lines of thought that first came to light in the interview itself. The question is a powerful tool for change, sometimes more powerful than the recommendation or conclusion.." (1983, 157)

In fact, Walker sees this kind of effect as an intrusion, and so as a problematic issue in case study. Personally, in the context of this study, it is precisely this provocative type of effect I wanted to have, an effect which sets teachers thinking. Perhaps the issue is 'how do we define the limits of reasonable intervention?' In this case, intervention was negotiated, as far as possible, with individual teachers. How this questioning affected their teaching, though, was a matter which would have been difficult to assess directly, and in any case fell outside the limits of the research task.

Second, a report was produced for teachers at the end of the first two phases of field work, one for Bayle and Edmonds at the end of Phase I, and one for Sue Ripley and Karen Lowe individually at the end of Phase II.¹⁷ These reports are fairly specific and personal to the teachers

¹⁷ Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds were purposely treated together because of their 'partnership' - see Chapter 6, pages 256-263

concerned and are not, for this reason, included in the case record. These reports, supplemented by informal discussion, were intended to supply situation-specific information to teachers. Mostly, information in the form of feedback on teaching was only given in informal discussion on request; this tactic, of offering opinions only when demanded and generally 'sitting on the fence', was adopted as a matter of maintaining field relations, which I discuss in the next sub-section.

A further 'pay-off' for the teachers was the production of the final research report, which attempted to bring the teachers' fragmented experience of the study together. The specific advantages of this, though, to the individual teachers concerned, were probably fairly limited. Although a reading of the report may provide some insights into situations which were not clear as they happened 'in the vivid present', I would argue that this report, for the teachers involved in the concrete situation, will be mainly of 'academic' interest. The real value of the report lies in its potential to inform the professional judgement of other teachers, possibly more so those who have embarked on a process of change.

A final 'pay-off', for some of the teachers¹⁸ was the fact that a researcher had chosen to carry out a study in their

¹⁸ Mainly Kevin Edmonds, Phil Bayle and Pete Gardener, for reasons that are obvious in a reading of Chapters 5-7

department. This was interpreted as an indicator of the worth of what they were doing, and as recognition for their efforts.¹⁹

(iii) Field relations

Hammersley and Atkinson suggest that

"In many ways, gaining access is a thoroughly practical issue ... it involves drawing on interpersonal resources and strategies that we all tend to develop in dealing with everyday life." (1983, 54)

This statement reinforces my own conviction that the quality of data, and particularly interview data collected was a function of the quality of personal relations with the teachers in the study. In this respect, their co-operation and tolerance in having me hanging around, and answering my questions, is of paramount importance. This process is very much a matter of 'getting along' with people. (Lofland and Lofland, 1984, 36-42). Certainly, my own background as a PE teacher, and my continuing professional involvement in the PE world, and in the world of sport generally, helped in this enormously. I used my back ground in much the same way as Benyon, in his discussion of 'ways-in' to the setting.

"More significantly by far ... was my own background in teaching and experience in secondary schools, which I unashamedly employed to show staff that I was no stranger to teaching, to classrooms, and to school life in general." (1983, 41)

¹⁹ See Chapter 7, pages 338-340

On more than one occasion, particularly in the early days in the field, I noted in my Field Diary references to my own teaching experience as a way-in to conversations which were taking place in the staffroom. I was able to relate to the teachers on multifarious issues which form part of their everyday professional lives, not necessarily utilising this experience explicitly, but simply showing that I knew what they meant when they complained for example about losing 'free periods' or 'being taken for cover'.

I also managed to develop relationships with several of the teachers through converging interests. For instance, my own interest and experience in modern dance provided the basis for a way-in to getting to know the dance specialist Karen Lowe. I discovered that another of the teachers, Steve Finney and his wife were keen on folk music, and capitalised on this when he discovered in conversation my own amateur efforts in this respect. Even where there wasn't any particular convergence of interest, I tried as far as possible to take an interest in people and their trials, tribulations, and successes. For instance, one of the teachers Sue Ripley, was in the market for a new house. However, unfortunately for Sue, this process took longer than she expected (six months!) but it afforded me the opportunity for a way-in to conversation by asking about latest developments and sympathising about lack of success.

I also took part in a staff volley ball match, a local half-marathon run in which a number of the staff took part, and

attended several social evenings. This willingness to show an interest and become involved with the teachers at a personal level was an important means of building trust, confidence and in the end, the quality of data.

A number of writers suggest²⁰ that the management of a 'personal front', the 'presentation of self', involves a conscious and deliberate strategy in the process of field work. Certainly, I was never consciously aware whilst being in the field that I was presenting a particular image of myself, until one day, one teacher asked me - 'why did you leave teaching anyway?'. I suddenly realised that my continual references to my own teaching experience must have raised the question for some teachers of 'why did he bother to leave it if he enjoyed it so much?'. The question had an immediate impact on me, in the sense that I realised I could never overcome the essential 'us and them-ness' of my situation. For all my familiarity with schools, with the physical education world, and my good relations with the teachers as people, I was not and could not be a teacher at Forest, 'one of them'. When my study finished, so did my involvement in the school. In terms of an immediate reply to the question, I had to think on my feet and think fast. I realised that the question was not entirely innocent, and was in some respects a probe, and so my answer might be important to my continuing good relations with this teacher. I said at once 'I would go back to teaching given half a chance' without really having thought

²⁰ Schatzman and Strauss (1973, 23-26); Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 78-88); Lofland and Lofland (1984, 37-39)

the thing through. The truth of the matter was, as I later rationalised, that I had tried to go back to teaching after a 'year out' at University, but this was at a time of severe economic cutbacks and there simply were no jobs available. My conscience was salved through this rationalisation, but I reflect wryly now on my preparedness to keep up appearances at all costs in the face-to-face situation with teachers. To have acted otherwise would have been to 'lose face' and also, possibly, lose that teacher's faith as well.

(iv) Stress

One of the less comfortable aspects of doing this study was the highly stressful nature of being in the field, and also of analysing and writing.

My experience of the field work is recalled in this extract from my field diary, and written after the first four days at Forest.

"The experience of the last few days has made me wonder at the apparently increasing popularity of field research. I'm not surprised that many researchers do only a few major studies. Despite my familiarity with the PE world and with schools, and the very co-operative people I'm researching, the total experience is, by and large, quite upsetting. People are never quite as relaxed as they might be if I wasn't there, or at least so it seems. Being in close proximity to someone who is always asking questions must be unsettling for the teachers too. I have tried quite deliberately to act as low profile, discrete and nondescript as possible, even wearing my tracksuit so that I merge into the setting, and voicing as few opinions and remarks as possible to avoid misunderstandings at this early stage. This in itself must seem to the teachers to be an unusual role for a researcher to take. I'm sure they must be a bit put out

by this chap from the University who doesn't seem to say much (except to ask questions), and you never know what he's thinking." (Field Diary, April 19 1983)

Writers on this topic have suggested that stress is a symptom of the researcher's marginal role in the research setting (eg Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 97-104). At Forest, I had no effective role in relation to the school's purposes. As such, I was entirely superfluous to the day-to-day business that went on in this context. Interactions with me were over and above the teachers' normal purposive action in the working situation. Hammersley and Atkinson suggest that the conduct of the researcher is 'often little different from the sort of activity that any lay person engages in when faced with the practical need to make sense of a particular social setting' (1983, 88). However, the process of 'making sense' in a marginal role is highly stressful. Being an 'acceptable incompetant' might, as Lofland and Lofland (1984, 38) suggest, be a good strategy for gaining acceptance in the research setting, but the effort of learning the ropes is a high anxiety business. Various strategies were employed to cope with the occurrence of stress during the field work process.

The decision to use a 'condensed field work' approach (Walker, 1974) was in part due to the stress aspect. This involved doing the study in short two to three month phases, which 'allowed me to come out of the setting three times during the study (see Appendix A). This 'time-out' effect also allowed me to distance myself from the research setting and so to reflect and think about the data before deciding

where to sample next.

Another technique employed to minimise stress was to talk about the field work process with colleagues. This process of rationalisation helped to release ideas and problems, and so helped to calm the agitation that occurs during the creative process. The Field Diary also helped in this respect. An extract illustrates this point.

"The urge to make this entry has come from my agitation and frustration at not being able to write an abstract, based on the research data, for a book chapter. I feel as if I'm full to the brim with knowledge about the situation at Forest, but that this total immersion in the data has left me paralysed. Also, I feel that I've collected so much data that I'm sure I've begun to lose sight of what I wanted to say, and of some of the ideas I've had. I'm even reluctant to sit down and write memos at the moment, in case these lead me into a whole morass of complex entanglements."

(Field Diary, 25 January 1984)

The creative process of analysis and writing, then, is also a highly stressful and anxious experience. Hammersley and Atkinson, however, suggest that this is perhaps a necessary and vital component in the field work process.

"The comfortable sense of being 'at home' is a danger signal. From the perspective of the 'marginal' reflexive ethnographer, there can thus be no question of total commitment, 'surrender', or 'becoming'. There must always remain some part held back, some social and intellectual 'distance'. For it is in the 'space' created by this distance that the analytic work gets done. Without that distance, without such analytic space, the ethnography can be little more than an autobiographical account of a personal conversion."

(1983, 102)

The feeling of discomfort and tension is, then, a necessary aspect of the motivation to impose structure on the research data, to attempt to order, make sense of, and understand the situation. Glaser (1978) suggests a similar idea in his notion of 'pacing'. This involves the intricate balancing of energies in the research act, between high excitement and agitation in the discovery of an idea, to stultification and depression when a blockage occurs. Pacing is also manifest in the decision to organise data collection in a series of condensed field work phases.

(v) Researcher role and field work strategy

The researcher role in this study could be broadly described as 'involved observer' (Woods, 1979). This term suggests my involvement in the research setting as a 'participant', but only in terms of developing relationships with teachers, listening sympathetically to their accounts, and being involved professionally in their lives. This description maintains a distinction, then, between complete or partial participation as a 'researcher-cum-teacher', which seems to be a common model in educational ethnography²¹, and a researcher who maintains a distinct role as researcher but with an interest and empathy for the actors in the situation.

This choice of role came about for two reasons. One was the problem of stress. I found that maintaining a distinct

²¹ See the classic studies of Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970)

identity as researcher personally much easier and more comfortable, as well as being more honest and realistic, than if I had tried to 'become a teacher'. The second reason was entirely pragmatic. My teaching commitments at the University, coupled with the enormous amount of time required to transcribe each interview, precluded the realistic chance of teaching or being in the situation for prolonged periods of time. I also felt, in any case, that the teachers deserved a rest from me!

This choice of role acknowledges the researcher's reflexivity in the research situation; it seemed to me a nonsense to 'pretend' to be a teacher, to take on a participant role in the situation, when in reality my interests in this situation, whilst sympathetic and sensitive to those of the teachers', were not the teachers'. Schutz clarifies this issue in his detailed analysis of the role of the third party in the observation of interaction between two others. He makes the point that the observer

" ... is not involved in the actors' hopes and fears whether or not they (the actors) will understand one another and achieve their ends by interlocking of motives. Thus, his system of relevance differs from that of the interested (and interacting) parties and permits him to see at the same time more and less than what is seen by them." (1962, 26)

Thus, the observer, or in this case the researcher, in both interviewing and observing has a particular attitude of 'disinterest' in relation to the specific outcomes of the events being described or enacted by the teachers. An

extract from my Field Diary illustrates this point.

"My second day of field work and already I feel as if I have come across some interesting data. It's perhaps significant that Kev thinks it's a pity I'm not seeing him in action at a busier time. His assumption seems to be that what he's doing now, during the summer term, can't be of much interest to me. This maybe says something important about what he thinks I ought to be seeing' 'He occasionally fishes for feedback and I've tried to pass on some observations, for what they are worth. But I sometimes wonder what he expects from me; to suddenly reveal some surprising revelation about his teaching? I've tried to point out to him that what he sees as 'ordinary' and 'everyday' is for me interesting, because for me, it isn't ordinary, everyday experience."

(Field Diary, 25 March; and 12 April, 1983)

This extract suggests that our perceptions of the situation, and what we were looking for in it, were different. This is not meant to imply that there is no convergence of motives - as a 'person in the world', the researcher shares in the normal interactive activities of communicating, making sense, understanding, and so on, or as Schutz remarks, there is an 'interlocking of motives', to some extent, in the process of social interaction. The researcher, in addition, is actively involved in trying to understand what the teachers see as significant in their world.²² But the point is that much of this knowledge is revealed only reflexively, not as a part of consciousness. Thus, the researcher must treat the commonplace as problematic in order to disclose

²² This, in fact, is the essence of Schutz's 'postulate of subjective interpretation' (1962, 43), and also of the notion of 'Verstehen'.

meaning. This identification is not so that the researcher can act towards these objects, but so that he can understand them. And so, the researcher's attitude in this sense is one of a

"mere disinterested observer of the social world. He is not involved in the observed situation, which is to him not of practical but merely of cognitive interest. It is not the theatre of his activities but merely the object of his contemplation. He does not act within it, vitally interested in the outcome of his actions, hoping and fearing what their consequences might be, but he looks at it with the same detached equanimity with which the natural scientist looks at the occurrences in his laboratory." (Schutz, 1962, 36)

Although this point holds in a general sense, there are instances, in the course of the field work process, when exceptions occur. For instance, I did develop some opinions about the developments in the PE curriculum at Forest. In the process of researching the situation, I found myself coming more and more to an appreciation of the innovative idea which was being promoted by the teachers. There is, of course, the danger in making the same mistake in this as Willis (1977) who, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 98-99) makes the error of taking a 'partial perspective' through his 'over-rapport' with one particular group of boys in his study. The decision in this study to sample for data from all of the teachers in the PE department was a deliberate ploy in attempting to overcome such an error. In addition, the case record is reproduced in an Appendix as a means of allowing the reader to check for such an occurrence.²³

²³ See Chapter 3, pages 125-134 on the 'case record'

This choice of researcher role, as 'involved observer', has important implications for the second dimension of the research act, which is the process of data collection and theory generation.

3 Theory Generation in the Research Act

The methods of data collection used in this study, which are outlined and described in the next section, were employed within the dynamic process of the research act, which was guided primarily by a 'grounded-theory' approach to field work (Glaser and Strauss, 1968: Glaser, 1978). The grounded-theory approach seemed to me to be ideally suited for realising the aspirations expressed in Chapter one. This approach allows the joint collection and analysis of data, so that theory, which is generated from the teachers' perspectives in their concrete world, guides the further collection of data and generation of theory. The theoretical constructs are, then, grounded in the concrete situations they represent and attempt to explain.

Glaser describes the nature of the research act structured by a grounded-theory approach.

"The researcher continually analyses while still in the midst of the social world or circumstances he is studying. Thus, unlike other field workers, his descriptive notes and questions may bring out important categories early in the research. Rather than keeping a somewhat behaviouristic account to be analysed after the field experience is closed the analyst attempts to reflect upon what he is experiencing and begins to code and analyse from the start of the research."

(1978, 39-40)

Glaser proposes that the distinguishing feature of a grounded theory approach is that the researcher is constantly involved in interpreting his data both during the field work, and after the data is collected. The device employed by Glaser and Strauss (1968) which guides and controls this constant process of interpretation is the notion of 'theoretical sampling'. The most widespread sampling technique in social research has traditionally been based on the arithmetic laws of probability: that is, where to collect data next is guided by statistical analysis. However, Glaser and Strauss emphasise that in contrast

"Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process is controlled by the emerging theory ..." (1968, 45)

The notion of theoretical sampling lies at the heart of the grounded theory approach, because the theory only remains grounded if it is generated on the basis of the researcher's interpretation of previously collected data. This generation occurs through a process of what Glaser refers to as 'conceptual elaboration' (1978, 40-41), which involves a deductive effort on a 'vertical' dimension - that is, at various levels of abstraction. For example, one of the teachers, Kevin Edmonds, comments²⁴ that one of the effects of experience in teaching is 'learning the subtle skills of getting through a school day'. This comment is, in itself,

²⁴ KE, interview 3

a conceptual elaboration, that is, a conceptualisation, of the concrete world and his own experience in that world. This conceptualisation acts as an empirical indicator²⁵ for a further elaboration, which is that 'teaching is interacting', that is, interactive skills are important features of 'teaching'. This concept is a conceptual indicator for a property - 'the skills of stress management' - of the category 'teaching as an occupation'.²⁶ This is an example of the process of conceptual elaboration, and it is notable that these concepts only begin to make sense when they are located 'in context'. This involves a further deductive effort, this time on a 'horizontal' dimension, which involves the notion of 'logical elaboration'. Logical elaboration of the theory tends to become important later in the theory generation process, and is a necessary component in integrating the theoretical concepts. I will return to this horizontal dimension of theory generation below. This model of theory generation is summarised in figure 2.1, on page 78.

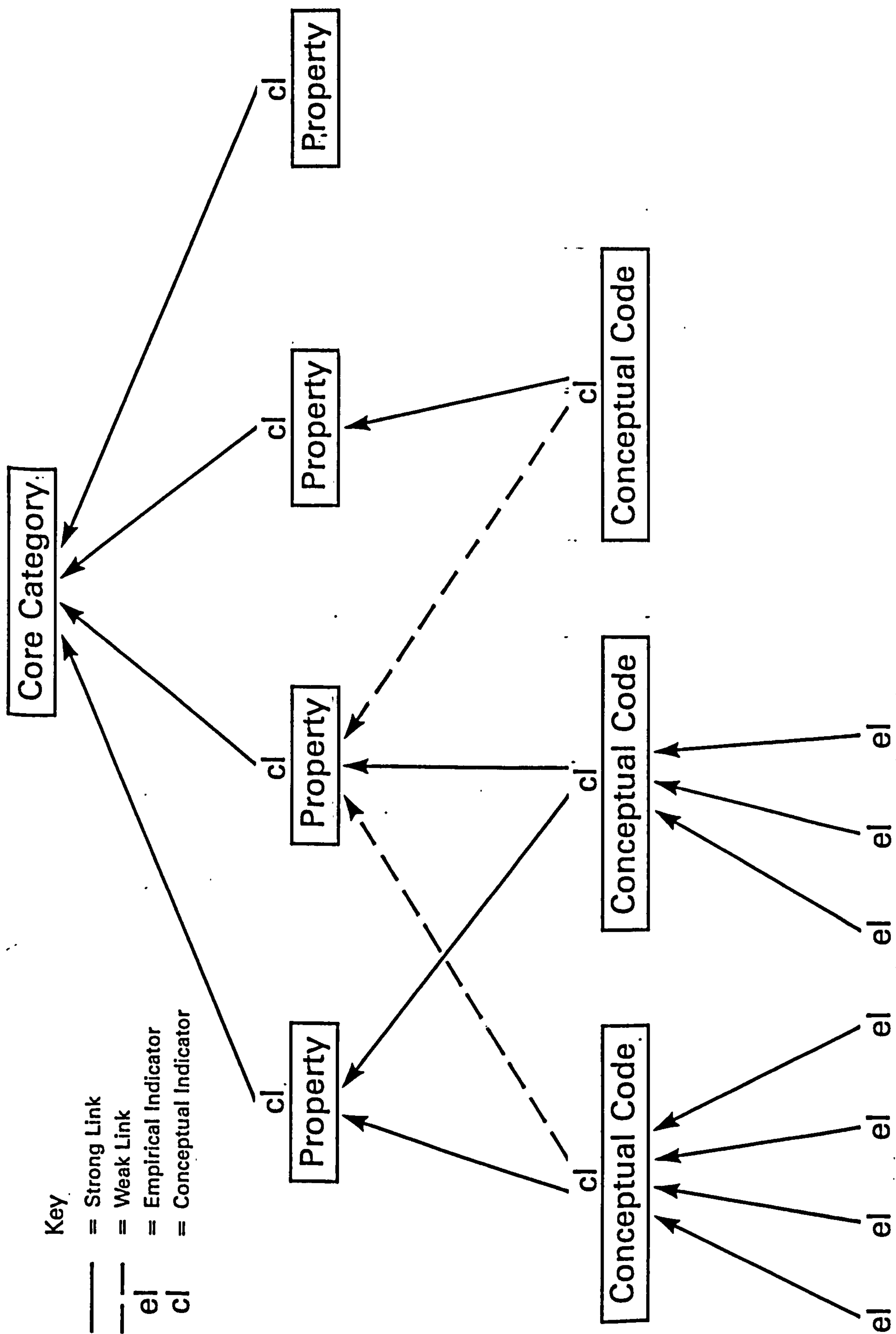
Glaser has more recently elaborated the notion of theoretical sampling.

"The general procedure of theoretical sampling, as we shall now describe it, is to elicit codes from raw data from the start of data collection through constant comparative analysis as data pours in. Then to use the codes to direct further data collection, from which codes are further theoretically developed with respect

²⁵ Because, although this is a conceptualisation by the teacher, it exists in the concrete world at Forest.

²⁶ See Chapter 7, section 2

Figure 2.1 : The Concept-Indicator Model (Adapted from Glaser, 1978)



to their various properties and their connections with other codes until saturated. Theoretical sampling on any code ceases when it is saturated, elaborated and integrated into the emerging theory. This process produces cumulatively intense theoretical sensitivity into one's data as the integrative matrix of emerging theory grows denser." (1978, 36)

Glaser and Strauss (1968) evoke the notion of 'saturation' to describe the process whereby the researcher becomes confident, on the basis of the evidence he has amassed, that the code or property of a category represents an adequate conceptualisation of the concrete situation.²⁷

Figure 2.2 on page 80 represents a diagrammatic reproduction of the research act guided by a grounded theory approach.

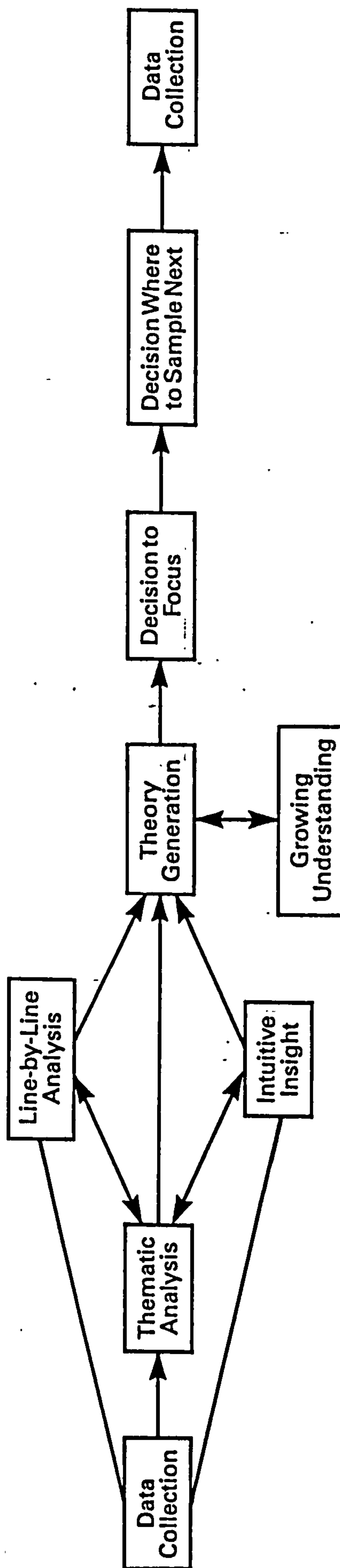
However, it should be noted that this diagram is misleading in the sense that theory is not generated in a linear, step-by-step fashion, but is a far more complex and subtle affair involving what Glaser calls 'double-back steps'.

"The steps ... are collection of research data, open coding of the data soon after, theoretical sampling, generating many memos with as much saturation as possible ... which then become the basis for more selective theoretical sampling, coding and memoing as the analyst focuses on the core. This goes on all at once." (1978, 16)

The research act using a grounded theory approach is a dynamic - but systematic - process which is designed to allow the researcher to capture the subtlety and complexity of concrete situations. This process can be illustrated in

²⁷ See Glaser and Strauss (1968, 61)

Figure 2.2 : A Diagrammatic Reproduction of the Research Act, guided by a Grounded Theory Approach



the way the various methods were used in the process of data collection and analysis. For example, during the initial field work period I spent some time following Kevin Edmonds around, watching him teach, meet and interact with colleagues and students. I took notes on the basis of these observations and used them to gain a 'foothold' in this teacher's world. I wanted to sensitise myself to Edmonds' concrete working situation before asking questions in interviews. Thus, my questions could initially be based on events in the concrete teaching situation. Thereafter, interviews were used in a cumulative fashion to the same effect, and were analysed in the field using what Glaser refers to as the 'over-view approach' (1978, 56). This technique simply involved subdividing the data into predominant themes in the interview discussions. For example, the main topics of conversation in the first two interviews with Kevin Edmonds were as follows:-

EXAMPLES:	<u>Interview No 1</u>	<u>Interview No 2</u>
1	'Good school'	'Philosophy/innovation'
2	'Colleagues'	'Political aspects'
3	'Philosophy/innovation'	'Colleagues'
4	'Career/life history'	'Traditional orientation'
5	'Competitive activities'	'Good school'
6	'Traditional orientation'	'Rewards'
7	'Accountability/politics'	'Career/life history'

This overview or thematic approach to analysis was only used during the initial stages of data collection, and serves to sensitise the researcher to the evidence, to set him off on the way to viewing the empirical situation in a more abstract

or conceptual fashion. The next step in the generation process is to 'run the data open' or 'open-coding' of the data line by line. I coded the teacher's talk on the transcripts, by leaving a two inch margin from the edge of the paper. Grounded theory is based on a 'concept indicator' model,²⁸ a conceptual code or category is generated by constant comparison of empirical or conceptual indicators in the teachers' talk. Once a code has been generated, further indicators can then be compared to the code, which leads to further conceptual elaboration, refinement, complexity and density. For example, one of the conceptual codes in this study is the notion of 'servicing the mandate'.²⁹ Empirical indicators for this code are to be found in the case record where the teachers talk about publicising their work to various people inside and outside the department, particularly the Head of Faculty, Pete Gardener and the Principal, Michael Williams.³⁰ Elaborating this code conceptually with other codes like 'presenting a public face' and 'the effects of disseminating' leads to the generation of a property - 'the process of dissemination' - of the category 'the formalisation and objectification of the innovative idea.'³¹ When the code 'servicing the mandate' is elaborated logically, on the horizontal dimension, it is related to the conceptual code

²⁸ This model is illustrated in Figure 2.1 on page 78

²⁹ See Chapter 5, pages 231-233

³⁰ See eg KE, HRF Seminar, 10; KE, 1/6: 4/8 & 10; PB, 2/2; MW, 2

³¹ See Chapter 5, section 4

'recognition'.³² This code, when compared and elaborated with other codes such as 'stress as an occupational occurrence in teaching' and the 'skills of stress management', generate 'some occupational features of teaching as work' which is a property of the category 'teaching as an occupation'.³³

Thus, the line by line analysis, thematic analysis and what I have called 'intuitive insight' all work together to generate codes, saturate codes, elaborate codes conceptually and logically, and thus integrate the theory. The whole process is both 'bottom-up' generation and 'top-down' generation of codes and categories. Intuitive insight allows ideas to be conceived before data has been worked through systematically. This is one of the effects of 'being in the situation' which is discussed in the next section. Thus, as ideas are developed from the bottom-up and conceived from the top-down, they are constantly refined and shaped to fit the concrete situation by systematically working and re-working the data.

It is important at the stage of open coding to begin to write memos. Memo writing is the corner stone of the generation of grounded theory. Memos are used to bring together ideas suggested by the constant comparison of data. Thus, a memo written on a file card will contain a number of references to the data, and the idea, perhaps a conceptual code, that this evidence suggests. So, for example, memos were written

³² The indicators in the data are eg SF, 1/7; PB, 2/8

³³ See Chapter 7, section 2

for the code 'the current climate of financial restraint',³⁴ bringing together the evidence in the data - comments for example by Michael Williams, (page 3) and Phil Bayle, 1/1 - which suggested this idea. Sampling then took place on the basis of this memo in order to saturate the code, which simply means that more data is collected in order to convince the researcher that the code fits the empirical situation. Further memos could then be written; for example, linking this code with the notion of 'reward', which is an indicator for the code 'teaching is achieving';³⁵ this represents a logical elaboration of the theory, or else memos could be written bringing together this and other codes which suggest the property 'the structural factors of the contemporary situation', which further suggests, in comparison with other properties, the category of 'conditions and context of the innovation'.

Memo writing brings together ideas and helps in the process of elaborating ideas. The act of writing about an idea forces the researcher to think through what he may, up until that time, only have realised intuitively. Writing also causes the researcher to see connections and implications which were not perhaps obvious at first.³⁶

³⁴ See Chapter 4, section 3

³⁵ See Chapter 7, section 2

³⁶ See Lofland and Lofland (1984, 140-143) for an account of this process.

Glaser's comments suggest the importance of memoing to the entire research act

"In the beginning of the study, the principle source of memos is the constant comparative process, comparing indicator to indicator, then indicator to concept. After this, the sources snowball into every stage of the grounded theory process as comparisons abound. Memos generate new memos. Sorting and writing do also. Reading in the field, which yields more data, generates memos. Thus, while the memo stage begins during joint collection, coding and analysing of data, and peaks as coding saturates, it is never over."
(1978, 88; emphasis is original)

The writing of memos acts as a catalyst to spark off new ideas, a process which is always controlled by theoretical sampling. Memos are, then, the building blocks of theory, and are written into the text of a report as pivotal ideas for understanding the situation. As Glaser remarks, reading in the field presents more ideas which are treated as data, and are used in the constant comparative process to generate theory. This technique is evident throughout this report.³⁷

As the research act proceeds through time, the nature of data analysis changes. Ideas are generated through line by line analysis initially as the researcher becomes sensitised to the data. However, as concepts and categories are identified, refined and elaborated, this 'structure' funnels the research act so that data collection becomes much more selective later in the study.³⁸ Indeed, new and interesting directions for

³⁷ The reader is referred to Chapter 5, and the use of Smith's and Keith's (1971) study.

³⁸ See Glaser (1978, 61)

the study which do not fit into the framework that has been created, and so falls outside the research focus, have to be left for another study at another time. Thus, towards the end of the field work process, data collection and analysis becomes less pedantic. The researcher is by this time thoroughly sensitised to the research situation, and is seeking to saturate and elaborate the codes and categories already generated. Logical elaboration of the theory becomes more important towards the latter stages of the study, when the aim is to integrate the theory in order to create an adequate, full, and dense account of the highly complex concrete situation.

The research act using a grounded theory approach to the collection of data and generation of theory has a dynamic quality which systemizes the way that people 'naturally' come to understand any social situation. It was in the context of this approach that data was collected through the methods of interviews, observation, and document analysis.

4 Research Methods

The methods of data collection employed in this study are broadly ethnographic (see Smith, 1978). Essentially, ethnographic field work involves the researcher in 'being in the situation' for some of the time during the study. Although the main data collection method was the interview, this was supported by more traditional ethnographic techniques of observation and document analysis. These methods, and how they were used within the research act, are described below.

(i) Observation

The observational element of the field work had two components. One of these is the very general sense of 'being in the situation'. This involved the total time I spent at the research site, which was approximately one hundred and twenty hours spread across four phases of field work, each of which lasted around three months.³⁹ The overall duration of the study, from entry into the field until withdrawal was approximately sixteen months. During some of this time I was formally occupied in interviewing and more structured observation in the classroom, a point which will be discussed shortly. However, much of this time was also spent in informal conversation in the staffroom and in and around the school generally. This point of access into the teachers' world was a vital means of picking up contextual information about the school, about the teachers, and about their students and colleagues. It is interesting to note that the highest input in man hours on site is during the first phase of the research which involved sixty hours over a three month

PHASE	HOURS
1	60
2	35
3	20
4	5
T	120

Figure 2.3:
Man hours on site

³⁹ I also spent approximately eight to ten hours transcribing and typing one hour of tape recorded interview, and although this has not been added to the totals in figure 2.3, represents time in the field also.

period. As the study progressed, and I became more and more familiar with the teachers' world, and so more selective in my sampling, I saw less need to be in the situation.

This aspect of observation, some of which is documented in my personal Field Diary, some of it in the field notes in relation to specific teachers, and of course much of it undocumented except in my own personal biography of experience, was a vital means of becoming sensitised to the research setting. This factor appears as an important condition in Chapter three, page 108 in relation to the issue of 'the validation of teachers' accounts'.

The second component of observation involved more systematic watching and note taking during lessons, in conjunction with a series of interviews. This technique was used with three teachers, Kevin Edmonds, in Phase I, and Sue Ripley and Karen Lowe in Phase II. Lessons were observed, in the classroom and in the gym, swimming pool, sports hall and on the playing fields, and systematic notes taken. Events were recorded in the left hand column of the record sheet in a concrete, behaviouristic fashion (Lofland, 1971, 105). The right hand column was reserved for comments and interpretation of the action as it unfolded. These notes were later written up in a narrative form, and a sample appears in the case record. The purpose of using observation in this way was to provide a 'foothold' in the teacher's world, in particular, in the concrete teaching situation, and to use these observations as a basis for conversation in the interviews

which followed. This technique was used, then, as a part of an overall strategy of joint data collection and analysis which has been outlined in the previous section.

In a weak sense, these observations also served the process of validating teachers' accounts by triangulating the data collected by different methods.⁴⁰ This issue is further discussed in Chapter three, page 108.

(ii) Document Analysis

Particular documents produced by the school and by the teachers themselves were used as an additional source of data. The documents which were used in this study were:-

- a) Published papers on the developments in the department produced by the teachers.
- b) The School Prospectus, and internal policy documents produced by the Administration
- c) Unpublished studies of the school
- d) Resources used by the teachers - eg course syllabuses, handouts, pamphlets, etc
- e) Teachers' personal teaching diaries. Two of these were commissioned in the research, and one is used (Kate Watkins'). (This source is discussed in the 'interview' section).

⁴⁰ See Cohen and Manion (1980, Chapter 11)

These documents provided a rich source of contextual information about the school, the PE department, and the teachers. Much of the account presented in Chapter four of the formal structures in the school, particularly the management structures, are based on these documents. The documents were used in a similar fashion to observation, as a means of sensitising the researcher to the situation, and for triangulation of data.

One particular difficulty arose with the use of documents in the study. This relates to the 'contract', discussed earlier in the Chapter, struck with the teachers at the outset of the field work, and involves the need to maintain anonymity of the teachers and the school. To have placed these documents in the case record, however, would reveal immediately the identity of the school and its inhabitants. This is particularly difficult in the case of certain published papers produced by the teachers, and generally available publically in journals. Their use in the study could not be avoided, however, due to their prime importance as elements in the process of teacher-initiated innovation: this will be evident to the reader in Chapter five. This explains why documents are cited in the text, but do not appear in the case record, and are not acknowledged, as is normal practice, in the bibliography.

Another difficulty arose in relation to providing an historical account of developments in the school generally, which is produced in Chapter four. The problem arises from

the fact that teachers tend not to keep documentary records of past events. As Hammersley and Atkinson note, in the context of anthropological studies and studies of 'urban cultures'

"they were cultures that lacked any conscious or unconscious attempts to make a documentary record of their activities. Whether or not their members were actually illiterate, their collective actions rarely depended on the production, distribution and preservation of written documents and records." (1983, 128)

This was certainly true, also, of the teachers at Forest. The problem this lack of documentation presents is that the account of historical developments in the school are almost entirely based on the accounts of two teachers who were in the school during the relevant periods, and who were willing to contribute to the research. The little documentary evidence that does exist independent of this source provides only a cursory glance at developments, or only a fragmented picture of day to day events.⁴¹ These sources have been used, where possible, to check on the accuracy of teachers' accounts.

The professional culture of teachers is, then, one in which documentation of events is uncommon, and for the purposes of professional action seems to be unnecessary. I return to this issue briefly in Chapter five, page 230.

⁴¹ I'm referring here to a document produced by the school's former Principal, Richard Miller, and also committee meeting minutes

(iii) Interviews

The ethnographic interview is variously described as 'unstructured', 'non-directive', 'conversational', 'open-ended', and so on.⁴² This description is usually in contrast to interviewing in the survey tradition which tends to use preconceived categories of questions requiring answers which can be easily coded, as in the questionnaire. The interview, which forms the major data collection method in this study, was used in different ways according to context and purpose, and so occupies various positions along the two dimensions of the 'structured-unstructured'/'directive-non-directive' continuum. Therefore, the interviews were to various degrees structured and to varying degrees researcher directed.

All of the interviews conducted can be placed in one of three broad categories, which are delineated according to the purpose in doing the interview.⁴³ These categories are discussed in a moment. First, however, it is important to point out that all interviewing conformed in certain respects. For instance, all interviews were audio-taped. The reasons for this were, firstly, because this made attending to the respondent's talk much easier than if notes had to be taken. Tape recording leaves the researcher free to concentrate his attention on the respondent's expressions, gesticulations,

⁴² See Schatzman and Strauss (1973, 71); MacDonald and Sanger (1982, 178); Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 161).

⁴³ See Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 113)

and so on, which note taking might cause him to miss. These expressive aspects of speech are vital ingredients in understanding the meaning of what a teacher is saying. An example from the data illustrates this point. Pete Gardener, the Head of Faculty in the PE department, is talking about one of his colleagues

"his initial brief was really rugby and cricket, none of which he particularly liked to teach. In fact, he's only ever taken a rugby team once. That's one time, not for one season! (laughing)."

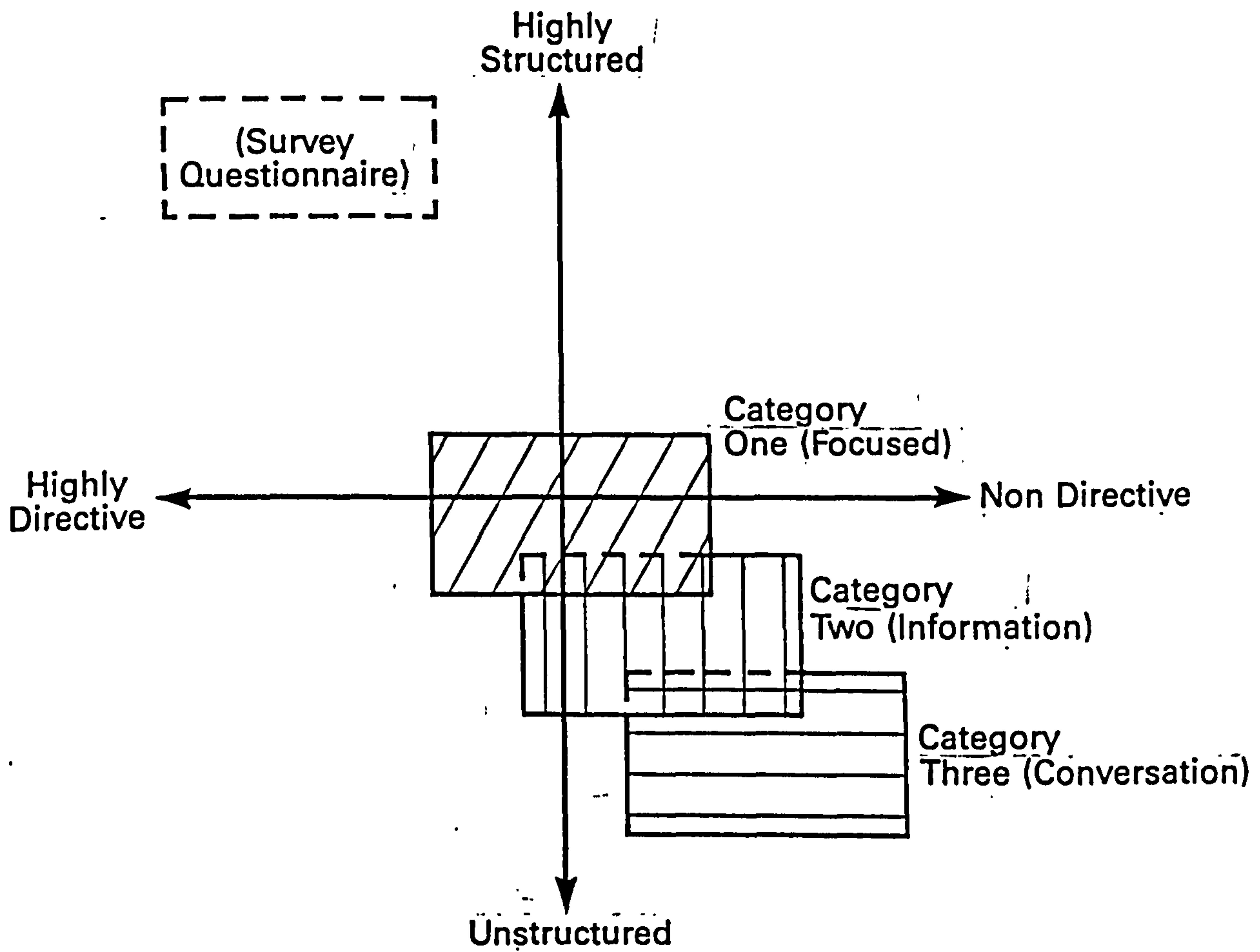
Laughter is a particularly obvious expression which, followed by a wink of the eye, generally indicates that a comment is not intended to be taken as seriously as it might sound, or else is a deliberate exaggeration. More subtle expressions like a glint in the eye, a wry smile, a shrug, a gesture with the hands, all convey meaning which otherwise, without the opportunity to attend fully, might be missed by the researcher. Even body posture can indicate either a defensive or open attitude. Of course, the drawback with audio-taping in this respect is that these expressive dimensions of talk cannot be captured on tape. The next best thing, though, is for the researcher to have seen and understood these expressions, and so incorporate them in his questioning. In addition to this, audio-taping also helps preserve the continuity and rapport in an interview which might otherwise be badly affected if the researcher is constantly distracted by note taking.

Another advantage of taping is that it provides a verbatim record of the conversation. MacDonald and Sanger (1982) suggest that this is a drawback, however, as it restricts the degree to which a respondent can be involved in the joint construction of the account that an interview will produce. This problem is acknowledged here and has been tackled by taking the transcribed interview back to the respondent for negotiation, a point discussed in section two of this chapter.

All first interviews that were done with teachers also conformed in the sense that they began with a series of questions pertaining to the teacher's professional career, experiences and so on. This 'life history' approach was used tactically as a way in to conversation, as a way of 'breaking the ice' in a first interview, and it also provided useful profile data on each teacher which contributes to building the context of the case.

The interviews can be located in one of three categories and these categories are illustrated diagrammatically in figure 2.4, page 95. The first category involved progressive focusing across interviews. This technique was applied with Kevin Edmonds, in Phase I of the field work, and with Sue Ripley and Karen Lowe in Phase II. The interviews were used here in the context of the theory generation process. The idea was to use the observation data initially as a basis for generating topics to be discussed, and as more data was produced in course of subsequent interviews, to use the concepts

Figure 2.4 : Three Categories of Interviews on Two Dimensions of "Structured/Unstructured"
 – "Directive/Nondirective"



generated from these interviews as topics for further discussion. In this way, ideas and concepts were focused progressively across interviews as theory developed. Sampling, in terms of what topics to discuss next, was in this way guided by the researcher's interpretation of the data and so remained grounded in the teacher's world. Examples of this process of progressive focusing appear in the case record. For instance, the notion of 'attention-capturing devices' generated from observations of Kevin Edmonds and Sue Ripley appear later in interviews⁴⁴; the notion of the 'subtle skills of getting through the school day' mentioned by Edmonds, interview No 1, appears in subsequent interviews, (Kevin Edmonds, interview No 3; Sue Ripley, interview No 2; Karen Lowe, interviews Nos 2 & 3).

The interviewing in this 'focused interviews' category generally began in the first interviews as loosely structured and non-directive, and in subsequent interviews became relatively more structured and researcher directed. Although generally I tried, even in these more structured/directed interviews, not to ask leading questions (Lofland and Lofland, 1984, 59-60), there are some examples - see for instance Kate Watkins, interview 2; Karen Lowe, interview 3; Steve Finney, interview 3 - where issues are raised and points of view expressed in a deliberately provocative manner. This technique was used to elicit a reaction from teachers as codes and categories became saturated, and I became more sensitised to, and surer of, the issues in the concrete

⁴⁴ KE, interview 3; SR, interview 2; KL, interviews 2 & 3

situation.

A second category of interview, of which Pete Gardener, Michael Williams and Hilary Ashford are exemplars, were very loosely structured and much more respondent directed - see especially Michael Williams - than those in the previous category. The purpose here was not so much to generate theory directly, but was rather to gather contextual information about particular topics, for instance, the school management structure and the role of the Principal (Michael Williams and Hilary Ashford); the internal management of the PE department (Pete Gardener) the history of developments in the department (Pete Gardener and Hilary Ashford) and so on. These interviews were used, in the overall context and strategy of the research act, to locate this case of teacher-initiated innovation in context. Thus, in the process of theoretical sampling, there is a focusing out as well as a focusing in.

A third category of interview, of which Kevin Edmonds, (4); Steve Finney, (3), and Sue Ripley and Karen Lowe, (1) are exemplars, are in a sense, not interviews at all, but more closely resemble conversations (see Simons, 1981). These again are relatively looser in structure than either of the other two categories, and in fact demonstrate no clear cut directive role from either party. It is interesting to note that these interviews came towards the end of the field work process, and represent a growing confidence in my own ability to handle the interview situation, and are also indicative of my improving relationships with the teachers concerned.

One final data collection method which has not been discussed is the commissioning of a teaching diary from two teachers. These were originally conceived as a supplement to the interviews, and were intended to capture something of the continuity of the teacher's day to day experiences between interviews. However, there were several problems with these diaries. One was that the teachers often found they didn't have the time or energy to use them. When the diaries were used, the writing was usually of such a personal and private nature that it was edited out by the teachers before extracts were made available to me. The data that was produced by this method and has been used in the study⁴⁵ is interesting in itself, but has not worked out as I had hoped. Perhaps this is more evidence of the teachers' professional culture as 'oral' and not 'written'.

Summary

The research act has been described in this Chapter as a dynamic process attempting to realise the aspirations outlined in Chapter one. Thus, the methods employed, within the strategy of a case study, and guided by a grounded theory approach to collection and analysis of data, is conceived as being an appropriate research design for the achievement of these aspirations. Case study provides a strategy for a focus on the concrete world of teachers which attempts to accommodate, through the location of the case in context, the

⁴⁵ See example in Chapter 7, page 331

complexity of 'real-life' situations. A grounded theory approach to data collection and analysis allows theory to be generated from within the teacher's world, a world the researcher becomes highly sensitised to through the field work process. The methods of interview, observation and document analysis provides data which can be presented in a narrative form. Thus, the entire research act is aimed at the production of a report which balances description with interpretative insight in a way which captures the dynamic and fluid nature of concrete situations and so is capable of informing professional judgement.

The last chapter in this section discusses some of the issues which arise from this methodology which have not been discussed fully here.

Chapter 3

Some Methodological Issues

The preceding chapters have outlined the theoretical and methodological orientation of this study, and in so doing have implied or suggested a number of problematic issues. Some of these issues, such as 'access to the setting', 'field relations', 'researcher role', and so on have intentionally been discussed in chapter two because these issues are an intrinsic part of the field work process and the research act. This chapter is presented as a supplement to the preceding chapters in that it attempts to raise and discuss a number of methodological issues which have as yet only been implied, or have been mentioned in passing, in the course of discussion.

There are many issues which could be raised in this context, enough in fact to fill a complete volume.¹ The choice of problems which appear in this chapter has been guided by their direct relevance to supporting the theoretical position of this study, or due to the need to provide further explanation of the methodological approach. Thus, no attempt is made at a comprehensive coverage of all of the problematics inherent in doing descriptive/interpretative research in curriculum.

The issues which are addressed here are focused in three topics of considerable importance. The first is the issue of

¹ See Hammersley, (ed), (1983) for a recent example

'validity in descriptive/interpretative research', which has been of significance to this study in three respects - 'ecological validity'; the 'validity of teachers' accounts'; and 'construct validity'. The second is the issue of 'the presentation of reports' and the notion of 'audience'. And the third topic involves the related issue of 'generalisation' in descriptive/interpretative research, with particular reference to case study. Little attempt is made to contrast these issues with methodological problems as they have appeared in the 'psycho-statistical tradition', such as 'internal' and 'external validity', 'reliability', and so on.² Although comparison to other approaches to these problems is in some instances unavoidable, an attempt is being made here to develop a 'positive' rather than a 'critical' or 'negative' rationale for the theoretical and methodological orientation of this study.³

1 Validity in Descriptive/Interpretative Research

(i) Ecological validity

One of the most common criticisms aimed at research in the 'positivist tradition', where experiment and more often survey are utilized to investigate social phenomena, is that these research strategies are unsuited to such a task; the

² See eg Guba (1978)

³ See Kenny and Grotelueschen's (1984) comments in Chapter 2, page 47

social world, it is argued, is impermeable to investigation by the methods these strategies involve. Either, the model of man this tradition assumes bears scant resemblance to 'real people' and how they act in 'real life', or else the findings such investigations produce are trivial and of little use. (Cohen and Manion, 1980, 22-23). However, this problem of drawing inferences from research done under experimental conditions or from survey interviews, and applying these inferences to everyday life, is not solely the property of the positivists. Hammersley refers to this issue as the problem of 'ecological validity', and remarks that

" ... while going to do research in places where people routinely live their lives is certainly a very important research strategy - and one which, other things being equal, increases ecological validity - it does not solve the problem. If people behave differently in different contexts, one cannot automatically generalise from one's observation of people's behaviour in one context to what they will do in others, even within the same natural setting." (1983, 7; emphasis is original)

This issue, as it relates to the study at Forest, raises the question of the appropriateness of an interview-based case study, as outlined in chapter two, to the achievement of the aspirations for this research outlined in chapter one. In other words, how far does what teachers say in interviews, or do when under observation, reflect the 'reality' of their world?

An adequate answer of this question demands an investigation of the nature and status of the research act. What is required through this investigation is an explanation of what exactly the researcher is trying to achieve through interviewing, observation, and document analysis. In other words, what is the status of the data that can be derived from such methods?

Schutz (1962, 36) suggests that the researcher adopts a 'disinterested attitude' in relation to the unfolding action in the concrete setting under study. Thus, he does not share the actor's 'purpose at hand' within this context.⁴ The problem this realisation presents is how the researcher can 'leap' across the gap that is created by this difference in 'purpose at hand' in order to understand the meanings of actions for the actors involved in this action. To put this another way, how is 'Verstehen', and empathetic understanding of the actor's meanings, possible? Schutz' solution to this problem is to evoke three postulates which guide the researcher in this task, the crucial one being, in this context, the 'postulate of subjective interpretation'.⁵ This postulate demands that the researcher attempt to understand the motives which guide the actor's actions. The researcher is asked to appreciate, then, that the actor's experience of the world is 'subjective', that is to say, the 'world of daily life' is a shared world, but it is

⁴ See discussion in Chapter 2, page 76

⁵ See Schutz (1962, 43)

" ... given to our experience and interpretation. All interpretation of this world is based upon a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experience and those handed down to us by our parents and teachers."
(Schutz, 1962, 208)

Thus, an individual actor's subjective experience of the world is something which is uniquely his own, due to his physical position in time and space,⁶ his biography, and his perspective. How is it possible, then, for a researcher or anyone else for that matter, to come to know and understand the actor's subjective experience, the 'meanings of actions of the actors'? Is this what the researcher is attempting to do in interviewing and observing a teacher?

I would argue that this is not what has been attempted in the present study. To believe otherwise would be to follow a path fraught with difficulties. For instance, one way in which a researcher could attempt to come to know a teacher's subjective experience would be literally to 'get inside' that individual. However, we know that physically, this is impossible: I cannot occupy space which is occupied by another, and still remain 'myself'. Another tactic the researcher might employ in this task is to use a 'truth drug' to induce the teacher to reveal his 'innermost thoughts'. However, even if this were possible, and sidestepping the moral problems such a course of action would introduce the researcher has no means of verifying the truth of a testament given in this drug induced state. For instance, some of the

⁶ See Schutz (1962, 222-226)

meaning inherent in such a testimony may elude him, due to his ignorance of that individual's biographical experience. And even if he could do the physically impossible and somehow occupy another person's time and space now, he is still barred temporally from knowledge of that individual's accumulated experiences.

This discussion calls into question the legitimacy, in fact, of the use of a pure participant-observation role,⁷ whereby the researcher may attempt to become a member of the group under study. As Schutz has pointed out, interaction at any level is only possible through the idealisation of the 'recipriocity of perspectives'. In other words, I

" ... take it for granted - and assume my fellow man does the same - that the differences in perspectives originating in our unique biographical situations are irrelevant for the purposes at hand of either of us and that he and I, that 'We' assume that both of us have selected and interpreted the actually or potentially common objects and their features in an identical manner or at least in an 'empirically identical' manner."
(1962, 11-12)

Thus, membership of any social group still leaves the interactant with the task of subjective interpretation of the world. A commonality of perspective, from the unique position in time and space that each interactant occupies is assumed, so that social action is possible. It makes no sense, then, according to this line of argument, for a

⁷ As in eg Patrick (1973)

researcher to claim to be investigating the actor's subjective experience of the 'world of daily life'. However, the researcher can still claim that access to this 'experience' is possible but in so doing is engaged in quite a different kind of task from that of seeing the world from the 'subjective viewpoint' of the actor.

I would argue that the way in which such access is to be gained to the teacher's world is through conversation, and in particular, through a systematic version of this, the interview. It should be noted that the act of speech has a social origin. Thus, as we have seen in Chapter one, Schutz describes language as the 'typifying medium', the 'vernacular of everyday life'. The significance of this point is that any attempt by an actor to recount his subjective experience of the world is achieved in an 'intersubjective' act. That is to say, the act of speech, and thus of communication, is governed by socially condoned principles in terms of what sounds and words, sentences and phrases are to apply to what objects and concepts, through the rules governing conversation, inquisition, and human interaction in general. The point is, then, that whilst it is recognised that the teacher's subjective experience of the world is of central significance and importance to the researcher's understanding of the concrete world being researched, the researcher has access only to an intersubjective realm of meaning. The world of interaction and communication is an intersubjective world because 'we live in it as men amongst other men, bound to them through common influence and work,

understanding others and being understood by them'.
(Schutz, 1962, 10).

It is within this social world that the teacher interacts with pupils, other teachers, and the researcher. Thus, the essential reflexivity of the researcher's role, as a member of the social world he studies, is confirmed. What marks him off in the research setting as 'different' from those he studies is the fact that the teacher's world is, for the teacher, the 'theatre of his activities' whilst for the researcher it is the 'object of his contemplation'.

In relation to the issue of 'ecological validity', for the researcher to claim to be collecting data on the individual teacher's subjective experience of the world is untenable. However, I have argued that this has not been the research task in this study. Rather, the interview is a means of eliciting from teachers an account of their subjective experience of the world. Essentially, then, the interview is a medium of communication and so belongs to the intersubjective world of daily life, and the researcher act is thus a part of this world.

An important consequence of this position is that it is now reasonable for the researcher to question the validity of a teacher's account. This is because the research act is performed within the intersubjective world where interactants commonly check on such matters as truth and falsehood, and the adequacy of each other's accounts, and draw lines of

cause and effect, in the natural attitude of everyday life. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). Thus the next section examines how the validation of teachers' accounts has been approached in the present study.

(ii) The validation of teachers' accounts

Teachers' accounts form the major proportion of the recorded data in this study, and so the question of how much confidence can be placed in the veracity of these accounts looms large. The question, as it is put by Dean and Whyte (1958), is 'how do you know if the informant is telling the truth?' (in McCall and Simmons, 1969). A number of 'checks' have been used in this study in the validation of teacher's accounts.

The first matter which must be clarified, though, before these checks are outlined, is the notion of 'truth' itself. In commonsense terms, in the natural attitude of everyday life, it is a perfectly reasonable course of action to question 'the 'truth' of a statement. However, in the context of this study, the notion of truth cannot be treated, as it is in commonsense terms⁸, at face value. This is because, as Dean and Whyte (1958) remark

"It assumes that there is invariably some basic underlying attitude or opinion that a person is firmly committed to, ie his real belief. And it implies that if we can just develop shrewd enough interviewing techniques, we can make him 'spill the beans' and reveal what this

⁸ The point here is that in the natural attitude of everyday life, we are prepared to let things pass for the sake of achieving the purpose at hand (see Handel, 1982, 43-45)

basic attitude really is." (in McCall and Simmons, 1969,105)

This statement suggests that the notion of truth should be treated as problematic in relation to teachers' accounts. Ford (1975, 82-93) has proposed a four-fold classification of 'truth' which helps illuminate the nature of this problem. She suggests that TRUTH₁ represents a form of ontological belief, where truth is 'contingent upon nothing at all', as in the statement, for example, 'God lives'. The recourse to evidence to prove or disprove such a statement would, of course, be nonsensical as this belief is based, not in the empirical world, but in faith. All other versions of truth are, according to Ford, 'contingent on something or other'. TRUTH₂ represents sincerity; it is fairly common usage to refer to intentional statements, like 'My love is true', as being 'true statements'. TRUTH₃ refers to logical adequacy, as in mathematical equations or philosophical analysis whereby a conclusion is necessarily true on the strength of the logic of an argument. Finally, TRUTH₄ represents empirically observable phenomena. However, although this version of truth exists in the empirical world, it cannot be treated as something totally 'factual' and so free from potential bias and distortion on the part of the perceiver.⁹ At least, the collection of 'pure' data in the context of the social world is not possible; as Rescher remarks, the search for 'absolute certain, indefensible, crystalline truths, totally beyond the possibility of invalidation ... represents

⁹ See Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 112); and Brownhill (1983, 11-22)

one of the great quixotic quests of modern philosophy.'
(in Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 17).

Thus, in collecting teachers' perspectives on their professional world through interviewing, the aim is not to uncover the truth; rather, the aim is to disclose meaning. As such, the issue of validation in this study is more to do with a concern for legitimacy, accuracy, and adequacy of a particular account in relation to a specific context, than revealing what is 'really' the case.

There are then five checks which have been used in this study to judge the adequacy, and in this sense, veracity of teachers' accounts.

(a) Consistency

One check used in the study was to judge the consistency of accounts, comparing statement with statement and statement with action. This operated systematically in interviews by posing the same questions to teachers in slightly different forms. An extract from the case record illustrates this point.

DK : "You've talked about your philosophy ... why have you chosen to call your perspective on teaching a philosophy, and what is this philosophy?"

KE : Well the philosophy is that each kid has a right to be seen as an individual human being and has a right to a physical education relevant to him."

Later in the same interview, this issue was raised again.

'DK: So what you're saying is that the philosophy you hold is an all-or-nothing thing?

KE: To come back and put it in a nutshell, the philosophy is all about the needs of the individual, and trying to keep those needs in mind as much as possible.¹⁰

The use of focused interviews with some teachers helped in this process, because as ideas were extracted from an interview to be discussed in a later interview, the ensuing discussion caused these ideas to be elaborated. For instance, topics like 'success', which appear in early interviews with Kevin Edmonds, Sue Ripley and Karen Lowe, are picked up and discussed in later interviews. These topics were introduced by the researcher saying, for example - 'You mentioned in the previous interview that the department has been reasonably successful; what do you mean by 'success', what counts as successful teaching?'.¹¹

Another approach was to ask teachers to clarify particular issues - 'I'd like to get clear on this point ... '¹²; and 'So what are you saying about the theory course, then, are you saying .. (PAUSE) ..?'¹³

Thus, by posing questions and topics in different forms, by focusing on issues, and by seeking clarification, it was

¹⁰ See KE, 2/1 and 8

¹¹ See all interviews with KE, KL and SR

¹² KE, 2/6

¹³ SF, 2/6

possible to check, to some extent, the consistency of accounts. Generally, the former approach was only applied when the researcher had reason to suspect inconsistency; focusing and seeking clarification were used regularly in the effort of 'coming to understand'.

Another way of checking the consistency of accounts is suggested by the ethnomethodologists' doctrine that 'all accounts are reflexive' (Handel, 1982). That is to say, all accounts have two components - one is content or information, and the second reflects in this content the teacher's perspective and underlying beliefs, values, and assumptions. Hammersley and Atkinson, in support of this notion, suggest that we should consider, in reading teachers' accounts, 'what the informant's statement reveals about his or her feelings or perceptions' (1983, 112). An example from the case record illustrates this point. In the course of the study, I collected several teachers' accounts of the CSE in physical education course which had run in the department from 1976-1980.¹⁴ Although these accounts generally agree in terms of what was taught, and to whom, they also evince a high degree of diversity in relation to the success or failure of the course. Two of the teachers, Hilary Ashford and Pete Gardener saw the course as highly successful; if there were any real problems, they were logistic in nature, eg timetabling. Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds on the other hand, saw the CSE as a complete failure, and inadequate not

¹⁴ See Chapter 5, pages 201-215

only logistically, but also ideologically - that is, it did not provide them with the opportunity to teach in the way they wished. However, the disparate nature of these teachers' accounts of the CSE are not a confounding factor in the research; in other words, there is no true account in this respect. Rather, the disparate nature of the accounts is revealing of these teachers' perspectives and their beliefs, values, and aspirations in teaching physical education.

And so, consistency can be checked through this reflexive feature of accounts, particularly in relation to action.

"Whatever the content of an account, whatever it seems to be about, the effect of accounts is to provide a definition upon which action can be based. Accounts establish what people in a situation will believe, accept as sound, accept as proper - that is, they establish what is accountable." (Handel, 1982, 36)

In effect, accounts underwrite action, and provide a rationale for action, thus, what teachers say can be checked in what they do - that is, how they set up courses, what they teach, how they relate to students, how they define success in this enterprise, and so on. If actions are found to be in direct conflict with an account, then this would suggest that the account, or the action, or both together, must be treated as problematic.

However, inconsistency between accounts and action again are not necessarily treated as confounding factors. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 197). For instance, inconsistency between

individual teachers' accounts and actions at Forest was revealing of teachers' understanding of, and relationships to, the innovative idea.¹⁵ Thus, checking the consistency of accounts not only serves as a means of validating what teachers say, but also is revealing of phenomena which are themselves treated as data.

(b) Congruence

The researcher can also check for bias and distortion in teachers' accounts by attempting to judge the congruence or 'fit' of the account with what he already knows about the research setting and about the teacher concerned. This is where 'being in the situation', and developing good field relationships with teachers is invaluable. Through this, the researcher is sensitised to the setting, and so is well placed to judge an account in relation to the whole situation in its complexity. In this sense, congruence of accounts is checked intuitively. So, the researcher will ask 'Is this account in character for so-and-so?' or 'How does this new piece of information fit in with what I already know?'

(c) Context

Closely related to congruence of accounts is the notion of 'context'. The ethnomethodologists have a second doctrine

¹⁵ See Chapters 5 and 6, and especially KW, interview 2; and SF, interviews 2 and 3

which states that 'all accounts are indexical'. Handel suggests that

"Each account is a part of the setting in which it occurs and which it helps organise. Reciprocally, each account is organised, in part, by the setting in which it occurs. The setting ... is itself made up entirely of accounts. The abstraction of one account from the rest eliminates information that contributes to the meaning of the abstracted account."
(1982, 40)

Thus, in checking the validity of accounts, what teachers say must be considered in context, in relation to the concrete situation in which it occurs. To abstract an account from this context is to render it meaningless and incomprehensible.¹⁶ Thus, Hammersley and Atkinson make the point that

"The more effectively we can understand the account and its context - who produced it, for whom, and why - the better able we are to anticipate the ways in which it may suffer from biases of one kind and another as sources of information."
(1983, 107)

The strategy of designing the research act as a case study, and so focusing enquiry around a singular phenomenon - in this case, a teacher initiative to innovate - is ideally suited to capitalise on this notion of context or 'indexicality', as a means of checking accounts. By focusing 'in depth', the researcher gathers much contextual information about the case. Methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1970) was used in this respect, to gather as much relevant data on the case as

¹⁶ See the point made in Chapter 2, page 54. Context is a defining feature of case study.

possible. I made the point in passing in the previous chapter, section four, that triangulation was used in only a 'weak' sense to check accounts. This is for the reason that data collected through interview, observation and expressed in documents, is different in kind. For example, the way in which teachers write 'aims and objectives' often differs from the way in which these are expressed in speech and in action. (Shavelson and Stern, 1981, 477-482). This matter, and its relationship to the study, is discussed fully in chapter five, pages 180-185. However, where the use of multiple data collection is useful is due to this very feature. That is, only data of a certain kind is available through observation; likewise through interviewing and in documents. Thus, collection of data from a variety of sources helps the researcher achieve a deeper understanding of the complexities in the concrete situation. He is then in a much better position to judge the quality of data.

Another dimension of this notion of context is suggested by Dean and Whyte (1958) (in McCall and Simmons, 1969). They argue that the researcher must take into consideration the immediate factors which make up the environment in which the interview is conducted; factors like 'a baby crying', 'a telephone ringing', or wider factors like how the teacher's day has gone, or factors in their personal lives, will tend to shape teachers' responses. This latter category, of the wider factors in people's lives which might influence response in interviews, are particularly difficult factors to consider. Obviously, certain matters are in any case only the private

and personal business of the individual teacher. However, interviews were often begun with casual comments like 'Have you had a busy morning?' or 'Did anything interesting come out of yesterday's staff meeting?' Thus in the lead up to beginning the interview, the researcher was able to judge, to some extent, through informal conversation, the teacher's state of mind, whether comfortable, relaxed or anxious and agitated, and so on.

The environment, that is, the actual context in which interviews were conducted, was susceptible to control to a higher degree. For example, all interviews were conducted in private, and a variety of locations were used - offices, classrooms, teachers' homes, store cupboards, and so on - and were for the most part free from interruption. It should be said, however, that it is not always possible to control the environment completely. For instance, one interview with Karen Lowe was conducted after school had finished for the day. The room we were in was little used, and was next door to a cleaner's store cupboard. The interview had been under way for about ten minutes when a cleaner arrived and, quite unaware that we were in the next room, proceeded to deliver an elaborate version of 'My Way'. We carried on with the interview to the accompaniment of this musical rendition which waxed and waned in volume as the cleaner worked her way up and down the corridor and through surrounding rooms. The end result of this was a tape recording of an attempt at serious conversation with the background accompaniment of a female Frank Sinatra, and frequently punctuated with muffled hoots and sniggers as we tried, and failed to

concentrate on the topic under discussion.

(d) Confirmability

A fourth means of checking accounts was through the application of the notion of confirmability. Again, methodological triangulation was used here in a weak sense to check one data source against another. More frequently however, individual teacher's accounts were checked against other teachers' accounts in judging the accuracy of certain information. For instance this check was widely applied in constructing the historical accounts of developments in the school and in the PE department at Forest, as they feature in chapters four and five.¹⁷ Where relevant data has been available, it has been used to confirm individual accounts of particular incidents, events and situations.

(e) Ulterior motives

A final means of checking accounts was to judge teachers' accounts, where suspect or doubtful, in the light of possible ulterior motives. (Dean and Whyte (1958), in McCall and Simmons, 1969, 107). Again, access to this information was gained by 'being in the situation', getting to know the teachers, and being highly sensitised to the situation. Although I was never conscious of any deliberate or intentional attempts to deceive me on the part of any teacher who took

¹⁷ See also Dean and Whyte, p111 in McCall and Simmons (1969)

part in the study, I was aware on occasions that some statements by some teachers should be given less credence than others, simply by knowing the teacher and being 'cued in' to other information concerning particular topics being discussed.¹⁸

Checking the validity of accounts could not be a precise process in this study, due to the fact that much of the data is not susceptible to such treatment. Handel (1982), following Max Black, suggests that this is due to the use of 'loose concepts' in everyday conversation and communication. That is, many concepts do not have precise meanings, most obvious in descriptive terms like 'short', 'bald', 'rich', 'intelligent', 'cheap', and so on, until these are applied to specific cases. Another way of putting this is that, unless language is examined in context, it is rendered incoherent or meaningless.¹⁹ The point is, then, that language in the teachers' world has a characteristic 'looseness' which demands that this language be considered 'in situ'.²⁰ Only then can the researcher begin to check, in the ways outlined above, the adequacy of a particular account in a particular situation, and become aware of and so take into consideration

¹⁸ Sometimes statements were inadequate because teachers lacked full knowledge of a particular situation - see chapter 6, section 4, and the notion of 'partial knowledge'

¹⁹ eg Handel's discussion of 'how tall is short?' (1982, 29-32)

²⁰ This is especially notable in the shared ideals of the case study teachers, see chapter 6, pages 288-292.

possible bias and distortion due to a particular teacher's 'point of view'.

One problem this explanation suggests, however, is that there may be some difficulty in applying an analysis based on accounts which are so situation specific to wider contexts. In other words, how are people outside the research setting to understand, or make sense of, the concrete situation as it is experienced by the teachers at Forest School? This issue has already been addressed in part in the previous sub-section; communication, it was argued, is an intersubjective act. This suggests a communality and touchstone of similarity for professionals in educational contexts. However, the question remains as to how this intersubjective act of communication of experience from one context to another is achieved. This issue is discussed further in the section on 'generalisation', on pages 135-142.

The final dimension of the issue of validity in descriptive/interpretative research is 'construct validity', a dimension that also involves a concern for this problem.

(iii) Construct validity

The notion of construct validity refers to the 'validity of the lines of inference running between data and concept' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 1984). This notion is seen here as central to the problem of judging the adequacy of the researcher's interpretation of the concrete situation at

Forest. This issue is of particular importance in a study which acknowledges the researcher's reflexive role in the research act and celebrates the reactivity of the researcher's presence in the research setting.

In practical terms, the issue simply stated is 'how can a reader check on the adequacy, and in this sense validity, of the researcher's interpretation of the situation, particularly for distortion and bias?'

Two approaches to tackling the issue of 'construct validity', thus stated, have been utilised in the present study. One approach has already been described in chapter two, which followed the implications of Schutz's 'postulate of adequacy' and reported back to the teachers. What was being sought here was 'respondant validation' of the researcher's interpretation. This particular strategy has been used by other researchers. For instance, Glaser remarks

"The man in the know spots these criteria (indicating validity) immediately when the theory he hears rings true and relevant. 'That's the way it is', 'That's right', are comments we often hear upon presenting a grounded, substantive theory to the knowledgeable."
(1978, 13)

The value of respondent validation lies in the fact that the participant in the situation may have access to information which has not been available to the researcher, and so can correct or elaborate on the researcher's understanding.

However, as Hammersley and Atkinson remark 'while actors are well-placed informants on their own actions, they are no

more than that' (1983, 196). As such teachers cannot provide an infallible judgement on the adequacy of the researcher's interpretation.²¹ For instance as Ball discovered at Beachside, the teachers' concerns in reading a report were not the same as his own.²²

"... many of the staff had apparently read my chapter solely in terms of what it had to say about them or their subject. There was little or no discussion of the general issues I was trying to raise or the overall arguments of the chapter ... I had taken as my task as ethnographer the description and analysis of large scale trends which extended as I saw them across the whole school, an overview. The staff responded from their particular view of the school, from the vantage point of the position they held."

(Ball, in Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 197)

Ball's experience echoes my own in some respects. I have included in the case record a conversation recorded whilst discussing the reports made to two of the teachers, Sue Ripley and Karen Lowe,²³ which reveals three important points of departure between my perspective as researcher, and these teachers' conceptions of their own situations. The first relates to the point Ball makes; the researcher is attempting to see the wider context of the case under study, a point acknowledged by the teachers themselves.²⁴ In this respect, the researcher had access to a greater number of points of view on the innovation than any one individual had in the

²¹ This ties in again with the notion of partial knowledge; see note 18

²² See chapter 2 and the section on 'researcher role'.

²³ See the conversation with SR and KL in the case record

²⁴ See SR, interview 2

course of everyday professional life. A second point of departure is that teachers' perspectives are, by and large, 'context-bound'. This however is not uncommon to teachers, for as Schutz (1962, 222) has cogently argued, this is an important feature of the 'natural attitude' in everyday life. Thus, teachers' interests are focused on satisfactory achievement of their immediate 'purpose at hand'. A third point of departure, which is a feature of the conversation reproduced in the case record, is that the teachers found some of the constructs, developed by the researcher unfamiliar and foreign. Although these ideas are based on the teachers' own 'first order constructs' embodied in their language, these are often understood by teachers at a taken-for-granted level. As such, they are not immediately recognisable to teachers when made explicit. The theoretical constructs of 'teaching is achieving' and 'teaching is interacting' are examples of this.²⁵ This perhaps accounts for the teachers' initial puzzlement when faced with these ideas. This situation also lends support to my conviction, expressed in chapter two, that a report of the research is only of marginal interest to the teachers involved in the research because such reports are 'after the event' and so mainly of 'curiosity value'.

Overall, the use of respondent validation was a useful exercise in as much as it forced the researcher to explain himself to teachers, and in so doing begin to shape his theoretical constructs to fit the empirical world. The

²⁵ See chapter 7, section 1

conflict between the researcher's struggles to understand the teachers' world, and the teachers' own native understanding, is treated again not as a confounding phenomenon, but reflexively as a source of data.

A second approach to checking on bias and distortion in the researcher's interpretation was to construct and reproduce an edited and anotated version of the data as the 'case record'; this idea is borrowed from Stenhouse (1978).

Stenhouse's major preoccupation through a number of papers centres around the notions of verification of the researcher's interpretation and interlinked with this, the cumulation of research data. Stenhouse stressed that verification (or validation) in descriptive/interpretative research depends on the accessibility of the researcher's evidence to a critical audience. Drawing on history, he claimed that verification depends on

" ..a communal critical discussion of evidence which is accessible on the same terms to all scholars, that is, the achievement of a critical inter-subjectivity."
(1978, 22)

However, Stenhouse argues that a tradition of 'critical intersubjectivity' in descriptive/interpretative research does not as yet exist;²⁶ recent research has paid too little attention to the problem of cumulation of data that such a tradition requires. He saw this work as being 'too individualistic and show(ing) too little sense of responsibility to

²⁶ See especially Stenhouse (1979, a)

lay the foundations of a sound tradition of public scholarship.' (1978, 33). In response to this situation, Stenhouse turned to history as a source of guidance on how the interrelated matters of verification and cumulation may be possible. He claimed that

" ... given the accessibility criterion essential to history, I am contending that field study should be seen as concerned with the creation of sources and not in the first instance, at least, with the creation of portrayals. There should be an intermediate stage between field work and reporting in readable form to a general professional audience. The yield of field work at this intermediate level I shall call 'case records'. The researcher should make his case records available both as grounding for his own reportage and as resources for communal use of educational researchers" (1978, 32-33)

Stenhouse considered, then, that the case record, as an edited version of the primary record or data, could be used to 'expose to criticism the political and academic bias of the research worker as well as his personal bias.'

It is within this conception that the case record has been reproduced here. It is provided primarily as a means of construct validation; thus, the data 'collected at Forest is made public as a basis for the reader's critical appraisal of the researcher's interpretation. A further point needs to be added, though, to Stenhouse's conception of a 'case record'.

Analogies can only illustrate a point so far, and eventually Stenhouse's analogy between educational field work and history begins to break down. Stenhouse considered the 'primary record'

produced through the field work process and comprising the entire amount of data collected to be akin to the historian's primary record of sources.²⁷ As such, Stenhouse saw the researcher in education as 'oral historian' and so 'a collector of specimens for later examination' (1978, 35). However, where this analogy breaks down is in the realisation that the 'oral historian' must create his sources, the historian need not. It is not possible, then, to view the case record as simply a collection of the actors' observations, in the same way as the historian deals with the 'historical actors'' observations. The difference lies in the fact of reactivity, that the contemporary actor's observations are made in response to requests from the researcher, whereas the 'historical actors'' are not; the historian plays no part in securing the testimonies which form his primary sources.

Thus, Stenhouse's conception of the case record is modified in this respect, for use in this study; it is reconceptualised as a record and diary of the development and progress of the research act. The case record is not, then, as Stenhouse would have it, a collection of specimens for retrospective analysis, but instead is an account of the progress of the research act in action. The case record is appended to the main report of this study and is an annotated but edited version of the total data collected. Editing was necessary to render the record of practical utility to the reader - as

²⁷ His terminology derives, in the first instance, from Hexter (1971)

such, samples and examples of evidence which underpins the researcher's theoretical constructs are reproduced in an Appendix, and have been footnoted extensively throughout the report in chapters four to seven. The case record does not contain all of the data but hopefully enough to allow the reader to assess the adequacy of the researcher's interpretation. Following Stenhouse, the case record is, therefore, intended to provide 'an acceptable, though by no means perfect, basis for verification'. (1979, a, 9).²⁸

2 The Presentation of Reports

The validity issue implies the reporting of accounts of the research. This section deals with the production and presentation of reports, and in particular, the notion of 'audience' and its influence on reporting.

(i) Audiences of reports

The researcher, as author of a research report, is faced with a multiplicity of potential readers or audiences.²⁹ This readership will dictate, to some extent, the form and content of a research report. It is, then, an important recognition of the reflexivity of the research act that the

²⁸ The shortcomings of the case record for this purpose are discussed in the final chapter.

²⁹ See Schatzman and Strauss (1973, 128-131); Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 227-229)

researcher be aware of the major audiences of any piece of research.

A case was argued in chapter one for research which produces reports capable of contributing to the professional development of practitioners, in this instance mainly teachers. As a consequence, there are three particular audiences within the educational community who are projected as being the major target population for this research; the participants in the study; other teachers; and a research audience, embracing teacher educators, curriculum developers, and curriculum researchers. However, it seems to me immediately apparent that a single report, in terms of style, content, and general presentation, is unlikely to cater for all three audiences. As Hammersley and Atkinson remark

"We can never tailor our ethnographies to match the interests of all our potential audiences simultaneously. No single text can accomplish all things for all readers."
(1983, 228)

These audiences, although they share a common touch-stone of interest in relation to the professional development of teachers, and the general progress, refinement, and excellence of educational provision through curriculum, will be potentially disparate in terms of their respective interests in a report of the research.

The first audience, the teachers involved as participants in this study, have already been discussed in this respect in section one of this chapter, and in chapter two, section two.

These teachers received personalised reports, detailing features of their own teaching, and attempting to tie in these features to the broader sweep of the study. So, this information has tended to be presented in a situation-specific form, with little or no supporting contextual information - the teachers in the situation are already aware of their context in ways infinitely more subtle than the researcher. This reporting had the style and content of a 'vignette', which constituted a partial sketch and analysis of the teacher's situation and perspectives (Stenhouse, 1982; 269). These reports were necessarily short, and made up of discrete sections; the teachers had little time and energy to read full-blown accounts of the progress of the research. A full report of the research, as it is presented here, is of little use in any case to these teachers in relation to their own professional development, because the report is '*ex post facto*', after the event. As such, it may illuminate matters which, as they happened in the '*vivid present*', were not immediately clear or comprehensible. However, I would argue that the real significance of the research for these teachers lies, not in the reporting; the '*pay-off*' comes mainly through the effects of taking part in the interviews, and so being asked to reflect on their own practices. Thus, the reporting of this research from these teachers' point of view represents little more than an interesting documentation and interpretation of their work.³⁰ This does not deny,

³⁰ Although methodologically the reports played an important role as a form of '*respondent validation*'; see section 1 in this chapter.

however, that the report could form the basis for future developments in the department; this, of course, is yet to happen at the time of writing.

The version of the data that is reported in chapters four to seven attempts to combine two other styles of presentation, 'narrative' and 'analysis'. Through this counterpoint in presentation, the researcher aims to reach both audiences that remain, other teacher, and a research community. It was argued in chapter two that the case study permits data to be collected and presented in a way that affords the reader of a report a 'surrogate' experience of the concrete events, situations, and experiences being reported. This effect is obtained mainly through the use of the narrative form. Its strength lies in its direct, storytelling format which, like the novel, attempts to take the reader into the situation being described. Also, as Tenhouse remarks

"The subtlety of narrative lies in its capacity to convey ambiguity concerning cause and effect. In telling a story, the author does not need to ascribe clearly causes and effects. Rather, he may select from the record an array of information which invites the reader to speculate about causes and effects by providing him with a basis for alternative interpretations."
(1982, 268) 31

The narrative attempts to capture and convey the fluid and dynamic nature of the teacher's world, it attempts to portray, not a mirror likeness of that world, but a 'telling likeness'. (Hamilton 1981a). The important point about this form of presentation is that the real benefit is only obtained in the reading. The reader cannot obtain a 'telling likeness'

31 The point about ambiguity ties in with the notion of 'relatability' in generalisation - see page 143

by flicking through to the summary section. The issues this point raises will be discussed shortly.

Analysis is used here to counterpoint the narrative form. It is used to 'debate a point explicitly, wherever possible reviewing evidence' (Stenhouse, 1982, 269). The processes of conceptual and logical elaboration in the generation of theory allows concepts and ideas to be presented in a powerful, abstract form. The power here lies in the explanatory scope of a concept; Smith and Keith's (1971) notion of 'formal doctrine', which is widely utilised in the analysis presented in chapter five, has precisely this power. It can be used to explain related or similar processes outwith the specific context from which it has been generated.³²

The report presented in chapters four to seven attempts to combine both these styles in an effort to render a full and detailed account of the concrete situation at Forest. It is not being suggested here, however, that this actual report could satisfy the requirements and interests of both audiences, of teachers and researcher. In relation to the teacher audience, or the student-teacher, I envisage reports which are predominantly narrative, although less lengthy than that presented here. It is recognised that teachers, through pressures on their time, and the influence of a non-literary professional culture,³³ are unlikely to consume large quantities

³² This argument is elaborated in the next section on 'generalisation'

³³ See chapter 2, section 4; and chapter 5, section 4.

of reading materials. Smaller studies could be constructed from the case record for specific teacher audiences in particular circumstances - eg, in-service workshops, one-day conferences, and so on. For example, a Head of Department may be interested to learn something about the sorts of teacher interaction that has taken place under similar conditions or in similar circumstances to his own, before overseeing or initiating a series of developments. Teachers involved in such initiatives may learn something from the case study teachers' attempts to present a public face for their developments, and the sorts of problems they experienced in gaining recognition for their efforts.³⁴ The data can, therefore, be reworked according to specific purposes and its presentational form is likely to be predominately narrative, providing enough contextual information to allow readers to make judgements; and is in addition likely to be less abstract, and involving less analysis than the version presented here. As Glaser has commented of grounded theory

"Conceptual density can be very rich, but the dosage is typically controlled with particular audiences in mind"
(1978, 120)

Thus, for a teacher audience, the same ideas are presented but in a less abstract form, because concepts take on, in the process of reporting, a specific form depending on the context of the report.

³⁴ See chapter 7, section 2(iii)

A research audience, on the other hand, requires a relatively higher level of analysis, and less narrative in reporting. The presentation of a report in this context need not be geared, in the first instance, to particular concrete settings, but can be elaborated and developed in detail. For a research audience, then, reporting must meet the requirement of being a reasonable and logical interpretation of the data,³⁵ and must also be useful in terms of cumulating knowledge upon which to base subsequent research. As such, reporting is likely to be highly abstract at points; that is, 'conceptual density' is likely to be in a 'higher dosage' than for the teacher. Reports are less likely to be useful for the development of future research if it is embedded in the specifics of the everyday world. In this way, abstractions are more useful in terms of conceptualising events for future study. It is also envisaged that the data reproduced in the case record could be reformulated by a researcher, especially a teacher-educator, and presented for the purposes of teacher education and professional development. Through these means, the researcher aims to achieve the aspiration in reporting of collecting and providing data which can be used and applied in the context of the professional development of teachers and other educational practitioners.

³⁵ See Schutz (1962) and the 'postulate of logical consistency'

(ii) A note on the style of presentation in this study

The previous sub-section outlines generally the style of reporting used in this study, in terms of a combination of narrative and analysis. An important feature of this form of reporting is the extensive use of the footnote. The footnote is used here, following Stenhouse (1978) and Glaser (1978) as a way of supporting interpretations presented in the text, and so as a way in to the case record and the data. This process is supplemented, in the use of the constant comparative method of analysis, by footnoting published sources which support or elaborate an idea presented in the text. The footnote thus serves three major functions in the presentation of this study; it provides a means of checking construct validity by taking the reader into the case record; it provides a means of theory elaboration; and it is, therefore, a stylistic convenience which prevents the constant breaking up of the narrative form. The reader can gain a general impression and overall 'feel' for what is being said in the text initially without constant recourse to supporting evidence. For some readers, this may be as far as they wish to go. Others can, if they wish, follow through the line of thinking which lead to the development of an idea in the case record, or in the literature.

3 Generalisation in Descriptive/Interpretative Research

Generalisation is an issue implicit in the discussion of reporting to audiences, and in the context of research which has used case study as a strategy has often been treated as problematic. Nisbet and Watt, for instance, suggest that case study has a number of weaknesses. The results are not easily generalisable, except by an intuitive judgement that 'this case' is similar to 'that case', (1980, 8). The reason why this might be seen as a weakness is because case study as a design strategy forces the researcher to concentrate his energies on a singular phenomenon; however, according to what Hamilton (1981b, 227-224) has described as the 'received view' of the research enterprise, the major aim of research is to generalise finding to a broad population. The problem with case study, then, is to explain how the study of a singular phenomenon by itself can be useful for such an aim. In this context, Walker has commented

"Our view is that educational research operates within a paradox. It aims for understandings which have been generalised from specific and localised information, and offers high levels of predictive reliability. Yet it also aims to inform practitioners who operate in the context of problems and decisions which are essentially idiosyncratic and unique. The problem they face is not how to generalise from, but how to infer from the general to the specific. In this context, most research offers the practitioner trends and patterns, but little help with his particular case." (1974, 21)

Walker's comments echo a persistent theme in the work of many researchers in the descriptive/interpretative division

of educational research, that certain assumptions which underlie the research task do not produce research which fits practitioners' needs. This theme is evident in the work of Stenhouse (1978) and Bassey (1981). Both writers point to two different conceptualisations of the notion of generalisation. Bassey, for instance, suggests that the educational research community's expectations of research are that it will yield generalisations which are useful in developing educational and pedagogic practice. He suggests further that there may be problems of incompatibility between these two expectations. In this respect he remarks that

"If the purpose of educational research is to produce generalisations which will coalesce into theory, it is clear that the only justification for a case study is that it is one more brick contributing to the construction of a large building." (1981, 85)

The construction of such an ediface would appear to be for the purposes of 'predictive generalisation' (Stenhouse, 1978, 22). Stenhouse has already been quoted in this respect, in chapter one, section four, where he makes the point that the results of research conducted for this purpose are actuarial, describing broad trends and patterns (1982, 262). The logic underlying such a purpose indicates the survey as the appropriate strategy for research which aims at generalisation in this sense, where samples of phenomena under investigation are selected at random and are required to be representative of their particular class or population (Stenhouse, 1979b).

Hamilton (1981b) joins this debate by arguing that the underlying assumptions which conceptualise generalisation in this way represents the 'received view' of the research enterprise; he characterises this view of generalisation as 'logical generalisation'. He proposes three assumptions that proponents of the received view make; one, that nature is uniform in time and space; two, that a closed population can be unambiguously defined; and three, that the defining attributes of a population are shared by all its members. Hamilton has suggested, in relation to his own case study research of an open-plan primary school,³⁶ that these three assumptions did not hold in this situation. He says

"In the open plan study, none of these conditions was upheld. First, I chose to reject a closed 'systems' approach since it would place arbitrary and pre-ordained limits on the empirical and theoretical categories that I could use. Second, I was prepared for certain phenomena to emerge as important during the career of the study. Finally, (and most important), I assumed that an appreciation of the historical and cultural location of a 'case' is pertinent to the development of a valid interpretative account." (1979, 22)

What Hamilton is suggesting in this commentary on his research is that the assumptions which underpin the view of the research enterprise, which conceptualise generalisation as 'logical', are not applicable in case study research in the descriptive/interpretative division. As such, he proposes that generalisation within this conception of the research enterprise should be seen as 'cognitive'. Thus, 'cognitive generalisation' is characterised as 'intuitive' and involving

³⁶ See Hamilton (1977)

'interpretation of context'.

This view of generalisation as 'cognitive' is evident in the work of the writers already mentioned above. Walker, for instance, suggests that the paradox he outlined can be overcome by a form of research, the case study, which provides insight into the 'individual instance' (1974, 21). This is to be achieved by the reader of such research, through the 'shock of recognition'; a teacher, for example, recognises the similarity of his own situation with that described in detail in the case study report. This is also the underlying notion in Stenhouse's idea of 'retrospective generalisation', where experience is mapped and organised as a learning medium through a retrospective effort (Stenhouse, 1978, 22). The aim here is not to predict events and so supercede individual judgement, but rather it is to strengthen that judgement. Bassey similarly suggests that 'if the purpose of educational research is to contribute in some way to the improvement of educational practice' (1981, 85), then case study researchers need to provide sufficient information to allow a reader, and particularly a teacher, to relate his own decision-making to the events which have been researched and described.³⁷

These writers, Walker, Stenhouse, and Bassey, suggest a conception of generalisation which is opposite to that of the

³⁷ See Powell (1982) for this conception of generalisation in practice

'received view', and operates within Hamilton's characterisation of 'cognitive' generalisation. Essentially, the process is one of comparing 'like with like'. Thus, this reactionary approach, which is underpinned by the notion of recognition, effectively transfers the responsibility for making judgements based on research reports to the people who may use this information in their own practice, which in addition marks a wholesale democratisation of the research enterprise.³⁸

This rationale would support the aspiration of reporting to teachers in a form which they can use in the development of their own practice. However, whether this conception of the communication of research can be correctly called 'generalisation' is debatable. I would argue that the process involved here is, rather, 'relatability'. The key feature in this process of relatability of research is the notion of recognition. Implicit in this idea, then, is the provision of sufficient contextual information to allow teachers to make informed judgements based on a research report.

There is a problem, however, with this conceptualisation of 'generalisation-as-recognition' in relation to a research audience. Recognising this, Hamilton (1981b) argues that both of these conceptions of the research enterprise, and so the dictomy of 'logical' and 'cognitive' generalisation, are deficient in themselves. 'Taken individually, neither of these propositions provides an exhaustive account of

³⁸ See MacDonald on page 224 in Hamilton et al (eds), (1977)

specific practice' (1981b, 236). Logical generalisation is cognitively bereft; cognitive generalisation is logically bereft. He suggests that an overarching concept of generalisation is required which conflates and supercedes this dictomy. Elaborating this point, he says

"To group sense data is to generate concepts through identification of logical relationships (eg school, not school); to group concepts is to generate theory; to generate theory is to render, by symbolic means (eg words) an account of phenomena that are (or may be) remote in time and space." (1981b, 235)

Elaborating Hamilton's argument further, I would suggest that through logical and conceptual elaboration of data and of concepts, theoretical constructs are generated which are abstract and as such have an explanatory and descriptive power which can be applied across a range of separate contexts. An example from this study may be the conceptualisation of the progress of the innovative idea at Forest as a process of increasing formalisation and objectification; this construct may have the power to describe and explain events in other concrete settings.³⁹

The problem this idea presents, though, as Hamilton suggests, is that abstractions are by definition 'de-contextualised', and so 'remote in time and space'. Thus, such constructs only become of practical utility when they take on a specific form

³⁹ This idea also finds support in Schutz's notion where increasing abstractions in terms of typification leads to wider application (see 1962, 25-26)

in a particular concrete situation; so, in relation to the construct 'formal doctrine',⁴⁰ this powerful analytic idea only becomes useful when applied to the concrete setting at Kensington or Forest.

Whether this conception of 'generalisation as conceptual abstraction' is the overarching conception Hamilton has in mind is perhaps questionable. For my part, I wish to retain the notion of 'generalisation as recognition' in relation to the audience of teachers. However, the appeal of the notion 'generalisation as conceptual elaboration' lies in its ability to inform, not teachers in particular, whose interests are 'context-bound', but researchers who require studies which they can use in a cumulative fashion to inform their own investigations in quite separate, and possibly even dissimilar, concrete settings. It should be noted that the aim of generalisation through conceptual abstraction is not prediction of events and occurrences in the teacher's world. This aspiration in any case has been argued as being unrealistic and misconceived given the conceptualisation of the nature of the teaching act in chapter one. The researcher's principal aspiration, then, is not to predict on the basis of his data, but to understand, describe, and explain. Any idea which helps in this process no matter its origin, is to be regarded as valuable and precious.

⁴⁰ See Smith and Keith (1971, 31)

Summary

This chapter has discussed a number of methodological issues which have arisen in the course of the research act and are treated here as problematic. Three versions of the notion of validity are highlighted as relevant to the construction of a coherent theoretical and methodological rationale - ecological validity indicates the fit between the researcher's aspirations and the research design; the issue of the validity of teachers' accounts is discussed in the light of the realisation that these accounts, although they reflect the teacher's subjective experience of the world, exist in the intersubjective world, and are thus subject to confirmation and refutation; and the notion of construct validity refers essentially to the congruence of the researcher's interpretations and his theoretical propositions within the data from which these have been generated. The second section highlights the problems involved in the presentation of reports of descriptive/interpretative research and identifies the notion of audience as a key issue in this respect. The final section discusses the issue of generalisation, and proposes two conceptions of this notion in the context of the present study - the idea that phenomena from one context can be related by practitioners to their own contexts; and that abstract concepts have the potency to inform practitioners' and researchers' judgement across quite disparate contexts and situations.

This and the previous two chapters have outlined the theoretical and methodological orientation of this study, and in so doing the researcher has sought to provide a rationale for 'researching the teachers' world'. The four chapters which comprise the next section represent the results of the practical application of this rationale to researching a particular instance of the teachers' world, which is a teacher initiative to innovate in the Physical Education Department at Forest School.

SECTION TWO : A Case Study of Teacher-Initiated Innovation

Chapter 4

Conditions and Context: The Background to an Innovation

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and describe the immediate structures within which this case of teacher-initiated innovation is located. The conditions and context which form the background to the innovation are to be found explicitly in the school and its mode of operation, the recent history of the school which has shaped its present situation, and the school's role in the local community. As we will see in later chapters, these structures act to restrain and contain action on the part of the school's members - teachers, administrators and students - by defining the limits and boundaries of legitimate action. However, through a number of features, like the physical space and facilities, and resources that are available, the formal rules and norms for behaviour, and the informal ethos arising out of the shared experiences of staff and students¹, these structures are the vehicle for members' expressions of beliefs, values, and aspirations and so function to channel energy and action.

In the first section of the chapter, the school and the local community are described in a formal manner. The second section describes the recent past of the school as it has progressed through a period of transition from a Girls'

¹ See Schutz (1962, 171) on the We-Relationship

Grammar School to a Comprehensive mixed-ability Upper School and Community College. The third section brings this account up to date by outlining and describing a number of structures in the current situation Forest School, and in so doing sets the scene for the description and analysis of teacher-initiated innovation in the proceeding three chapters.

1 The School and Community²

The School is at present time a mixed ability co-educational Upper School and Community College accommodating approximately 1300 students, with 300 in the sixth form. Forest School is located in a village settlement which has a population of about 3500 people; the village has recently developed as a 'dormitory' for several nearby towns and cities. The socio-economic grouping of some sixty per cent of the working population of the village occupies the 'skilled non-manual' class and above. Eighty per cent of the housing in the village is owner-occupied. The village has a large area of open countryside in close proximity, and the school serves a rural catchment area, drawing on twelve surrounding villages.'

Forest became a comprehensive school in 1967 as part of a general reorganisation of secondary education in the area.

² See Chapter 2, section 4(ii) on problems in acknowledging the sources of the evidence on which the following two sections are based

³ See two teachers' remarks on teaching in this environment KE,2/1; PB, 1/14

This reorganisation employed a two-tier system of high schools (10-14 age range) and upper schools (14-18 age range). Subsequently, a number of high schools and upper schools have also been designated 'community colleges', and at Forest this has meant an integration of youth work and adult education facilities within the school buildings. In addition adults and students attend both day and evening classes.

The next section outlines the events and developments in the early years of transition at Forest from Girls' Grammar School to Comprehensive, and the subsequent establishment of the comprehensive upper school and community college.

2 A Period of Transition: from Grammar School to Comprehensive

This section offers a brief descriptive account of the recent history of developments in the school, with the view to sensitising the reader to factors in the contemporary situation and to the analysis in the proceeding chapters. The developments are outlined chronologically and are organised under the contributions made by each successive Head in the school; they are summarised in figure 4.1, on page 148 .

(i) The transition: conflicting ideologies and the problem of discipline

The first part of this account describes some of the features of the extended period of transition the school underwent for some five or six years after the change-over from Grammar

Figure 4.1 Summary of Chronology of Events at Forest School, 1967-1984

YEAR	HEAD TEACHER/	EVENTS/DEVELOPMENTS
1967	Miss Southerby	Forest Grammar School for Girls becomes comprehensive, first intake of mixed sex/ability pupils. Begins period of transition. Clash of ideologies immediately evident.
1969	Fred Brent	Miss Southerby retires.
1970		New Head appointed, FB. Inherits school still in transition, clash of ideologies of grammar and comprehensive in evidence. Introduces new staff, and Pastoral system on House basis.
1973	Richard Miller	Fred Brent resigns. School designated a Community College.
1974		New Principal, RM arrives in January. Initiates radical action and restructuring to combat persistent discipline problems. Introduces new management structures and new Pastoral system on vertical basis. Curriculum expands generally; 'core curriculum'; 'CSE'.
1980	Michael Williams	RM resigns. School completes transition from grammar to comprehensive.
1982		New Principal, MW arrives in January 1982. Coincides with severe LEA cutbacks in expenditure. New period of transition as MW becomes established.
1984		Although curriculum development continues, staff mobility severely restricted; few job opportunities for teachers.

School to Comprehensive. The outstanding feature of this period is a conflict between the residual traditional ideology of the Grammar School and the incoming progressivism of comprehensivisation. This conflict will be evident as the account proceeds. One of the concrete manifestations of this clash of philosophies, as we will see, was the persistent problem of control and discipline.

Forest was established as a comprehensive school with its first mixed ability and co-educational intake in 1967, on the site and in the buildings formally occupied by the Girls' Grammar School.⁴ The former Headmistress of the Grammar School, Miss Southerby, and many of her staff remained after the change, and it was partly as a result of their general lack of experience of mixed ability and co-educational students, and partly due to the way in which year groups were structured according to ability, that created immediate problems in the new school.

"We brought in a remedial department, which was obviously needed, and established the kids in sets. We had, for instance, from the fourth year upwards, 4 'GCE' groups one and two; 4 'CSE' groups one and two; and 4 'R' which was the remedial band. So immediately the kids could see which category they were in, they could see they had been put together according to ability, and the problems then began to arise.

⁴ in Richard Miller 'Forest School, Past, Present and Future; confirmed in HA, 1

We had never had real discipline problems in a school like this before, and the problems we did have we could deal with through detention and occasionally bringing the parents in. But here we were setting up a system that seemed to be the one that everybody wanted at the time. It was the only way I think the people doing the timetable could see the school working."⁵

The way in which the system was designed initially reflected the traditional grammar school orientations of teachers towards students and the areas of teaching expertise of the staff. The curriculum was built around grammar school subjects, and there was little mixed-ability teaching. The teachers, it seems, had not been prepared for this new breed of pupil.

"We were aware that kids like this, in the 4R band, existed in Secondary Moderns all over the land, but we had led a sheltered existence and we had no experience of them until they were there in front of us. And it was a shock, it was a shock to everybody who taught them at that time."⁶

The initial shock was also felt in the local community:

"Having had the Girls' Grammar School, with pupils dressed

⁵ HA, 5

⁶ HA, 6

in immaculate school uniform and never allowed outside the school unless they were doing some good deed, and then suddenly seeing all these 'boys' as it were, and some quite rough kids as well, was too much of a shock for the village to accommodate."⁷

One of the consequences of this shock, for the school, was a loss of prestige in the village. Perhaps it was the combination of problems outlined above that caused the Headmistress to retire two years after comprehensivisation.

"She was due for retirement anyway, and she possibly would have gone sooner or later, because I think she found it quite a strain. The ethos of the school in the village did, of course, change completely with these 'loutish' lads getting out of lessons and going into the village to cause trouble. To the villagers it was a culture shock."⁸

A new Head teacher, Fred Brent, was appointed in 1969, and he brought with him some new ideas.

"He was going to be the 'whizz-kid' that the school needed. He tried to bring in lots and lots of new ideas, and a slightly more flexible approach with the kids. He did in fact appoint quite a few, I suppose, 'trendy', 'with-it' staff, the

⁷ PG, 1/5

⁸ HA, 6

sociologists of this world, he brought them in to stir the staff up a bit, than I'm sure of. And I suppose in many ways they did have a lot to offer, at least you could see a difference in approach, and for a lot of us it probably did some good."⁹

One of Brent's major contributions to the development of the comprehensivisation of the school was the introduction of a pastoral system constructed on a vertical, house basis.¹⁰

"Because we had existing houses, Fred Brent thought that we should build the pastoral system on the house system. Although each house did have a 'Head of House' at that time, the posts were held by no-one in particular, it wasn't a paid job, it involved mostly the organisation of festivals or inter-house sport. So the 'house' became something different, it became a unit of the school that was dealing with the kids pastorally. The mix was right through the school, you had a house on a vertical system, and Fred Brent stuck with that and appointed four new 'Heads of House' and four deputies."¹¹

The early seventies under Brent's leadership represents a time of expansion both in terms of facilities and curriculum.¹² However throughout this period, discipline appears to have remained a predominant problem in the school.

⁹ HA, 6; see also PG, 1/5

¹⁰ This was in accordance with LEA policy

¹¹ HA, 9

¹² in Worcester, (1982, chapter 3)

"Courses were developing and changing in the early seventies and I seem to remember this affecting us particularly with what they called the 'Newson band', the kids who had to stay on a year, the non-academic ones. We used to have them on a Friday afternoon, all of them together up in the Old Gym, and it was murder (laughing). We used to have to lock them in! They were just barmy, they really were, some of those kids, and with them all together, one was just a catalyst for the other."¹³

Although Brent's contribution to the school in terms of new ideas, and attempting to break the traditional mould, seems to have been substantial, he retired from his post after only three years.

"Fred Brent didn't stay long. Apparently, although we didn't hear this in the school, there was a lot of noise from out of school saying it wasn't tight enough, and there were parents complaining that their kids weren't getting the best deal, that academically we weren't doing what we ought to be doing, and strangely enough it was during that time that we had our worst ever exam results. They were really quite abysmal, and people blamed the system, blamed the intake, and this, that, and the other. But it wasn't those things. I think it was just a transitional period when folk just weren't pushing the kids, I suppose. It was a 'we must allow them to

¹³ PG, 1/9; see also HA, 25.

make their own progress' kind of thing."¹⁴

The outstanding feature of this transitional phase, which underwrites the problem the school encountered after the change-over, is the clash of ideologies - the traditional and in some places firmly entrenched grammar school philosophy, with a progressive and in many ways radical but experimental comprehensive ideology. Also, it is clear that little groundwork and preparation for the arrival of comprehensivisation had been done in the school itself. It was not until Richard Miller was appointed Principal of the now Forest Upper School and Community College, in January 1974, that there is evidence of a reconciliation of these points of view, and the establishment of a more consistent and coherent philosophy.

(ii) The establishment of comprehensivisation

One of the first problems Miller applied himself to was the task of bringing a higher degree of order and discipline to the school.

"He actually did cane fifteen boys all in one fell swoop, although he wasn't a 'caner'. I mean, he was a man with a great heart and he cared a lot about the kids, but things got to the stage where he thought something had to be done - 'We've got to let everybody know we mean business here, and then we'll start again'. It's funny, that was the turning

¹⁴ HA, 10; see also HA, 25; and PG, 1/6

point. There was a lot of ill feeling amongst the staff over that incident, 'we didn't think we were a caning school', and so on. Then there were those who thought he'd made a good job of it and more or less gave him a vote of confidence. Then the ideas began to come from him."¹⁵

Another pressing concern for Miller was to restore a more favourable image of the school in the local community.¹⁶ His character and personality seem to have played an important role in this early public relations work, which began initially in and around the school, but as time passed widened to include the LEA and other external agencies.¹⁷ His impact and influence on the school as it is today appears to have been substantial. One of the ways he moved towards solving the discipline problem on a long term basis was to integrate the 'difficult' students into other groups, and he made the point that students need not be doomed to the remedial section for the rest of their school lives.¹⁸ He also reorgansied the pastoral system on a horizontal basis.

"He wanted to do away with the house system and introduce a year system on the pastoral side. And so we had for a while a horizontal year system and a vertical house system running side by side, and really, that set the basis for the year system with the divisions we have today."¹⁹

¹⁵ HA, 11

¹⁶ Management Committee, minutes of meeting, June 1974

¹⁷ PG, 1/7; see HA, 25

¹⁸ HA, 11

¹⁹ HA, 11: HA, as Senior Mistress, is Head of the Pastoral System

Miller allowed the staff what appeared to be a high degree of autonomy.²⁰ This strategy was directly related to his understanding of his role as Principal and was reflected in his appointment of staff.

"He was in many ways a 'management man', he was very much a delegator, he 'sussed' out who he could delegate to, and he understood the complexities of man probably better than either of the two before him. In appointing, you could almost see him ticking over and thinking 'eventually that man will be a Division Head or that man will be a Head of Faculty'."²¹

Miller was as a result of his approach to leadership, mainly responsible for setting up the consultative machinery which exists at the present time. However, the way in which he operated within this framework was not always as straightforward as the label 'delegator' suggest. Pete Gardener, who as a Head of Faculty had a practical interest in this matter, recalls

"Most of the staff were carried by him as a charismatic figure-head, although some others were quite 'anti'. He was, and I think most good Heads are really, he was somewhat devious, and if someone's devious and it works to your benefit, then you more or less accept it. But if someone's devious and it works to the detriment of what you're doing He could be very forceful at times and he certainly did upset

²⁰ HA, 26: Confirmed in unrecorded conversations with staff.

²¹ HA, 25

some members of staff by saying exactly what he meant. You know, when the PR job was done and he'd got to most of them, then he sorted the rest out. He put things in order, or in the order he thought things should be in, and he certainly did upset some people on a personal basis, yes (laughing)."²²

The curriculum developed and expanded under Miller's leadership. Apart from a general expansion of subjects and what they could provide²³, two particular developments are significant. One of these was the introduction to the school of the CSE mode 3²⁴, which as we will see in the next chapter, ranks as an important event in the developmental process in the PE curriculum. Another influential development was the idea of a 'common core' in the curriculum.

"The whole idea of the common core of subjects was expanding at that time in the late seventies, and eventually practically every department in the school had a common core area, and still has really."²⁵

It was on the basis of an argument for a PE curriculum with a common core of 'physical life skills' which were unique to physical education that the department survived a cut in curricular time in 1979-1980.²⁶

²² PG, 1/7-8

²³ PG, 1/11

²⁴ PG, 1/11; confirmed in 'CSE development sub-committee', minutes, October 1975

²⁵ HA, 26

²⁶ See Chapter 5, section 3

During Miller's Principalship, Forest completed the transition from Grammar School to comprehensive, and then went on to develop the organisational structure, staff ethos, and educational provision suited to the combined function of a mixed-ability upper school, and a community college. These developments took place in a healthy financial climate, in the sixties to mid-seventies, a period which is notable for a general expansion of educational provision at all levels.

(iii) A second period of transition - a new Principal

Miller retired from his post at Forest in 1980. The significance of his Principalship in relation to the current situation is his legacy of an administrative structure and the influence of his personality. This influence in all areas of school life appears to have been pervasive, and this in itself has created another period of transition, as the new Principal, Michael Williams, began to orientate himself and make his mark in this environment after his arrival in January 1982. If we add to this situation the effects on schools in the early 1980s of economic recession,²⁷ it is not surprising to find evidence of turmoil and confusion at Forest in the first year or two of Williams' reign. Several teachers' accounts illustrate some of the features of this period and the difficulties facing the new Principal.

²⁷ See section 3 (iii)

"The arrival of a new Principal will have an effect. It's not for me to be able to pinpoint what's happening, I'm not in a position to be able to do that, but there seems to me to be a lot more turmoil in the place than there was before, there seems to be a lot more frustration. And it's not entirely due to the new Principal, it was happening anyway, even in the end of the days of Richard Miller, things were starting to break up."²⁸

The consultative and management machinery constructed by Richard Miller, was operated by him in his own way; 'he set up the consultative machinery but he only used it if he knew what the outcome was going to be'.²⁹ The problem for Michael Williams is essentially how to use someone else's tools for management. Problems, therefore, seem inevitable.

"Mike tried initially to carry on with the consultative machinery that was set up, not that it always worked, but that was the apparent way the place worked. He tried to use the machinery but found he still had to make decisions without consultation, so there was quite a lot of friction. Now we're back to a situation where quite a lot of decisions are not being made because we're into the consultation, and I think genuinely he doesn't know what decisions to make for the best at the moment, because of staff opinion and so on. So we're in a bit of a vacuum at the moment."³⁰

²⁸ PB 1/2: see also 1/1

²⁹ PG, 2/1; see also HA, 26

³⁰ PG, 2/1

Essentially, the differences and difficulties which have featured in this transitional phase seem to boil down to different personalities of Miller and Williams.

"You get someone like Mike who is into evaluation and management in a different sort of way from Richard, and aims and objectives and so on. I think he's had difficulties since he's been here, he's a different sort of person, completely and utterly. He's like the managing director of a company as opposed to Richard who was the foreman on the shop floor. Having said that, Mike is still a man of ideas, but they are different ideas, and he's having to contend with the fact that the staff are Richard's staff, who very much revelled in the autonomy they got from him."³¹

One of the problems that lack of financial resources creates, as we will see in the next section, is that Williams has no room for manoeuvre in appointing or promoting his own choice of staff into important positions in the school administration and amongst the teaching staff.³²

It is within this transitional period, marked by administrative change through the arrival of a new Principal, and by the effects of economic recession, that the developments in the PE department have taken place.

³¹ HA, 26

³² MW, 3

This brief account of the school's development from Grammar School to comprehensive suggest an environment in which change is a common feature. The rapid expansion of curriculum, student population and type, facilities, and administrative structures during this time indicates, perhaps, a forward looking institution aware of the need to 'keep up with the times'.

3 Structural Features of the Contemporary Situation

It was suggested in the introduction that there are a number of structural features in the contemporary situation at Forest which impinge on the developments in the PE department. They do this by restraining and containing action by the teachers, students, and administrators in the school. They also function, in some cases, as vehicles for the expression of action. Four features are identified here, as either structures unique to the school, or as structural factors which play an important role in the school's operations, which are considered significant in this case of teacher-initiated innovation.

(i) The management structure and the Principal's role

The management structure of the school is an important source of the rules and behavioural norms which define the limits of legitimate action by the school's members within the school. The constitution of this structure, the role of the Principal, his Administrators, other teachers within

the school, and the distribution of power and influence, all have important implications in practical terms for teacher-initiated innovation. There is, in this respect, a formal structure of management in the school.

"We have what's called an 'executive', for want of a better term, a term that's been passed on from my predecessor, which consists of the Vice-Principals and the Senior Staff, who each week meet formally; and we meet informally in the interim to discuss what's going on. We have a 'Co-ordinating Committee' which consists of that group, plus representatives of the pastoral and curricular staff, and also representatives from the open staff meetings; the open staff meeting in this place is quite important, that consists of meetings of any staff who wish to raise questions, make proposals, and it is quite an effective and positive organisation. These two bodies ('executive' and 'co-ordinating committee') relate to various other groups such as the meetings of the Faculty Heads, the meetings of the Departmental Heads, and various sub-committees, such as the one which is looking at the points in the school at the moment."³³

There is another, complementary, informal structure.

"Filtering through this hierarchical structure which is a sort of formal or 'extant' organisation, are numerous conversations which take place between me and the individual Heads of

³³ MW, 1

Department, between me and the individual members of staff in their various capacities as class teachers, or as people with ideas to contribute to the institution. And I suppose the crucial exchanges of view which contribute to the management of the school are conversations of that sort. The developments in the PE department probably illustrate this as well as any other situation that has arisen. When I arrived Phil Bayle came along and said he was interested in emphasising, in the PE department, health and fitness, and outlined their inclination to put competitive sport of a conventional nature in the context of a wider perspective. So I had numerous conversations with him, and by and large encouraged the PE department to go ahead with the reforms that they were anxious to put forward. That sort of conversation takes place here (in the Principal's Office) at some considerable length, and is typical of the sort of conversation that really, I suspect, determines the policy of the school and the work of the departments to a greater extent than what is discussed in the formal meetings which take place as part of the formal structure."³⁴

Michael Williams contrasts the functions of these two management structures to indicate their complementary nature.

"The formal structure operates to deal with those things which affect a large number of people; it deals with the co-ordinating

³⁴ MW, 1-2; see also PG, 2/2-3

and linking processes of the school. The heart of the operation is what goes on in individual departments, organised by small teams of people who are encouraged, hopefully, by the conversations they will have had on an individual basis with me and the Vice-Principals. The formal process tends to be part of the overall supervisory set up, and is essentially non-dynamic; the dynamic and developmental capacity of the school arises from these individual conversations between the professional who knows exactly what he is doing in his own area³⁵, and me and the Vice-Principals, who enter into this professional discussion and negotiation, and make a decision on how much support can be provided, through resources or making our own views known."³⁶

This statement reflects how Williams sees his role as Principal in the school, as negotiator, supporter, provider of guidance. As we will see in the next chapter, this role also involves the provision of a mandate for innovation in the PE department.³⁷

A high degree of autonomy is implied by the existence of this informal structure of management for individual teachers and departments. The question this issue raises is how development is controlled and co-ordinated in the school as a whole.

³⁵ see for confirmation PG, 2/6;SR, 2/8-9

³⁶ MW, 2

³⁷ see Chapter 5, section 3

"I don't think our formal decision-making structure would have any effect. I just wouldn't think of using that structure to deal with that sort of matter. Conflicts would be reconciled, and different initiatives co-ordinated through the individualised small group type of communications structure."³

And so, face-to-face consultation would be used to resolve difficulties which arose in the developmental process.³⁹

However, a question still remains concerning who has the final say over which developments are desirable and which are not. The power of veto lies, ultimately, with the Principal.

"I suppose at the end of the day it might come down to that, although things have never gone so far where I've said 'No, I'm not having that, it's a bad idea'. It's so happened that all of the developments that have come through, without exception, I have approved of, they've all gone in the direction I've wished to go in. Now whether that's a happy chance, that I just happen to have come to a place where everyone is thinking along the same lines, I'm not sure. Perhaps I twist conversations without knowing it. Perhaps people don't bother to come to me with ideas they think I'll reject."⁴⁰

To reiterate the main point of this section, the management structures are an important source of rules and norms which

³⁸ MW, 7

³⁹ see eg. PB, 2/10; KE, 4/7

⁴⁰ MW, 8

define the limits of legitimate action in the school. The existence of an informal management structure suggests itself as a condition conducive to, and receptive of, teacher-initiated innovation.

(ii) Philosophy and aims of the school

A second important structural component which is a source of the school's rules and norms and which underscores the operational aspects of both the formal and informal management structures in the schools informal doctrine, or ethos, of shared ideals. It is on the basis of these shared ideals that joint actions between colleagues is possible.

A formal expression of the Principal's 'Philosophy and Aims' appears in a document⁴¹ distributed to all of the staff.

These aims broadly refer to the need to develop

- a) the capacities and interests of individuals, and to focus sharply on the real life needs of individuals;
- b) a sense of social and moral responsibility, and in particular, to close the gap between school and society. The vehicle for doing this is the community college, (see sub-section iv);
- c) general educational abilities, in terms of acquiring important skills, knowledge and concepts.

These aims represent an attempt by Williams to make explicit

⁴¹ From 'Philosophy and Aims : A Personal View' MW

his own 'practical ideology' which guides his role in the school, and are intended to underwrite a three year plan for development. The aims are meant to be taken literally and applied to the concrete situation in the school.

The school possesses, then, an explicit prescription for action through the Principal's 'Philosophy and Aims' document. Although this is described as a 'personal view', it is obviously meant to have a practical and communal effect. However, assessing the extent of this effect is difficult. Clearly Williams is aware of the legacy of his predecessor in this respect.

"I think there has been a tradition of development in the school; it's a place with ideas, although that has been more obvious in some places than in others. Certainly, when I came some areas were labelled 'progressive' and some as 'stick-in-the-mud' or 'conservative'. But actually, from what I've seen since I came, there's been a fair amount of developmental work in different areas of the school."⁴²

This point is strengthened by Phil Bayle's observation of his colleagues under the leadership of the previous Principal, Richard Miller.

⁴² MW, 9: see 4-6 for details

"I think good people are attracted to good schools - but how do you get a good school in the first place? I suppose the Principal has a lot to do with it, there's got to be freedom of movement in the school. I think there was that to a great extent, and yet there was still the feeling that Richard Miller was in control."⁴³

The current situation presents a number of obstructions to the maintenance and development of an ethos of progress and shared aspirations amongst the staff. These obstructions will be discussed in a moment (section (iii)). However, from William's point of view, it appears that there is a shared vision amongst 'an important section of the staff'.

"I think there is a common ethos. How it spreads and how it develops though is very difficult to say. It might conceivably be the case that people have generally picked up what I want from what I say, and/or through the production of the 'Philosophy and Aims' document, although what sort of effect that had I don't know."⁴⁴

It would appear, on the basis of the evidence which is available in the case record, that there has been, and continues to be, an ethos of development and progress in the school generally.⁴⁵

⁴³ PB, 1/2

⁴⁴ MW, 8

⁴⁵ eg KE, 1/1: 3/8-9; PB, 1/2; SF, 3/6-7

The reader is left to judge the extent to which this structural component in the contemporary situation has influenced developments in the PE department. It can be pointed out here, though, that the work of the department, and so the innovative process, is administered on a day-to-day basis within the confines of a mandate supplied by the Head of Faculty Pete Gardener, but which ultimately derives from Michael Williams.⁴⁶ We might hypothesise, then, that there will be some correspondence between this structure and the developments in the PE department.

(iii) The current climate of financial restraint

A third structural factor which is important in relation to teacher-initiated innovation is the current climate of financial restraint and its concomitants. Up until the mid-nineteen-seventies developments at Forest took place in a healthy financial climate. Funds were made available for building, the provision of resources, and for staff promotion.⁴⁷ Within such a climate, there are obvious incentives for staff to spend extra intellectual, physical, and emotional energy in their work. However, the nineteen-eighties heralded the arrival of economic recession and educational cutbacks at LEA level which, coinciding with falling student rolls, has meant severe financial restraints on school spending. As a consequence of this, teachers find the prospects for promotion and employment severely reduced. One teacher's account

⁴⁶ See chapter 5, section 3

⁴⁷ eg see HA's rapid promotion; HA, 6-7

reflects an awareness of this situation.

"I've seen that there has been a high proportion of staff at Forest working hard towards a goal. I say this in the past tense because I think that's probably fallen away to some extent over the last two or three years. The effect of the cuts has been quite profound, and the effect of lack of mobility has been quite profound as well. Probably over a period of three or four years things have gone downhill, because people start backbiting, they started fighting between departments, and whereas the school used to be like one ship sailing in the one direction, it's tended to break up into bits now."⁴⁸

Within the context of restraint, and the erosion of teacher morale and solidarity Michael Williams has been concerned to provide the support and incentives available to him to encourage development and progress in teaching. He pinpoints a number of ways he can do this. The major incentive to teachers to work harder is the reward of promotion by gaining scale points, and a commensurate increase in salary and status. The problem is, though, that there have been no scale points available in the school since Williams' arrival.⁴⁹ This has meant that the staff has remained static.

"There are a lot of staff here who really deserve higher scale points than we've got to offer, and there are a lot of staff

⁴⁸ PB, 1/1; see also KL, 1/4-5

⁴⁹ MW, 3

here who really ought to be somewhere else. I can't offer them promotion internally and they should be looking elsewhere."⁵⁰

Many of the staff are, then, 'marking time' in this respect.⁵¹ There are, however, other incentives that Williams can offer.

"The other most obvious type of incentive is capitation and resources for departmental work. Capitation has remained fairly constant and like most Heads I would say that we don't have a lot of money available to us."⁵²

With such a paucity of pecunary reward available at Forest, Williams is left with one alternative, which is to emphasise the 'intrinsic' rewards available to teachers.⁵³

"One is left with encouraging people to go ahead and do what they want for their own personal and professional satisfaction, and this represents eighty to ninety per cent of the incentives available. I make the assumption that people will work hard and develop their areas of expertise in the curriculum because they wish to do it, for their own personal interest."⁵⁴

⁵⁰ MW, 11

⁵¹ see KE, 2/9-10

⁵² MW, 4

⁵³ see Lortie, (1975, 101); and Chapter 7, section 1(ii)

⁵⁴ MW, 4

Much of Williams' work through the informal management structure is designed to encourage teachers to go ahead with developments on this basis.

Although it is possible to assess the impact of economic and financial restraint in formal terms like promotion prospects, this does not provide precise information concerning the effects of such restraint on the quality of teaching. However the issues of 'reward' and 'recognition' for teachers' effort are discussed in relation to innovation in Chapter 7, as these provide us with an indication of extent to which this structural factor has been influential in this case of teacher-initiated innovation.

(iv) The Community College

A fourth structural influence on developments in the PE department at Forest is the institution's combined function of school and community college. Williams suggests, in his 'Philosophy and Aims' document, that the community college is an ideal vehicle for an extension of the school's functions into other spheres of life, like the home, the local community and into each student's adulthood.⁵⁵ Underlying this idea of extending the school's sphere of influence is the belief that the school should cater for the 'real life needs of the individual'. There is an imperative in this notion that

⁵⁵ He is evoking here the notion of 'life-long education'; see also KL, 2/11-12

calls on educators to look beyond the traditional limits and boundaries of the school's influence and responsibility. At Forest, this aspiration has yet to be realised to the extent suggested by Williams. However, his aspirations for future developments in the PE department are very much shaped by his conception of the community college.

"It comes down to my own personal beliefs (aspirations in education) and how these might be fulfilled through PE, starting with the assumption that one must focus on the 'real life needs' of the individual student. Obviously a lot of that post-school time is going to be spent by the students on their own, with opportunities for recreation, leisure, personal growth and development, and I think that one of the things the PE department can do is to open their eyes to, and give them experiences of, the enormous range of activities that they might engage in in the future. That's what education should be about in all aspects, and that's what it has singularly failed to do. I don't think people have looked beyond the classroom to where the kids are going to be in their future lives when they leave school. So I think our push in PE so far has been entirely desirable and has my fullest support. But I think there's still a lot of things we could be doing in the department for the minor sports, for example, and to enable students to lead more enriching and fulfilling lives in the future. The answer is as fundamental as that. That's what PE should be about and that's why a 'Recreational Studies Department' has to look beyond the

traditional PE syllabus."⁵⁶

Therefore, Michael Williams sees the future development of PE at Forest within the context of his aspirations for the community college. Thus, within this expansion of the school's community function, the department might become involved in enabling students in outlying rural areas to take the initiative and responsibility for their own leisure time, for example.⁵⁷

It is clear from Williams' statement above that he considers the developments in the PE department to be in accord with his concept of the function of the community college. How far he is justified in this judgement should become evident as the proceeding chapters unfold.

Summary

This chapter has outlined and described the historical and contemporary factors and structures which impinge on this case of teacher-initiated innovation. The location of the developments in the PE department at Forest school within this structural context is intended to sensitise the reader to the description and analysis in the proceeding chapters, and to supply sufficient information to the reader that make judgements of the researcher's interpretations possible. The

⁵⁶ MW, 13

⁵⁷ MW, 16-17

next chapter outlines the innovative idea at Forest and its development and progress through time.

CHAPTER 5 : The Progress of an Innovative Idea :
A Natural History

Chapter 5

The Progress of an Innovative Idea - A Natural History

This chapter sketches a time-line of curriculum development in the PE department at Forest School and within this temporal framework, presents the innovative idea and its antecedents in some detail. The location of the innovative idea in its historical context is vital to our understanding of this case of teacher-initiated innovation, for two reasons. First, the innovative idea did not materialise out of 'thin-air', it evolved over time.¹ Teacher-initiated innovation is, then, a developmental process², and in this case, has historical antecedents which stretch back at least ten years. To gain a clearer understanding of the context of the progress of the innovative idea, it is necessary to recount past developments. Second, as the innovative idea exists within a temporal framework, it also has developmental dimensions. In other words, the innovative idea develops over a period of time, and three ongoing processes can be identified in the course of this development; these are 'creation'; 'practice'; and 'dissemination'. It is in a sense artificial to separate these processes temporally, as they are interlinked and so overlap. However, they represent three changes of emphasis in the progress of the innovative idea which help our understanding of the situation.

¹ see eg PB, 1/12

² see Goodson, p138 in Hammersley, (ed), (1983)

Two analytic ideas are evoked to help explain the developments which occur in the innovative idea as it progresses through these processes. These are the inter-related notions of 'formalisation'³ and 'objectification'. As the innovative idea develops, is articulated, and begins to be disseminated, it increasingly becomes more 'systemized' and 'codified', and takes on an impersonal form. As the process of formalisation increases, the idea becomes objectified, taking on an existence separate from and outside of its creators.

The plan of this chapter is to present, first of all, the innovative idea in its highly formalised version as the 'formal doctrine' of the innovation.⁴ In a sense, this involves beginning the story at the end. This is necessary, however, as it is only towards the end of the process of development that the innovative idea is articulated in written form, during the process of dissemination. Up until this time, the idea had been communicated between colleagues almost entirely in verbal form. Thus, the formal doctrine presents the innovative idea in a highly formalised and objectified manner, and at a particular time during the progress of the idea. The exposition of the innovative idea in section one draws on a number of documents which constitute the formal doctrine.

³ see Smith and Keith (1971, 38)

⁴ see Smith and Keith (1971, 31)

A note of caution is necessary here; it is important that the reader does not infer, from what has been written so far, that the formal doctrine expresses a 'true' or 'consensus' view of the innovative idea. The issue of disparate conceptions of the innovative idea amongst the case study teachers is of central concern in section four of this chapter, and in the next chapter. At the same time, the notion of formal doctrine is important here; one function⁵ the formal doctrine serves is to present the public face of the innovation in a lucid, conscious, and coherent manner. As such, it is a vital element in the reader's understanding of the innovative idea.

The exposition in section one represents the end-point of the developmental progress. The plan of this chapter is then to recount developments in the PE curriculum at Forest between 1967 to 1976, a period which represents the 'pre-history' of the innovative idea, and so forms the substance of section two. Section three outlines the 'CSE phase' from 1976 to 1980, the innovative idea's history. Finally, section four returns to contemporary events and discusses the innovative idea itself, detailing the progress of the idea through the processes of creation, practice, and dissemination. In effect, we return in circular fashion to the innovative idea as it is expressed in the formal doctrine, and to a discussion of the progress of the idea as a process of increasing formalisation and objectification.

⁵ The formal doctrine performs a number of functions which will be outlined in Section four; see also Smith and Keith (1971, 46-50)

1 The Innovative Idea

(i) The innovative idea as formal doctrine

The substance of the innovative idea, of what the innovative idea is, can be found in a number of documents which have been produced mainly by Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds, two of the teachers in the PE department at Forest School. These documents comprise course syllabuses, magazine and journal articles, and in talks and lectures to professional bodies.⁶ This collection of documents which outline and give substance to the innovative idea can be usefully brought together under the notion of 'formal doctrine'. The originators of this notion, Smith and Keith, explain

"All groups and organisations, in the course of their development, build a point of view or perspective about themselves, their problems, their environment. These points of view vary in the degree to which they are visionary, conscious, codified. We have come to use the term 'formal doctrine' to represent the complex combination of a point of view that is visionary, that is highly conscious, and that is highly codified."
(1971, 21)

The documents produced by the teachers at Forest vary in the extent to which the points of view they express are 'conscious' and 'codified'. However, the formal doctrine, as an expression of the innovative idea, represents the public face of the developments in the concrete situation

⁶ It should be noted that although this section draws extensively on these documents, these sources cannot be acknowledged for reasons of confidentiality outlined in Chapter two, page 90

at Forest. In addition, it is a statement not of 'this is what we are doing', but rather 'this is what we are trying to do'.⁷ The function the formal doctrine performs in this context is to make a statement of what the teachers consider themselves accountable for. In other words, the formal doctrine is an idealistic representation of the innovative idea intended as a formal rationale which underwrites action, and so functions in public as a guide to action.⁸ The formal doctrine expresses the innovative idea in a forceful, imperative form; it has an ideological tone which is deliberately and overtly prescriptive. The exposition of the innovative idea presented in the next sub-section attempts to capture this prescriptive tone, and its formalised and objectified nature, by quoting extensively from the documents which comprise the formal doctrine.

(ii) The innovative idea - Health Related Fitness based Physical Education

The innovative idea, stated briefly, is that health related fitness⁹(HRF) forms the core of the physical education curriculum. 'The whole of the PE curriculum in secondary schools should be based around the teaching of health related fitness.'¹⁰

⁷ Smith and Keith (1971, 48-52)

⁸ Smith and Keith (1971, 46)

⁹ This term is used here for consistency's sake and to reduce possible confusion; as we will see, the teachers use various terms - see SF, 2/4-5

¹⁰ PB, 2/1-2; see also KE, 4/2

HRF is not just one other area of the curriculum that teachers can add or append to what they do. It should not be regarded as 'just another ingredient added to the mixing bowl of reasons we have claimed in the past for justifying teaching PE'.¹¹ The notions embodied in HRF mean more than this; they have implications for the theoretical basis for teaching physical education, for the approach to curriculum design, and for the way in which physical education is taught. A curriculum based on HRF is, according to the formal doctrine, a radical departure from the 'traditional model' of the PE curriculum which, it is claimed, was never consciously designed or planned. 'It was more a result of our own culture and tradition ..., it does not necessarily provide us with the best educational tools'.¹²

The innovative idea, as it is expressed in the formal doctrine, contains three underlying notions, each of which represents a reaction against the 'traditional model'. The first of these is that curriculum provision should be guided by student needs: 'a more logical, efficient, and relevant framework, than the traditional model, on which to work would be centred on the student in an attempt to fulfill his/her needs in society'. Activities should not be included in the curriculum just because they have traditionally been taught in schools. Instead, the curriculum should be

¹¹ PB, 2/1-2

¹² For a similar statement, see HRF Seminar, 1-3

shaped to suit students, not students to suit activities.¹³ The second notion is that teaching should have a 'futuristic perspective' - 'we should be doing our utmost to help students be best prepared for adult life'. Teachers should not only be concerned with the success of their teaching during the students' school years, but should give priority to preparing the ground for continuing participation in physical activities in the future. This is because 'the teaching of physical life skills is the fundamental responsibility of physical education'. The third notion is that, although physical education does have the potential to offer students 'aesthetic experience', and contribute to their 'moral', and 'social' development, these qualities can be better developed elsewhere in the school. What PE should concentrate on is 'beginning to offer the student that which is unique to physical education and base our programmes around this'. Thus, experiences which are uniquely provided by PE should be given priority in designing curricula.

In this respect, there are, according to the formal doctrine, two essential components of a curriculum which can prepare students to lead a full and healthy adult life.¹⁴ The first of these components is 'the means by which we learn to create and control our own body movements. This involves motor competence in the areas of co-ordination, agility, and balance'. Physical education, it is argued, is the only area of the

¹³ HRF Seminar, 3

¹⁴ A similar discussion can be found in PB, interview No 2

school curriculum which offers the experience of gross bodily movement, which is essentially physical activity. It is suggested that, in contrast to the conventional approach to PE, 'motor development can easily be achieved without involvement in organised sport'. This statement proposes a broadening of the forms of activity which are offered in the development of motor competence. The second component is concerned with 'ways of keeping physically fit. Exercise is vital to looking good, feeling good and protecting ourselves against modern diseases'. Thus, the achievement of life-time fitness and health is a major aspiration that the formal doctrine holds for students.

These two components in the PE curriculum have definite implications for curriculum design.

'In order to have a lasting effect on the state of health and fitness of our students we should develop cognitive as well as behavioural skills. Students should be in a position to solve their own fitness problems independantly'.¹⁵ The ideal is to produce an 'expert in fitness' who can take intelligent action to solve his or her own fitness problems. This aspiration requires a theoretical element in the curriculum, and an input of knowledge and information. Further aspirations reinforce the inclusion of this element.

'Students must know how to exercise safely and effectively, and be aware of the problems caused by lack of physical

¹⁵ See HRF Seminar, 1-3 for a similar point

activity, and also understand the effects sports and activities have on fitness. Students should recognise the problems in continuing their involvement in physical activity after leaving school'. The inclusion of a practical element is also important, both for the development of motor competence, and 'with the acquired knowledge, attitudes, and skills, we hope that all our students will wish to be involved in some form of physical activity'.

(iii) A HRF based physical education curriculum

The curriculum design represents an expression of the innovative idea in terms of how it may be manifest in the 'working world'. This does not imply that the curriculum design outlined here is the curricular practice at Forest School; rather, it is the ideal practical expression of the innovative idea according to the formal doctrine.

The theory element of the curriculum is not given continuous provision all year round, but fits into a cycle alternating with Careers Advice and Religious Education. Four units of ten lessons each are taught in the form of two lessons per week for five consecutive weeks, which amounts to forty lessons over the two years of fourth and fifth forms. The theory component 'aims to allow students to make intelligent decisions about their lifestyles'. As such, the input of information has a dynamic dimension which is the teaching of problem-solving skills, so that students are able to evaluate, diagnose, prescribe, and then act on their health and fitness problems. The theory element is outlined in

Figure 5.1 .

Figure 5.1 A Theory Element for a Health-Related Fitness Curriculum

4TH YEAR	<p>Unit 1 Physical Fitness - Exercise</p> <p>The importance of exercise and physical activity, cardiovascular fitness, strength, and muscular endurance, flexibility and body composition - their importance, their measurement and how to achieve and maintain them. How to exercise effectively and safely.</p> <p>Unit 2 Accidents, First Aid, Safety</p> <p>How to deal with motor vehicle, domestic, sports and everyday accidents, and their preventions.</p>
5TH YEAR	<p>Unit 3 Lifestyle Management 1</p> <p>Preventive medicine. Cardiovascular illness and fitness. Diet and nutrition, weight control. Stress management and relaxation. Smoking and drug abuse.</p> <p>Unit 4 Lifestyle Management 2</p> <p>Lifestyle problem solving - an appraisal of individual lifestyle patterns. Links with the community, sports clubs and leisure facilities.</p>
ON-GOING	<p>Individual Record Cards of height, weight, skinfold measurement and fitness evaluations.</p>

The practical element 'aims to give students the experience of different ways of exercising and offers a variety of activities and sports which they might wish to use as a means of improving and maintaining fitness, relaxing, and enjoying leisure'. The emphasis in teaching the practical element in

'learning how to exercise' and experiencing 'activities and sports for fitness and leisure'. The practical element is outlined in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 - A Practical Element for a Curriculum Based on HRF

ASPECTS	APPLICATION	PROVISION
How to exercise (Experiential learning)	Compulsory	Gymnasium based course
Activities for fitness and leisure	Optional	Jogging Aerobics Popmobility Swimming Dance Cycling etc
Sports for fitness and leisure	Optional	Individual and team sports: Badminton Soccer etc

The innovative idea, as it is expressed here in its idealistic version as the formal doctrine, is that HRF should form the basis or core of teaching the physical education curriculum. Thus, the highly formalised version of the innovation at Forest School which is presented in this section is the end point to date of the process of development. The next two sections recount the history of events in the PE department which have preceded the

contemporary situation, and so set this situation in its historical context.

2 Curriculum Development in the PE Department, 1967-1976 - Pre-history

(i) The legacy of the Grammar School

As we have seen in the previous chapter (four), Forest Girls' Grammar School became a comprehensive in 1967, as part of the LEA policy. At that time, two new teachers of PE were appointed, Simon Chambers as Head of Department on scale three, and Hilary Ashford as Head of Girls' PE on scale two.

Prior to comprehensivisation, physical education at Forest had played a traditional role in the Grammar School. As Hilary Ashford recalls

"Prior to my coming there were two PE women who were fully responsible for the whole PE setup, and there was a very strong tradition of good games playing in the school. They did do some dance and gymnastics, but games was what they were noted for around the county."¹⁶

The Headmistress from the Grammar School, Miss Southerby, had retained this fairly traditional view of physical education and its role in the school curriculum.

¹⁶ HA, 2

"The Headmistress considered PE to be a very important part of the school, because traditionally PE basically meant games, and if the teams did well then the school was doing well and what went on on the games field reflected in her view what went on elsewhere in and out of school."¹⁷

The PE staff were expected to continue in this traditional role.

"We used to have to report every Monday morning to the Headmistress to tell her how the kids had got on during the weekend games, and she wanted records kept, teams and goalscorers, all of this sort of thing, and it was all very tightly controlled."¹⁸

At the same time, it should be said that the Headmistress took an active role and interest in the fortunes of the school teams, a situation Hilary Ashford relates with a touch of irony in relation to circumstances since that time.

"The Headmistress was very supportive of us at that time, and of the boys. The amazing thing was, she had a serious leg injury, but she would turn up every Saturday morning at all the home fixtures, and she would see the rugby teams, and the soccer teams, and the hockey and netball. We've never

¹⁷ HA, 1

¹⁸ HA, 2

had that support since."¹⁹

The facilities which were available for PE at that time reflected the kind of curriculum that had been taught in the Grammar School.

"The facilities were very limited of course. We only had the Old Gym as an indoor area. The Hall and Foyer were there, which we were used for assemblies at that time and as a dining room. I used to do dance in the Hall, which was kept locked and very pristine. The playing fields were where the all-weather pitch is and the tennis courts are now; in fact, we had two very nice grass hockey pitches, very good standard hockey pitches with a cricket wicket in the middle, and a third field which was down where the athletics and the cinder area is now. Well kept up and well looked after in those days."²⁰

The limited facilities combined with poor timetable arrangements to make teaching physical education difficult.

"All the kids were timetabled for PE, but they came in quite unmanageable groups. We didn't know until the first lesson of every term how many kids were going to arrive, and at that time we had to fight to get other people to come

¹⁹ HA, 2

²⁰ HA, 3-4

in and help us."²¹

(ii) Changes in the wake of comprehensivisation

However, comprehensivisation of the school soon began to bring about changes, within the first few years after the changeover. One of the biggest factors was the change in the pupil intake. This new combination of mixed-ability, girls and boys rendered some of the traditional activities and practices obsolete.

"On the timetable at that time, and this was a tradition, the third year girls had dance, and we had a pianist in twice a week. I used to have to teach dance, whether I wanted to or not, and this went on for a couple of years until the system that was being built up couldn't accommodate it. As the groups became mixed, so there were boys in the group to consider, or the kids coming in had no dance background, it became not a very viable proposition."²²

In the light of this, the major impetus for curriculum development in the department was towards an integration of girls' and boys' PE. Some activities could be mixed easily, like hockey, but most of the activities were taught separately, as they had been traditionally in the Grammar

²¹ HA, 1; PG, 1/1 saw this as a problem

²² HA, 1-2

School²³. Only in the less conventional areas of dance and drama was real integration possible at that time.²⁴

However, the change in pupil intake required changes in curricular provision which were set in motion at that time, in the years just after comprehensivisation.

(iii) The arrival of Pete Gardener and his role as 'Head of Faculty'

Hilary Ashford, who in 1970 had become 'Head of Department' after Simon Chambers left, moved on to a Senior Pastoral position in 1972, although she retained a teaching role in the PE Department. A new 'Head of Faculty' was appointed, Pete Gardener, and at the same time Jane Corrie arrived as 'Head of Girls' PE'. Including Frank Burton, who had arrived in the department prior to Pete Gardener and Jane Corrie, the teaching staff now numbered four.

One of Gardener's first moves was to continue the early efforts towards integration by bringing the organisation of boys' and girls' PE together.

"There was no reason why the girls and boys should be separate. We moved gradually, after a year or two, to the position we are in now, where nearly everything is mixed. I couldn't see the point in having a boys' PE department and a girls' PE department and splitting the capitation up like

²³ HA, 1

²⁴ HA, 3

that. That would have been a complete waste."²⁵

His impression of Forest when he arrived was not as sympathetic as Hilary Ashford's.

"PE at that time was just 'give them a ball and let them get on with it', it wasn't structured at all. There were very large groups, poor facilities - we had just one small gym, a field down the other end of the school, no dri-pla, two tennis courts, and no swimming pool."²⁶

However, Gardener arrived at a time of expansion, and he was attracted to the school by what he saw as a potential for development.

"The thing that attracted me to the job was the facilities which were being built at that time, and obviously I had some control over what went in there, so there was a lot of potential for development."²⁷

"Within the first year I got an extra scale point for the swimming pool which had just been built at that time. The sports hall was finished in the January - I arrived in September - and the swimming pool was built the following summer. The swimming pool was my direct responsibility for

²⁵

PG, 1/15; see HA, 14 who corroborates

²⁶

PG, 1/1

²⁷

PG, 1/15

the first three or four years, when it was open air."²⁸

The changes that Gardener brought to the curriculum at Forest on his arrival were informed largely by his own view of the physical education teachers' task.

"My philosophy all along has been to try to give students something which they can hopefully enjoy, because my main objective in being a successful teacher, is to give students some enjoyment and success, and these two things are very closely related."²⁹

Gardener brought two major changes to the curriculum in the light of his view of what his job as a PE teacher is about, and his impressions of Forest on arrival. The first change involved 'blocking' activities.

"I tried to get things structured so that we had the kids in groups and they would be doing some activity in particular. So we worked in blocks."³⁰

The second change involved students being allowed some choice of activity.

"We gave them options, but within a framework. There isn't complete freedom, there are some things they must do. They're given a choice and hopefully they'll find some

²⁸ PG, 1/6

²⁹ PG, 1/15

³⁰ PG, 1/1

enjoyment and success in this way."³¹

In his addition to work organising the department and the curriculum, Gardener also began to develop his role in relation to the school administration. Hilary Ashford recalls

"Prior to Peter coming we went to Faculty meetings and sat there, and really there was nothing for PE to be there for, the impression was that we were the poor relations, and we would be found a place in the timetable if there was room. That's going back to the early days when eighty or ninety kids would turn up for two people to teach, because we were the last thing the Administration thought of. But with Pete, because he's got this organised mind, he began to sit down with the chap in charge of the timetable and say 'you can't do this, this is unfair, why should we have forty-four kids each week whilst that department has only thirty?', and he got things straightened out. For once they began to think about PE as well."³²

Gardener's relationship with the school administration as 'official negotiator' develops, as we will see, into an important role in relation to curriculum development in the PE department.³³

³¹ PG, 1/15

³² HA, 15

³³ see eg PG, 1/17. PG's role as Head of Faculty develops in other ways in relation to the innovation, as we will see later in this Chapter, and in Chapter six, section 1.

(iv) The inspection, 1975

The period between 1972 and 1976 saw only one further change in personnel in the PE department, which was the arrival of Kevin Edmonds in 1973 to replace Frank Burton. Otherwise the department enjoyed a comparative stability which, as we will see later, may have been a significant factor for later developments.

One event of particular importance did occur during this time.

"We had an inspection of PE, science and I think the school in general, around 1975. The outcome was that in PE, we were concentrating too much on traditional games and we weren't giving the kids a wide enough spectrum. Gymnastics we touched on, but nobody particularly liked it so we shunned it when we could. There was no dance in the school at all, and everything we did was competitive."³⁴

These criticisms appear to have been acknowledged as correct by the department at the time³⁵. And so, there were some changes in emphasis, in terms of curricular provision, as a result of the inspection.

"We all decided that perhaps we ought to do more on the gymnastics side, and everybody in turn took a gymnastics

³⁴ HA, 12

³⁵ see eg PG, 1/13

option."³⁶

Another change involved dance.

"We realised that we were quite games based, so we tried to move away from that a little and a bit more into the aesthetic side, if you like. So we appointed a woman who could teach dance."³⁷

Since then dance has retained a permanent place in the curriculum, and a separate course in CSE/'O' level dance was offered in subsequent years...³⁸

The appointment of Gail Robbins as a dance specialist in 1975 was the first full-time appointment to the department for three years, and this marks the beginning of a period of change in the curriculum which is described in the next section. The chronology of staff movements in the PE department at Forest is summarised in Figure 5.3, on page 198.

3 The CSE in PE - History

(i) The origins of the CSE - circumstances

A CSE course (mode 3) in Physical Education ran in the PE

³⁶ HA, 12

³⁷ PG, 1/13

³⁸ PG, 1/14; HA, 12

Figure 5.3

Chronology of Staff Movements - Forest School PE Department,
1967-1984

1967	Simon Chambers appointed 'Head of PE' Hilary Ashford appointed 'Head of Girls' PE'
1970	SC leaves. HA becomes 'Head of PE' Frank Burton appointed 'Head of Boys' PE'
1972	HA becomes 'Head of House' (Pastoral) - continues as teacher in PE. Pete Gardener appointed 'Head of Faculty' (August 1972) Jane Corrie appointed 'Head of Girls' PE' (August 1972)
1973	FB leaves. Kevin Edmonds appointed (Autumn 1973)
1975	Gail Robbins appointed (dance specialist)
1976	Phil Bayle appointed, part-time (PE, Geography, Music)
1977	GR leaves. Pauline Williams appointed (dance)
1978	PW leaves. PB contribution to PE increases Sue Ripley appointed part-time (August 1978)
1979	Clare Brown appointed (dance)
1980	PB leaves (for USA).
1981	PB returns (August 1981). PG on one year sabbatical. (August 1981 - August 1982). JC leaves. SR becomes 'Head of Girls' PE'.
1982	CB leaves. Karen Lowe appointed (dance)
1983	PB leaves (July 1983). Steve Finney appointed. Kate Watkins, temporary appointment (August 1983-August 1984) PG on temporary Vice Principalship - (August 1983 - August 1984). KE leaves (December 1983)

department at Forest over a total period of six years, from 1976 until 1982. The course began as an 'option' which was piloted in the first year with one small group of students. The CSE then became a compulsory subject for all fourth and fifth year students for three consecutive years. The last group began the course in 1980 when it was again an 'option'.³⁹

Figure 5.4 summarises this information -

Figure 5.4 The CSE PE at Forest School, 1976-1982

YEAR	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82
START	OPTION 1	COMP 1	COMP 2	COMP 3	OPTION 2	
FINISH		OPTION 1	COMP 1	COMP 2	COMP 3	OPTION 2

The impetus to run the CSE course had its source in a number of factors and circumstances which may have been influential at that time. As we have seen from the previous section, the department had begun to broaden its curricular provision in response to an Inspection, by teaching more gymnastics, and by appointing a specialist dance teacher. According to one account, the CSE began as an 'option' at this time in response to a request by the school Administration.

"When the system got going (ie. comprehensivisation), and we had to offer more things to more kids across a wide ability range, every department was asked 'what else can come from you

³⁹ Confirmed in an unrecorded conversation with PG, 28/3/84

which we can put in the options column?' So we offered the CSE. Jane Corrie was probably the main instigator of this, although she and Pete taught side by side with the first initial groups."⁴⁰

Then soon after this request

"The hierarchy were going through this trauma of thinking 'how important is PE to the school?', and we discussed it as a faculty and decided 'if we come up with a scheme whereby all the kids do CSE PE, then it's got to be important enough to give us the time on the timetable'."⁴¹

Gardener corroborates this account and enlarges on the point made about the threat to PE's place in the timetable.

"Every year there are various changes proposed and cuts made, and they nearly always come to PE first, or at least they used to. If someone wants more teaching time, the Administration say 'well where is the time going to come from?', and they look at the timetable, and because PE is not examined, it's not considered as important as some other subjects. Or at least if cuts have to be made, you don't hear too many parents complaining if the cuts are only in PE. Which I can appreciate - I don't accept but I can appreciate. At least, that's always

⁴⁰ HA, 16

⁴¹ HA, 16

been the basis in the past. Now what brought things to a head this particular year (1976) was the two deputies changed, and the Head, Richard Miller, was ill at the time, and a new Deputy was in charge. And it was suggested that PE should become optional as this would make things easier for everybody else because there would be more time available. Well we fought against this, in fact, and in the end did the opposite. All of the students had an extra period of PE and they all did CSE PE."⁴²

And so, by making PE an examinable and a certificate subject, the PE staff sought to safeguard PE's status on the timetable as a compulsory subject for all students. Pete Gardener and Jane Corrie went to the CSE meetings of the _____ group and used the ideas presented there to help construct a course. The outcome -

"All the kids for about three years did CSE PE, about five-hundred took the course, and then about three-hundred-and-fifty took the exam each year. So we were the biggest exam department in the school (laughing), we went from nothing right to the other extreme."⁴³

(ii) Doing the CSE

All members of the PE staff taught the CSE. Pete Gardener emphasises that although he and Jane Corrie went to the CSE meetings and came back with the ideas, everyone in the staff

⁴² PG, 1/17

⁴³ PG, 1/18

was involved with the development of the course.⁴⁴ For the first year, each teacher developed a theme or area of his/her own (eg 'health and fitness', 'history of sport', 'politics of sport'), and then taught this to all of the students; the student groups rotated to each teacher.

"Then suddenly we found that it wasn't working. What was happening was that we'd set kids work, because we'd then go to another group for four or five weeks, and we couldn't pick up the work we should have done."⁴⁵

They then decided that they each should take one group through the whole theory course, and teach the students all of the topics, "so obviously we had to start spreading our brain power a little".⁴⁶

However, even when faced with this extra work

"There were never any complaints from the rest of the staff about doing the work, which was great. At least there was never anyone who mentioned it or who was brave enough, I don't know which (laugh), to object to the amount of extra work. The only objections came along when we were actually going through the course, and the following year we'd work on that to change it."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ PG, 1/21

⁴⁵ HA, 18

⁴⁶ HA, 18

⁴⁷ PG, 1/22

As a result of the initial 'teething' problems with the course, the whole department got together in the summer term after the first year.

"We had a very big push one summer, where we booked up our time so that we couldn't be taken for exam cover, and we had people from the Health Education Council in to give us talks. We had a dietitian in, and the First Aid lady came in with a resuscitator, which was very informative. I think there were about three or four people came in to instruct us and to help widen our knowledge."⁴⁸

In addition to this

"We came in for a week or more that summer and sat down and worked together and decided what we were going to do, and we reappraised that whole course."⁴⁹

The staff also had the scope and freedom to develop the practical components of the CSE.

"The actual 'bones' of the CSE syllabus were there, and we amended the contents to suit ourselves. Although there were guidelines for the practical work, we made up our own rules test, which we amended and changed as we went along. The skills test we devised ourselves. The assessment of games

⁴⁸ PG, 1/21

⁴⁹ HA, 18

performance was the easiest thing to do, at least for the best kids and the worst kids. The most difficult group to assess were those in the middle."⁵⁰

As the PE course was now examinable, the assessment of student performance across the course presented a problem in other ways.

"There were problems, not so much with the assessment, as the actual recording. Initially we seemed to be recording the same things about four times, but this was primed down as we went along. I looked at other Faculties and departments in the school to see how they recorded things and in the end we came up with a record card, and everything went on that card."⁵¹

Doing the CSE appears to have had a beneficial impact on the curriculum and the PE department generally at the time, in a number of ways.

"At the time, they (the Administration) worked out capitation on a sort of contact time basis, and because with the CSE we were teaching more periods - and I always made a big case for lunchtime activities that went on, because that's also contact time - we got a reasonable amount of capitation out of it, which helped our resources."⁵²

⁵⁰ PG, 2/7

⁵¹ PG, 1/22; see also 2/8

⁵² PG, 1/25

The CSE had a specific impact on teaching.

"I think the CSE was particularly beneficial to our practical work, because we really had to go through what we taught practically and, not justify it as such, but we had to get to grips with what we were teaching. So rather than have a situation like 'we'll just play a game today', we had to put some thought into why we were playing that game, and some detail of what should be included in the lesson. There were lesson plans, and schemes of work for each activity that was offered, which was really good, especially for new teachers coming into the department."⁵³

Another account also indicates that the teaching of practical activities benefited from doing the CSE.

"I think the CSE gave the kids a goal to aim for which, from the department's point of view, certainly made us sit up and take notice. Most of us at that time had been teaching for seven or eight years, and so we would all teach 'off the cuff'. It was very much as the Inspectors saw it, there are our twenty-two kids, and as long as we have enough bands and sticks we can go off and play a game. I don't think there had been a lot of skills training going on; we were, until that time, a games department, occupying kids in leisure time pursuits."⁵⁴

⁵³ PG, 1/18

⁵⁴ HA, 18

Doing the CSE also brought about a significant change in how the teachers in the department saw the students. Because of the emphasis on games playing in the department before the CSE, the 'group' was seen as the teaching unit. However

"I think the CSE focused our attention on the individual kid. Now it must do, because each kid had to do five different practical subjects, and they had to do five different areas on the theory side, so each individual had to be looked at in great detail before we could produce a mark."⁵⁵

As we will see later in this chapter and in the next chapter, and as we have already seen in section one in the 'formal doctrine', this focus on the individual student as the teaching unit becomes an influential factor in the development of the PE curriculum at Forest.

Although the CSE had a beneficial effect on the curriculum and the teaching the department in several respects, it was not entirely without problems. It should be noted that there is some slight difference of opinion on this point. One account relates that

"We didn't have any real problems, practical problems, it was more the theoretical ones of what we maintain or retain, and where to go next."⁵⁶

⁵⁵ PG, 1/26; and 2/7

⁵⁶ PG, 1/25

However, although some of the problems may well have been theoretical originally, they seemed to have direct practical implications.⁵⁷

"The biggest problem was when we got to the end of the fifth year, we had to decide who should do the exam and who shouldn't. The kids could decide for themselves, but the problem was, 'what do we do with the ones who don't want to do the exam?'"⁵⁸

The direct consequence of this dilemma in practical terms was that one teacher extracted those students who dropped out of the exam, and formed a separate group which did extra practical work in place of the theory lesson.

Another problem also had practical consequences, although these were less easily resolved.

"Although we were teaching everybody (the students), none of us were mixed-ability classroom teachers. We could all produce work which was good for the top end down to the middle, but we had no idea of how to motivate the less able."⁵⁹

As a consequence of this problem, the teachers had to put more time and effort into designing materials which were appropriate to the entire ability range of the students. Again, we will see in the next chapter that this problem persists at the present time.

⁵⁷ KE makes this point explicitly, 2/6

⁵⁸ HA, 19

⁵⁹ HA, 18

Perhaps the most destructive problem for the CSE came from a lethal combination of three factors. One of these factors was timetabling, which had teachers moving from one end of the school to another for consecutive lessons. Another factor was room allocations; there was no set room which could be used as a base for CSE theory lessons.⁶⁰ However, perhaps the biggest problem was staffing.

"A major problem arose because we couldn't always be time-tabled for PE, and so there would be times when there were groups without a specialist PE teacher. So a lot of staff were roped in at that time to do the theory work; it was either that or have them do the practical. But we felt that because the practical had to be structured, and the kids had to be taught skills and tested, that a specialist teacher was required - only a gymnast should go in the gym for example. So we said that they had to fill in on the theory work, which created a lot of difficulties, because we had quite a lot of 'dead wood', people who didn't want to do it to start with. We were having to meet those people at different times and say 'this is the topic for the next five weeks, and this is what we've found out, but you might need to do a bit more research', but unless it was handed to them on a plate, they didn't want to know about it at all, and that was the worst period of time for the course."⁶¹

⁶⁰ see PB, 1/12; and KE, 4/9

⁶¹ HA, 19-20

The difficulties caused by the three factors mentioned above were all eventually resolved. However, as we will see at the end of the sub-section below, opinions contrast sharply concerning how far these difficulties contributed to the success, or failure, of the CSE.

(iii) The demise of the CSE - circumstances

One account locates the demise of the CSE in the context of wide institutional pressures.

"I should think that 1979/80 was the last year all of the students started the course, and it was at that time we had all the cutbacks in education, and we had to lose staff. So in order to accommodate the timetable, all the kids had to drop a subject in the fifth year, and PE was one of the first things that the Administration decided should be dropped. So it wasn't our decision, it was a decision made by the Administration."⁶²

A slightly different version of this situation is related by Pete Gardener. He agrees that the Administration decided to take some of the timetable time away from the CSE. The department were then given the choice of whether they wished to keep the CSE going, but with less time, or to discontinue the course altogether.⁶³

⁶² HA, 20; see also KL, 1/7

⁶³ unrecorded conversation with PG, 28/3/84

Perhaps both versions of the story amount to the same thing, because the teachers decided that they couldn't do the CSE in the reduced time they would have available, and so chose to abandon the course as compulsory for all students.⁶⁴ The CSE then went into the 'options' column on the timetable for one more year, and the PE department were left with three, instead of four periods per week, with all of the students.⁶⁵

This brings us up to 1980, and to the beginning of the present phase of curriculum development at Forest. The period of the innovation is outlined in the next section.

Opinions on the success of the CSE varied. It is clear that the CSE laid the ground for much of the development that was to follow; eg, in terms of facilities and timetable time; in terms of expertise and experience of subject matter amongst staff; in terms of the development of the teaching of practical activities, and the expansion of activities available to students; and in terms of a re-orientation of many of the teachers' view of the basic teaching unit from 'the group' to 'the individual'. However, the demise of the CSE symbolises a 'watershed' of opinion and emphasis in the PE department, which began before the CSE had ended. Some teachers claimed that the CSE had been extremely successful, and that the benefits it had provided far outweighed the problems.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ PG, 1/24: 2/2

⁶⁵ The students who opted for the CSE in 1980/81 also received three normal PE periods, a matter contested unsuccessfully by PG at that time - unrecorded conversation, 28/3/84

⁶⁶ see, eg HA, 18; and PG, 1/25

However, others saw the course in quite a different light.

"It seemed a logical progression to take on the CSE, I mean, everybody did it. But it was the wrong move. We made a mistake. The CSE syllabus did include quite a lot on health, but it also included a lot that it wasn't important for the kids to know. It was useful, but it wasn't essential. So it wasn't a core syllabus we made a right mess of it. It took us a while to get over that."⁶⁷

4 The Innovative Idea in Action - The Recent Past

(i) Creation

a) The case for survival - factors in the genesis of the innovative idea The decision to abandon the CSE was influenced by a number of factors. One of these, as we have seen in the previous section, was the decision by the School Administration to cut the timetable time available for the course. However, the teachers still had the choice of whether or not to carry on with the CSE, but in the reduced time available. They decided to abandon the course, and this choice was made against a back-drop created by two other factors.

⁶⁷ PB, 1/7 : and 1/12

The first of these was a division of opinion with regard to where the emphasis should be placed in the PE curriculum.⁶⁸ A clear split is evident between a group of teachers who considered that the practical work should take precedence, and a group who wished to retain an element of 'theory', in modified form, from the CSE.

"I'll be quite honest, if the 'theory' had gone off the timetable at that time it wouldn't have bothered me, and I don't think it would have bothered Sue either. And I'm not too sure that it would even have bothered Pete..... Although we thought there ought to be an element of theory in the curriculum, we couldn't fit it into the practical time. I'd say that only Kev at that time would have been quite happy to give up one practical session a week to do this. I felt very strongly about it, and so did Sue, and Jane before her. The kids come to PE wanting to do the practical work, and if you were to ask them the majority would want to do the practical, and if they had to give up something it would have been the theory."⁶⁹

However, it appears that even before the demise of the CSE, Kevin Edmonds and Phil Bayle had been developing certain aspects of the CSE theory work to the detriment of other areas, quite deliberately.

⁶⁸ eg SR, 1/6; PB, 1/13; KW, 1/7. The evidence suggests there is still a polarisation of 'theory' and 'practical'
eg PG, 2/3; SF, 2/1

⁶⁹ HA, 20: and 22

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escalation of conflict over this matter.⁷³

A second factor which influenced the decision to drop the CSE, but to retain a 'theory' element, was a concern to safeguard the timetable time left to the department from further threat. A way to do this was presented by the school Administration.

"There were ideas going round the school at that time; we were talking about 'lifeskills', the sorts of skills kids ought to leave school with, whether they be manipulative or whatever. At that time the school and the whole staff were involved, and there was a big drive on over 'what skills are you providing in your department which will be an asset to the kids when they leave?'. And so each Faculty produced something to that effect."⁷⁴

The case the PE department presented to safeguard their remaining timetable space was couched in these terms.

"We emphasised that there were skills the kids didn't get anywhere else in the curriculum, but that we felt were important 'lifeskills'. We got together and looked at the whole curriculum and what went on and what didn't, and we saw where the gaps were and decided to plug them."⁷⁵

⁷³ HA, 22

⁷⁴ HA, 22

⁷⁵ PG, 1/20

It was decided that a theoretical element, focusing on the 'health related' aspects of physical education, should be retained in the curriculum post-CSE. The next step involved some political manoeuvring; the task for Gardener was to negotiate the department into a strong position on this basis.

"The Administration couldn't argue with the health education we were doing, and there was no-one strong enough to come up and say 'this isn't worthwhile'. Plus the fact that we'd all been along to two parents' evenings, I'd seen some Governors, and so politically we did it right, so that we were in a strong enough position."⁷⁶

The department, as we noted in the previous section, retained three of the four periods per week they had formally held for CSE. For the first year of the post-CSE course, this time was split two periods for practical work and one for theory. The following year, 1981/82, and up to the time of writing, the department joined the 'circus' with RE and Careers, which provides two five-week blocks of two periods per week in fourth year and the same time in fifth year.⁷⁷

b) The creative process - contributions and involvement After the CSE, most of the creative energies of the department as a whole were focused on the new theory component of the curriculum.

⁷⁶ PG, 2/8 : and 1/20: and more generally, 2/9

⁷⁷ PG, 1/24-25

The practical work of the department received less attention⁷⁸, but some developments did take place. Some of these derive directly from the work done for the CSE, particularly the structuring of games teaching and the systematic development of skill.⁷⁹ Other developments include the addition of two compulsory practical activities, 'weight-training' and the 'gym-based' course⁸⁰, and a general expansion of the activities available to students. The trend towards providing more individualised activities and 'popular' activities (like jogging, pop-mobility, dance, aerobics, swimming, cycling) and individualised sports (like badminton, short-tennis, weight-lifting) seems generally to have increased over this period.⁸¹

The starting point for the construction of the new theory element in the curriculum was the areas of study 'salvaged' from the CSE.⁸²

"We did the First Aid unit, which was a unit of the CSE, that's where it came from. We also did something on Lifestyle, although not as much as we do now; we did something on heart disease, on smoking and drinking."⁸³

⁷⁸ A matter much lamented by some, see eg SR, 1/6-7

⁷⁹ PG, 1/18

⁸⁰ See KE, 4/5-6 for an explanation

⁸¹ Confirmed by PG, unrecorded conversation on 28/3/84

⁸² ibid.

⁸³ PG, 1/20

The theory component began with three units - 'Physical Fitness', 'First Aid', and 'Lifestyle'. The development of each unit, or parts of each unit, was the responsibility of pairs of teachers.

"We came up with areas that we were particularly interested in, and we worked in pairs to 'gee' each other along and get feedback. Then when the work was prepared to a certain stage, it was taken to everyone else and discussed. That way other people got their say."⁸⁴

Initially, the 'Physical Fitness' unit was the responsibility of Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds and they also contributed to the development of the ideas for the 'Lifestyle' unit. Pete Gardener took responsibility for the 'First Aid' unit.⁸⁵ Within the framework of a syllabus for each unit, teachers were left to their own devices, with some help and guidance from others, to collect materials for themselves.⁸⁶

At this point in time, at the genesis of the post-CSE course, it seems that the innovative idea, of a 'physical education curriculum based in HRF' has not been articulated in this form. Thus, the innovative idea, at this early stage seems to be incubating in an unrecognisable form compared with its expression in the formal doctrine. However, the developments

⁸⁴ PG, 1/28

⁸⁵ Confirmed by PG, unrecorded conversation 28/3/84

⁸⁶ See SR, 1/9

outlined are significant in that they detail the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the innovative idea. It is the next 'phase', through the process of 'practice', that a more coherent version of the innovative idea begins to emerge.

c) Structural factors and teacher autonomy By way of introduction to the next sub-section, 'the process of practice', it is important to indicate the structural factors which create the fertile environment necessary for the innovative idea to take root and flourish. In Chapter four I suggested that several influential trends, situations and circumstances interact to create the environment for the creation of the innovative idea. At this point, we move to a micro-level of structure, within the department itself.

I have already portrayed one of the dimensions of Gardener's role as Head of Faculty, as 'official negotiator' with the School Administration.⁸⁷ Gardener is, then, the link in the chain between the internal structure of the PE department and the management structure of the school. In the context of the creation of a new course, and the implementation of new ideas, he can be considered to be the negotiator for, and provider of, a 'mandate'.⁸⁸ The notion of 'mandate' is developed by Smith and Keith (1971) in their study of Kensington; it takes a different form at Forest than at

⁸⁷ It is important to recognise that others played a part in this process; see KE, 4/8; MW, 2

⁸⁸ See PG, 2/4-5

Kensington, but nevertheless serves the same function.

- "The mandate is important information for the organisation and for its administration. It ties an organisation or system to the larger organisation. Furthermore, the mandate aids in clarifying the "supportive-non supportive" dimensions of the environment. As organisational alternatives are raised, explored, and evaluated, the mandate is the template indicating which alternatives will be supported, which will be rejected, or which will be responded to with lukewarm interest." (Smith and Keith 1971, 25)

The 'mandate' as the term is used here, is the framework of rules defined by school's management structure, within which legitimate action by the members of the school is possible. Thus, the mandate, which comes ultimately from Michael Williams, as Principal of the school, prescribes the boundaries of legitimate behaviour.

The teachers during the process of creation in particular, but also throughout the progress of the innovative idea, considered the freedom to develop ideas to be vital to successful teaching. Thus, the notion of 'teacher autonomy' seems to be a forceful one in the context of teacher-initiated innovation.

"There's got to be freedom for movement in the school, freedom for people to do and go in the direction they want to go in."⁸⁹

And so it is important, from the teacher's point of view, to have a Head of Faculty (and ultimately a Principal) who allows some freedom of movement.

"It's very important to have a Head of Faculty like Pete, who is not domineering, and who is concerned about the Faculty running smoothly and doing a good job in general, but who doesn't interfere. So long as the ideas fit in reasonably with the system, he is happy not to dictate. If he thinks something is basically on the right lines, as he has with Kev and I, then he has let us go entirely our own way to develop this thing. We needed to convince him in the first place, but he's gone along with it."⁹⁰

Pete Gardener's own point of view on this issue is

"If teachers are doing the right things, they can have as much freedom as they like."⁹¹

There is, then, a general framework, determined ultimately by Michael Williams the Principal, but negotiated for to some

⁸⁹ PB, 1/2: see also PB, 1/8; SR, 2/4-6: 2/7-9 & 11

⁹⁰ PB, 1/12: see also PB, 2/2; KE, 1/1; and MW, 12

⁹¹ PG, 2/5

extent, and provided by Gardener which draws the lines of acceptable action. Gardener is, in this sense, ultimately accountable for what the teachers in the PE department do.⁹²

However this framework, or 'mandate', for action is not imposed explicitly. There is the impression that the boundaries, of what counts as acceptable behaviour from teachers, are wide, and that consultation within these boundaries is possible.

"If someone comes along with an idea then we all sit down and listen to it. We have a meeting every week, and if anybody wants to discuss anything, then they just write it on the blackboard in the staff-room, and it's on the agenda for next time."⁹³

However, how far these boundaries themselves are negotiable is a matter which is difficult to assess. Perhaps Hilary Ashford's comments about a former Principal, Richard Miller, are worth repeating in this context

"If the staff think they're making the decisions, you can't come back at the man, can you?"⁹⁴

⁹² See SR, 2/8; SF, 2/2; KL, 3/9

⁹³ PG, 2/3

⁹⁴ HA, 26

(ii) Practice

The significance of practice in the development of the innovative idea is that, as the teachers are faced with realising particular aspirations through the curriculum, the idea itself is refined and honed to the situations in which it is intended to apply. As the teachers work with the notions of 'health related fitness', 'physical life skills', 'the student's needs', 'lifestyle', and so on, these ideas take on physical dimensions in space and time. They become manifest in particular situations. Thus, the interaction of aspiration and reality is shaped, through practice, into a single abstract phenomenon, the innovative idea.

a) Establishing the idea The act of teaching the curriculum has the effect, first of all, of 'establishing' the idea.

"I've learned from last year and maybe I'm covering roughly the same material this time, but I'm improving my approach. So I think that because I'm repeating things, my teaching has improved."⁹⁵

Through the practice of teaching the course, working with the subject matter, and repeating this over a period of time, the teachers begin to gain insights into the subject matter itself. They feel happier, more confident in handling the materials, and so the concrete manifestations of the idea,

⁹⁵ KL, 2/3; see also SR, 1/10

expressed in the curriculum, becomes 'established' and more certain; there is less likelihood of unanticipated problems arising with the materials.

However, courses cannot become established until they have been worked through in practice. It is only then that it is possible to see how an idea works out in particular contexts. For instance, the notion of 'focusing on the individual student as the teaching unit' works out to be difficult to realise in specific situations.

"The individual student is very important in my teaching, but just in terms of time I find it difficult to give everyone attention. I also find that, as I get to know one student better, I realise there are a couple of others who I've completely ignored, not intentionally, but they seem to be in the background, and I never look at their work or ask them questions."⁹⁶

b) Educating about the idea So before ideas can become 'established', they have to be applied in practice. However, moving towards a situation where it is legitimate to describe courses and their concomitant ideas as 'established' required an input of knowledge and information, in addition to the practical experience of teaching. There was a need for an educative effort amongst the teachers themselves. This is not only because the teachers need to know what it is they

⁹⁶ KL, 2/5; see also KW, 2/8 & 9

must teach; they also need to feel at ease with this knowledge, to have some degree of expertise. Without expertise, teachers suffer loss of confidence, because they are no longer in a position of authority, of being 'an' authority, in relation to students.⁹⁷ As Karen Lowe explains

"I think the main problem with teaching the health related fitness course is that it's a new idea, and so it's new to us as well, and we really have to go and do our homework before we come back to teach a lesson. We're still a bit uncertain about teaching it; it's enjoyable, but we do feel a bit inadequate."⁹⁸

One way in which the educative effort was applied was the sharing of expertise and ideas.

"We volunteered to go into each other's lessons, or at least to have the chance to do so. When we started the CSE initially, we were also teaching things we didn't know that much about. So some people were coming down to the sports hall at lunchtimes saying 'how do I do this?' For example, I had to learn about weight training and in fact weightlifting, and I found that really interesting and useful. I went maybe three or four times to the weight training room with Kev, and watched him during class time, and found that a very valuable inservice exercise."⁹⁹

⁹⁷ see RS Peters (1966) for clarification of this notion

⁹⁸ KL, 1/8; see also SR, 1/10: 2 /11; and SF, 1/15; KW, 1/8

⁹⁹ PG, 2/6

Although timetabling restraints mean that this method of passing on information or expertise isn't always possible, some teachers have taken advantage of this support when available.¹⁰⁰

The main educative effort and input of knowledge and information came from Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds.¹⁰¹ Both teachers began researching the areas that made up the 'Fitness' and 'Lifestyle' units before the demise of the CSE. Bayle spent a year in the USA, between 1980 and 1981, completing a Masters degree in a relevant discipline. This input of information and expertise seems to have been readily capitalised upon by the department at Forest. Bayle had, in fact, resigned his post to go to USA. Hilary Ashford relates the circumstances of his return.

"We wanted another PE teacher, and we'd advertised and were interviewing when we heard that Phil was coming back to England and that he'd be looking for a job. And in fact he was practically interviewed over the telephone - 'you are coming Phil, aren't you?'. We had to say to the other people we'd interviewed that the job had been filled. We knew what Phil had to offer the department, and we knew he'd been a good bloke whilst he was here. So as I say, he came back, and as his knowledge was so much wider he was able to put it across. He brought some new books back with him, and he had

¹⁰⁰see KW, 1/9: 2/12

¹⁰¹Confirmed by HA, 21: 24; and KL, 2/14: 1/6

some American ideas that were very interesting."¹⁰²

A partnership which had developed between Bayle and Edmonds before Bayle's departure, was established again on his return, and this is an important factor in the shaping and development of the innovative idea.¹⁰³ Bayle's and Edmonds' influence and effort was not only towards supplying information and ideas; their colleagues still needed to be convinced that the subject matter being presented and developed in the theory component of the curriculum was relevant and important.¹⁰⁴ There is, then, a persuasive element in the educative process, which as we have seen began before the demise of the CSE. Faced with a critical and sceptical group of colleagues, Bayle and Edmonds had to persuade them that there was a need for a 'health related' component in the curriculum. This was done through the provision of support for practice, by way of supplying information, and through the daily face-to-face contact between individuals. House (1974) suggests, through his notion of 'the primacy of personal contact', that the diffusion of new ideas takes place most effectively when there is some degree of personal contact between potential users of an innovation.¹⁰⁵ In this context, at Forest, the daily professional and social interaction

¹⁰²HA, 24; see also PB, 1/13

¹⁰³This relationship is discussed in Chapter six, section 1

¹⁰⁴See PB, 1/13; KE, 1/1; KL, 1/7; see also House (1974, 50)

¹⁰⁵See House (1974, 67). Although how effective diffusion has been is discussed in Chapter six, section 3.

between colleagues forms a complex network of relationships. The consequence of this is that ideas are personalised and so are associated with people, with their personalities, as a part of them.

c) The socialising function of the educational effort - the informal doctrine At this point in the progress of the innovative idea, the evidence suggests that, through the educational and persuasive efforts of Bayle and Edmonds the idea finds embodiment in the personae of these two individuals.¹⁰⁶ Personal contact between individuals lends a force to the transmission of ideas which is not only persuasive and beneficial educationally, but goes even further to influence colleagues' lifestyles.

"We call Phil the 'guru'! (laugh). He's influenced my lifestyle, I suppose. For instance, I've never jogged before in my life and now I do I mean, I've always been interested in fitness and diet, but I think they've (Bayle and Edmonds) both influenced and changed my lifestyle."¹⁰⁷

A change in lifestyle, in what one eats and how one exercises, indicates a strong emotional investment in the ideas being pushed by Bayle and Edmonds. Thus while personal contact is maintained between colleagues, and so the new lifestyle is reinforced, the personal involvement with the

¹⁰⁶See PB, 2/9

¹⁰⁷KL, 1/7; and SR, 1/7-8

ideas becomes deeper and also self-enhancing.

"As I become more involved in the 'fitness' work at school, I enjoy it more, and so my lessons have improved and I think, are more valuable and successful."¹⁰⁸

Success reinforces the conviction that what one is doing is 'right', and in this way an idea begins to gain momentum amongst colleagues. In this way, the educational process could be said to serve a socialising function in the department. In addition, it feeds into, and is supported by the existence of an ethos of common or shared beliefs, values, and aspirations which have developed as relationships have developed over time¹⁰⁹; there is, in effect, an 'informal doctrine'. Evidence that there is a 'feeling' amongst colleagues of what is acceptable or unacceptable behaviour between themselves, amongst students, and so on, runs through the interview data. This 'informal doctrine', an unarticulated and often unspoken code of conduct for thought and action probably comes to the surface most obviously in the support services provided by colleagues, and in the socialisation and induction of new teachers.¹¹⁰ This informal doctrine of share ideas, comprising teachers' beliefs, values, and aspirations, and manifest in the social

¹⁰⁸KL, 2/10. This is recognised by PB, 1/13 and 2/7-8

¹⁰⁹See PB, 2/10; see also Schutz (1962, 12) and the 'We-Relationship' and the notion of 'shared ideals', Chapter six, section 3

¹¹⁰See KL, 1/5-6: 2/14; SR, 1/9-10; KW, 1/9: 2/5, 9, 12

network of relationships within the department, is elaborated in the next Chapter, section 3, pages 281-284.

d) The evolution of the innovative idea In summary, the main point that has been made in this section is that the practice of teaching the curriculum acts as a kind of sounding board for the innovative idea. It is through the process of practice that the idea is, time and again, created and recreated.¹¹¹ The progress of the innovative idea is 'evolutionary'.

"You've got to bear in mind that this was an evolution, things were still developing in our minds, and we weren't really clear in the beginning what we wanted to do."¹¹²

As the progress of the innovative idea is an evolution, so change in a practical sense is piecemeal.

"Anybody with any sense doesn't go into a situation and claim 'right, this is it!'. It's a case of modification. We've had to compromise here, and we still haven't got an ideal programme now. We compromise on facilities, we compromise on what was, and things change gradually."¹¹³

¹¹¹See PB, 2/11 and KE, 4/2

¹¹²PB, 1/12 and see 1/11: 2/3

¹¹³PB, 1/9: and see 2/4

This feature of piecemeal change, of compromise and gradual modification, perhaps explains why it is difficult for some of those involved in the process to see the innovative idea as a single phenomenon and having a coherent form and scope.¹¹⁴ We will see in the final sub-section of this chapter, which deals with the 'process of dissemination', that as the innovative idea is articulated in an increasingly formal way, and so becomes separated from the 'bits and pieces' of its concrete manifestation, in courses and materials, the idea becomes elusive for some of the teachers in the department.

(iii) Dissemination

The third process in the progress of the innovative idea is the dissemination of the idea. Dissemination is an ongoing event throughout the period of development, but a marked acceleration in the effort to disseminate to wider audiences outside of the school can be identified, beginning about the end of 1982 and continuing at the time of writing.

The process of dissemination serves a variety of functions in different contexts. The first of these is the department itself, and we have discussed this in the previous sub-section under 'educating about the idea'.

¹¹⁴It is essentially a case of not seeing the wood for the trees.

The second context is the school.

a) Servicing the mandate The function that dissemination serves in the school is to service the mandate provided on the authority of the Principal, Michael Williams. It is considered important that the innovation has the continuing support of the Principal, possibly due to the awareness that this support will be vital if circumstance forces another review of PE's place on the timetable.

"The biggest restraint on development is the amount of time and resources available on the timetable. If you want to give kids a good physical education, and a good health education, you need time, facilities, and resources to do it."¹¹⁵

The approval and support of the Principal for the maintenance of time, facilities and resources, has been approached in a number of ways. One of these is to use the informal management structure of the school.¹¹⁶ Another is to present the work of the department in a 'showcase' form.

"We put on an exhibition of fitness activities, of information, and demonstrations of activities, and we got a group of celebrities to help us do that. The point about these sports stars coming along is that we got them to show that even for

¹¹⁵KE, 2/3; see also KE, 2/4; and PB, 1/14 and 2/10

¹¹⁶See Chapter 4, section 3

Superstars there is a fitness for health, a fitness for recreation, as well as the serious competitive elements of sport. We had a whole range of demonstrations; we had people on the climbing wall for example. We had a huge audience. We estimated that we had about two-and-a-half thousand kids come through the morning session, and probably about fifteen hundred adults came to the evening session. We also had the TV people along which gave us some good publicity, which the Headmaster was ecstatic about."¹¹⁷

One other way in which the innovation was disseminated within the school was to provide colleagues outside the department with a fitness evaluation and exercise prescription service.

"We've had about fifteen to twenty of the staff who've actually come down to have a fitness evaluation done for themselves and are now pretty enlightened as to what it's all about."¹¹⁸

The motivation for providing this service seems to serve a different purpose from 'servicing the mandate'. The main purpose here seems to relate to gaining 'professional recognition', a point I will return to below.

b) Presenting a public face A third function of the dissemination process is to present the innovation to a

¹¹⁷KE, HRF Seminar, 10; confirmed in KE, 1/6: 2/4

¹¹⁸KE, HRF Seminar, 10; confirmed in PB, 1/7: 2/7

variety of professional audiences, to an informed and 'expert' public. There seems to be two major motivations for doing this. One is the basic desire to inform others.

"I've been trying to achieve the spread of the work for a long time. I think what's been happening at the moment with the talks and the publications is that it's just starting to get off the ground, it's just starting to be presented to local advisers and probably the way momentum builds it's going to be another five years before much happens in terms of teaching in schools."¹¹⁹

Underlying this statement seems to be a conviction that the innovative idea is the 'right' idea for the future of physical education, and so other colleagues ought to know about it.

"I just think it's a professional responsibility of people to be doing the right sort of job."¹²⁰

The second motivation to disseminate the idea to a wider audience both in and out of the school is the desire for professional recognition. Phil Bayle comments that, at the end of the CSE, 'we got a bad reputation amongst other staff that we weren't doing something useful'.¹²¹ The

¹¹⁹PB, 2/2-3

¹²⁰PB, 2/6

¹²¹PB, 1/7; see also SF, 3/8

recognition from colleagues that one is doing a 'good job' seems to be important. Smith and Keith lend support to this point.

"The complex process of social approval and identity development for individual staff members in relationship to the occupation of teaching seems highly significant."
(1979, 49)

The significance and importance of recognition relates directly to the teachers' willingness to pour effort and energy into developing the innovative idea.

"You like to be recognised for what you've been doing because you believe that what you've been doing is worth recognition. So it's a form of feedback, and if you don't get feedback it either drives you on harder, or else it makes you give up in the end!"¹²²

The notion of 'recognition' is picked up again in Chapter seven, and discussed in more detail.

c) The effects of disseminating - formalisation and objectification The process of dissemination requires that the teachers begin to articulate the innovative idea in a systematic and codified manner before it can be communicated to people outwith the immediate sphere of personal contact. This situation

has led at Forest, to the production of a number of documents which I have subsumed under the title 'formal doctrine'. The formal doctrine is a highly systematised and codified expression of the innovative idea. An examination of the features of the formal doctrine, which in this case of teacher-initiated innovation is the end-point, at the time of writing, of the processes of formalisation and objectification, reveals both the nature of these processes, and the functions the formal doctrine serves.

Smith and Keith explain the notion of 'formalisation'

"As we tried to formulate (the Kensington 'point of view') in terms of a continuum, we found the rephrasing as formalised doctrine, the degree to which the 'point of view' is systematised and codified, seemed significant." (1971, 38)

At Forest, formalisation of the innovative idea takes place throughout the progress of the idea through time, but accelerates in the process of dissemination. As the teachers were required to articulate the idea, it became more systematised and codified, that is, more certain, coherent, logical and refined. Thus, the process of dissemination leads to higher formalisation. This is because, when teachers are asked to relate what they are trying to do, the reflective effort 'freezes' the action.¹²³ Any account of the idea which

¹²³See Schutz (1962, 216-217)

they render is thus robbed of the fluidity and dynamic quality which characterises the 'reality' of the idea, as it is worked through in practice.

Concurrent with the process of formalisation is an increasing 'objectification' of the innovative idea. We have noted in the section on 'practice' (4, ii) that the idea is embodied in the personae of Bayle and Edmonds due to the face-to-face interaction, the personal contact with colleagues which characterises their daily professional lives. However, when the innovative idea is expressed in the formal doctrine, it loses its personification in Bayle and Edmonds. In other words, it becomes disembodied, it becomes an object, a 'thing out there'.¹²⁴

An examination of the features of the formal doctrine, the end-point of these two processes, helps reveal the nature of these processes as they developed at Forest.¹²⁵ The first of these we will examine is the 'affective tone' of the formal doctrine. Smith and Keith suggest that

"Doctrines can be analysed, irrespective of their content, in terms of the degree to which they have affective or emotional qualities. Here we would distinguish between the doctrine's goals which

¹²⁴See Schutz (1962, 17-18 and 25), and the effects of increasing typification on anonymity

¹²⁵This analysis owes much to Smith and Keith's "structural dimensions of the formal doctrine' (1971, 38)

necessarily commit the organisation to implicit value systems which, in our judgement, are ultimately acts of faith in affectively endorsing certain ends in life, and the degree to which the doctrine is phrased in terms of emotional appeals that seek to persuade on irrelevant grounds or highly tenuous grounds."
(1971, 40)¹²⁶

Smith and Keith found at Kensington that some of the documents which comprised the formal doctrine showed a high affective tone. However, at Forest, the affective tone of the doctrine appears to have decreased as the idea became more highly formalised and objectified. Although the formal doctrine has an imperative and explicitly ideological tone, none of the arguments presented could be described as being based in 'irrelevant' or 'tenuous' grounds. Rather it is during the educative process with its concomitant persuasive element that the highest affective tone is manifest, in the daily face-to-face interaction with colleagues. Here, it is the force and charisma of personality - technically an 'irrelevant' reason for taking on a new idea - that did much to persuade Bayle's and Edmonds' colleagues of the worth of the health related fitness aspects of PE.¹²⁷ The formalisation of the ethos of shared beliefs, values, and aspirations amongst colleagues at Forest leads, then, to a diminution of affective tone.

¹²⁶They suggest content analysis for this task

¹²⁷See discussion with PB, 2/3-7

Smith and Keith argue that the degree to which the content of the formal doctrine is consistent or 'integrated' was an important feature at Kensington.¹²⁸ A well integrated doctrine will display a high degree of consistency between goals and between teachers' application of these goals in practice. The notion of 'integration' reveals one function of the formal doctrine at Kensington, which was to serve as a 'group norm'.

"Formal doctrine in its ultimate sense becomes the codified policies and rules of the bureaucracy as stated in the manuals of standard operating procedures. Group norms reflect the same kind of issues, except that they usually are the informal statements of 'the way we do things around here'."
(1971, 46)

As the situation at Forest involves a teacher-initiated innovation, we might hypothesise that the degree of congruence between these two systems will be high, because it is out of the informal system of groups norms, what I have referred to as the ethos of beliefs, values, and aspirations, or the 'informal doctrine', that the formal doctrine has, in part, been created. This suggest that there have been antecedent circumstances in the department that have allowed the innovative idea to be created and put into practice - in other words, the climate of group norms have been receptive for innovation to occur. Smith

¹²⁸Smith and Keith, (1971, 41-42)

and Keith suggest that norms did not 'crystallise', in an informal sense, within the staff at Kensington. We might speculate that the long period of staff stability at Forest has allowed such 'crystallisation' to take place.¹²⁹

The function of the doctrine as a group norm relates directly to another function which has already been discussed (section one, page 180), where the doctrine serves as a 'guide to action'.¹³⁰ The formal doctrine functions in this sense to relate publically what the teachers consider themselves to be accountable for, and so underwrites action. The features of the formal doctrine which help it to serve this function are its explicitly ideological and imperative tone, expressed in clear, unambiguous statements of what ought to be the case.

A third important function, or dysfunction that the formal doctrine serves is as a 'facade'.

"As the formal doctrine departed from the reality of the organisation and was presented to the public, it became what we have called the facade. The facade becomes a cloak or screen covering the realities of organisational practice." (Smith and Keith, 1971,40)

¹²⁹This is not the same thing as saying the informal doctrine is merely the unwritten version of the formal doctrine - it only contributes to its goals through the existence of shared ideals. This still permits incongruence between the versions of the concrete situation each relates - see Chapter six, section 3.

¹³⁰Smith and Keith (1971, 46)

In a sense, it is inevitable that as the innovative idea is expressed in a highly formalised manner, it loses something of the reality to which it relates. Schutz (1962, 216-217) suggests that any act of reflection reveals only a partial self, a 'me' acting out a role, because reflection divorces the unified 'I' from the 'vivid present'. Thus, any account, which involves a reflective effort, will 'freeze' the action.¹³¹ Pete Gardener expresses his awareness that the formal doctrine presents a facade

"It's a little bit false reading some of the things that have been written, and certainly if you talk to Phil and Kev, you assume that the whole of the theory side of the curriculum is 'Fitness', but it isn't We've always had the 'First Aid' unit for example, but if you read the literature, it appears that the 'Fitness' is about ninety-percent of the course, whereas in fact it isn't."¹³²

The facade serves to "cloak organisational realities".¹³³ Smith and Keith suggest that the more formalised the doctrine becomes, the greater amount of cloaking occurs. There is evidence to suggest that this has been the case at Forest. It seems clear that the innovative idea has not been

¹³¹ What this suggests is that, in the act of recollection, the self and the situation are typified; salient or memorable characteristics thought to be significant or important are recalled, others of lesser significance are forgotten. The 'me' is, then, a typification of 'self'. (See Schutz, 1962, 217)

¹³² PG, 1/26-27

¹³³ Smith and Keith (1971, 47)

communicated effectively to everyone in the PE department; not everyone seems to have grasped the concept the innovative idea embodies.

"I think the course is still going through a transitional phase so no-one really knows what's going on yet. There's no-one sat down and told me 'you've got to link these two components together'. Now because of that I've automatically assumed that there's 'theory' on the one hand, and there's 'practical' on the other."¹³⁴

This new teacher, Steve Finney's understanding of the concrete situation at Forest is not that which is expressed in the formal doctrine. The 'organisational reality' from his vantage point of being a new member of the teaching staff, is a curriculum with two separate components, one 'theoretical' and classroom based, and the other 'practical'. The innovative idea, on the other hand, is 'health related fitness based physical education', which is an integrated phenomenon, or should be, at a concrete level.

The immediate consequence of this incongruence, between the formal doctrine's version of the 'reality' at Forest, and the concrete situation experienced by Finney, are that lessons in the practical area are not designed to realise the innovative idea.

¹³⁴ SF, 2/5; see also KE, interview No 4; SR, 1/11: 2/11-12; KW, 2/6-7

"In 'Weights-training' we can mention the theory work, because we can talk about muscle groups, but it's not easy in, say, basketball."¹³⁵

The sequence of events at Forest between 1982 and 1984 served to compound the facade effect of the formal doctrine. Just after the series of documents which form the major part of the formal doctrine were produced, the teachers who were responsible for their production left the school - Phil Bayle in July, 1983 and Kevin Edmonds five months later in December 1983. Two new members of staff arrived in August 1983, Steve Finney to replace Bayle, and Kate Watkins on a temporary one-year contract to cover for Pete Gardener who had taken on a temporary Vice-Principalship in the school.

The upshot of these events is that the new teachers have not been exposed to the educational efforts of Bayle and Edmonds, and the personal contact this involves.¹³⁶ The way in which they are introduced to the innovative idea is, then of considerable interest. It is of particular significance, in this respect, that the formal doctrine seems to have been little used, or at least, seems to have had little impact in the education and socialisation of the new teachers. Smith and Keith identify a feature of the formal doctrine,

¹³⁵SF, 3/5

¹³⁶They both had five months of Kevin Edmonds, but only Kate Watkins seems to have capitalised on this - KW, 1/9: 2/12

its 'abstractness', which may help to explain why this is so. A doctrine can vary in the extent of its abstractness and concreteness. A highly abstract doctrine can provide problems in that.

"As a language system is abstract, it permits legitimate but varying concrete interpretations. A doctrine with considerable abstractness hypothetically can provoke a wide range of these interpretations. (Smith and Keith, 1971, 43)

There are two elements which contribute to the abstractness of the formal doctrine, its 'complexity' and its 'scope'. Whilst the complexity of the doctrine at Forest may not be high its scope is large; it has operational implications for teacher-student interaction, content, teaching method and timetabling. However, although its scope in a formal sense is large, the extent of the doctrine does not seem to be realised in practice at Forest. This might be due to the possibility that, because the concepts embodied in the innovative idea are abstract, they are open to wide interpretation by the teachers. In a practical sense, multiple interpretations would create operational havoc; if each teacher decided to do 'their own thing', and some of this action breached the framework provided by the mandate, then such action would be checked and a degree of conformity within the framework, demanded. A highly abstract formal doctrine is not then the ideal educational tool in the socialisation of new teachers.

Thus, the language system which teachers use in daily face-to-face interaction is directly related to what Schutz has called the 'system of relevances' which define the 'purpose at hand'. In other words, teachers are guided by a pragmatic motive in the course of their daily actions and so communication between colleagues is levelled at particular tasks in particular concrete situations.¹³⁷

The major form of communication of ideas for teachers, is, then, verbal; it is not the written word.¹³⁸

It seems clear that the major functions of the formal doctrine relate to the representation of the 'public face', of the innovative idea; the formal doctrine is not intended, particularly, as the main device in the education and socialisation of colleagues. Thus, for those who operate in the situation the formal doctrine represents, that is, the teachers in the PE department at Forest, the formal doctrine conveys a picture of 'reality' which is not entirely congruent with their experience of that 'reality'.

¹³⁷ Schutz, (1962, 209) 'It may be correctly said that a pragmatic motive governs our natural attitude in the world of daily life'.

¹³⁸ See SF, 1/13; PB, 2/5. Schutz (1962, 218-219) says 'Social actions involve communication and any communication is necessarily founded upon acts of working the communicator experiences the ongoing process of communication as working in his vivid present'. See also 13-14.

Figure 5.5 Summary of Chronology of Events in the Progress of the innovative idea, 1967 - 1984

YEAR	HEAD TEACHER/ PRINCIPAL	EVENTS/DEVELOPMENTS
1967	Miss Southerby	School becomes a comprehensive. SC and HA appointed, and are required to work within a traditional grammar school conception of PE. Some moves towards integration of male and female PE.
1972	Fred Brent	PG appointed Head of Faculty. Brings male and female PE together administratively and in teaching. Structuring of curricular provision - 'blocking' and 'options'. New facilities.
1975	Richard Miller	General expansion of school continues. Inspection of PE. Dance established as a result. Staff stability.
1976		PE status as a compulsory activity threatened. CSE initiated as solution.
1980	Michael Williams	PE department suffers cut in timetable space. CSE demise. New HRF course initiated in less curricular time.
1984		HRF course becomes established, four units in operation. Rapid staff changes. Formal doctrine produced.

Summary

This Chapter has outlined the innovative idea as it is expressed in the formal doctrine, and has placed the idea in its historical context, in terms of developments in the PE curriculum at Forest. These developments are summarised in Figure 5.5, page 245. This description of the historical antecedents of the innovative idea should not be mistaken as a crude attempt to relate cause and effect. The point is, rather, to render an adequate account of events which provides a 'telling likeness' of the reality of change at Forest. In this way readers should be able to recognise, in the descriptions of the 'pre-history' and 'history' of the innovative idea, developments which reappear later, in some shape or form, in the formal doctrine.

The analytic device of 'formal doctrine' and its concomitant processes, 'formalisation' and 'objectification', have been used to counterpoint the descriptive passages, and in so doing reveal something of the temporal dimension of the innovative idea. Thus, the progress of the innovative idea has been characterised as a developmental process through which it becomes progressively more highly formalised and objectified. The consequences of this are that it loses something of the 'reality' to which it relates. It is, then, a poor device for the education and socialisation of the teachers who work in the situation. Another consequence of this progress of the innovative idea is that different conceptions of the innovation, or to put this in more concrete terms, of the PE curriculum at Forest, held by the

teachers are revealed.¹³⁹

This realisation raises important questions: for instance, how congruent are the aspirations expressed in the formal doctrine with the private and shared aspirations of the teachers at Forest? What meaning does the innovation have for them? What are the factors in motivating teachers to innovate? The next Chapter attempts to shed some light on issues raised by these questions.

¹³⁹Smith and Keith found a similar situation at Kensington, (1971, 35)

Chapter 6

Involvement in the Innovative Process - the Primacy of Teachers' Values

The issues addressed in this chapter are central to revealing the distinctive nature of teacher-initiated innovation. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the formal doctrine's primary function is to present the Public face of the innovation. In so doing, the formal doctrine also presents a facade, a cloaking of the organisational realities at Forest School. The central concern in this chapter is to uncover these organisational realities, and so attempt to discover how the case study teachers experience the concrete situation at Forest. The task is essentially to disclose meaning. This is to be found in the beliefs, values, and aspirations the teachers express in their talk, and through their 'working in the world', either explicitly or as reflexive aspects of their accounts and actions.¹ The aim here, then, is to discover and make explicit the 'systems of relevances' which guides the individual teacher's 'subjective interpretation' of his or her own professional world.² Schutz has argued that this world is the 'paramount reality' over and against other versions of reality (1962, 227); the formal doctrine, for example, represents one other version. It is through an exploration of the teacher's world that we can begin to

¹ See Chapter 3, page 108

² See Chapter 3, page 108

understand how the innovative idea works, how it is manifest, in the concrete teaching situation at Forest School.

This exploration begins by attempting to describe and analyse teachers' relationships to, and involvement in the innovative process. We have already noted in the previous Chapter that some of the teachers have different conceptions of the innovative idea, or in more concrete terms, of the PE curriculum at Forest School. Smith and Keith found a similar situation at Kensington

"Our data suggest strongly ... that each faculty member held his own view or schema of Kensington."
(1971, 35)

The first section of this chapter outlines the various relationships and levels of involvement in the innovative process concomitant with each teacher's conception of the innovative idea. The second section examines the factors which motivate teachers to initiate change. The question here is 'what are the factors in a teacher's decision to innovate?'³ The factors influencing the subjective interpretation of two of the case study teachers centrally involved in the innovative process are examined in detail. Following on from this, the third section focuses on the educative process of communication and discusses how the other teachers in the department receive and orientate themselves to ideas associated with the innovation. The fourth section further elaborates this account by discussing

³ This is a reformulation of House's (1974, 81-90) question

the notion of 'commitment' and the teacher's 'partial knowledge' of the professional world. These two ideas represent key concepts in explaining teachers' levels of involvement in the innovative process.

1 Teachers' Relationships to the Innovation

(i) Teachers as implementers

One way in which all of the teachers in the department are centrally involved in the innovation is in its implementation. All of the PE staff at Forest School teach the health related aspects of the curriculum. As implementers, all of the teachers are intimately involved with the innovation as 'receivers' of information and ideas from colleagues, in handling the subject matter in interactions with students, and in contributing new subject matter.

It was indicated in the previous Chapter that the first units of the health related aspects of the curriculum to become 'established' were 'Fitness' and 'First Aid', and the major input here seems to have come from Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds in the former case, and the latter being developed by Pete Gardener from the CSE work. However, within the framework provided by the syllabuses for each unit, teachers had to some extent to develop their own materials.⁴ In the course of this work, information seems to have been made

⁴ See eg KW, 2/3

freely available and passed on. Sue Ripley recalls

"When I was a part-timer, I had no involvement in developing anything and to start with we struggled a bit, because the material wasn't always there. But once I knew what I was supposed to be doing, I collected my own material. But I haven't really provided anything for the rest of the department to do. I've known what I've got to go and teach, and I've worked some ideas out for myself. And I've helped Karen, and the other new members of staff, by passing information on to them."⁵

It was suggested in the previous chapter that, in the process of 'practice', new ideas are created or new ways of teaching established ideas are developed. In this way, the ideals and aspirations meet reality and are reshaped in the process. Thus, as the teachers teach the subject matter and as the innovation is implemented in the teaching situation, new insights into the subject matter are gained. Karen Lowe's comments illustrate this point

"I had planned the lesson pretty well, and as I like to involve as many practical things as possible, I planned that the best way to work with this particular group was to include some practical work. But there were little instances in the lesson which weren't planned. We were doing some question/answer work on different aspects of

⁵ SR, 1/9; see also SF, 1/16; KW, 1/9-10: 2/12

fitness, and the topic 'reaction time' came up. So, practically, I got them all to test their reactions by holding their pen (KL demonstrates), and dropping it, and then trying to catch it before it falls too far. So there was a sudden change from discussion to a practical example."⁶

The cumulative effect of instances such as this, repeated time and again, feeds into the developmental process. As more and more insights are gained, teaching improves

"I've become more interested in fitness and in diet, and generally just more aware of things, and I suppose that's helped the way I teach."⁷

And so, as teachers begin to understand the subject matter better through implementing the course, and this understanding is communicated to others, development proceeds. Laterally, the teachers at Forest School have been involved in the process of development in a more general sense. In 1983, a fourth unit was added to the curriculum - 'Lifestyle management II' - as more time became available. The substance of this unit is how students can use leisure time.⁸ The production of materials and information for this unit was commissioned from a number of the staff. Pete Gardener outlines these contributions

⁶ KL, 2/4

⁷ KL, 3/11

⁸ See chapter 5, page 186

"I've got a small questionnaire and some literature from the Sports Council on this 'Wolfenden Gap'. Sue was doing research on what's available in the _____ Area, where it is and so on, and also on introducing the idea of 'leisure time'. Karen has been looking at Health Clubs, and also what's available at Forest, because lots of kids don't know what goes on here in the evenings and at weekends. And Phil and Kev were doing some work on 'problem-solving', and trying to draw the whole course together."⁹

As implementers of the curriculum and contributors of materials and subject matter, the teachers have been intimately involved with the innovative process. This involvement has meant time and effort as they work to understand the ideas embodied in the course content and transmit this knowledge to their students.¹⁰ Thus, through their role as implementers, all of the teachers have been involved in, and contributed to, the innovative process. For some, this is the extent of their involvement; however, some of their colleagues have acquired or taken on particular relationships to the innovation which exist over and above their involvement as implementers.

⁹ PG, 1/28-29; see also KL, 2/14

¹⁰ See SF, 1/2-3; KW, 2/13

(ii) The Head of Faculty's role

As Head of Faculty, Pete Gardener has a particular relationship to the innovation, by virtue of this position, in addition to his role as implementer. Some of his functions as Head of Faculty have already been outlined in the previous chapter. For instance, he is 'official link' in the chain between the School Administration and the internal operation of the PE department. In this respect he is negotiator for, and provider of a 'mandate', a framework which defines the limits of legitimate action by the teachers.

"Pete is the person who has to go to the boss and sort it all out, because he's Head of Faculty. He's the one who gets the chop if it goes wrong, and so I don't suppose he would have allowed himself to be pushed into anything which he didn't think would work."¹¹

Pete Gardener's second role, in relation to the innovation, is the management of resources in the department; resources in terms of materials and staff.¹² Here, his major concern would appear to be the promotion of the department and its status in the school. The resolution of conflict within the department, as in the case of the polarisation of opinion towards 'practical' work, or 'theory', after the demise of the CSE¹³, reveals one side of this concern.

¹¹ SF, 2/2; see MW, 12 who confirms

¹² See HA, 15; PB, 1/12

¹³ See Chapter 5, page 209

"Pete was seeing both sides if you like which again is a good manager, isn't it?"¹⁴

Pete Gardener appears to confirm this point, by his own account of his position as regards developing the CSE in the department when PE's status as a compulsory activity in the school curriculum was threatened.

"The CSE would retain the amount of time we wanted, in fact it would give us a little bit more, and all the kids would see, and the parents would see, and the rest of the staff would see, that PE did have some meaning. Now whether that was the right meaning or not I wasn't concerned with. What I was concerned with was seeing PE was there."¹⁵

This position does not call into question Pete Gardener's commitment to the current developments in the curriculum at Forest School; as an implementer of the curriculum, and as a negotiator for and provider of a mandate, his involvement in this respect is high. However, his major concerns lie not with the promotion of the subject matter itself, but with the promotion of any curriculum which he thinks will vouchsafe the department's place in the school's provision.

¹⁴ HA, 22

¹⁵ PG, 1/18

(iii) The partnership - a profile of Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds

In the previous chapter it emerged that Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds played a central role in the educative process, providing information and support for colleagues; laterally, they were responsible for the production of the documents which comprise the formal doctrine of the innovation. Their involvements in, and relationship to, developments in the curriculum have been significant and important, particularly when we consider that many of the innovation's ideals and aspirations were for their colleagues embodied in the personae of both these teachers.¹⁶ Thus, they are identified by themselves and by their colleagues as central figures in the development of the health related aspects of the curriculum at Forest School.¹⁷ It is important to emphasise the extent of the identification between the innovative idea and the personae of these individuals.

Phil Bayle provides an illustration

"I'm so tied up in the developments myself now, this is as much a part of me as I am of it."¹⁸

¹⁶ See Chapter 5, page 217

¹⁷ See KE, 1/1; PB, 1/13; SR, 1/10; KL, 1/6; SF, 2/1

¹⁸ PB, 2/9

This section presents a portrait of the personae of Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds, both as individuals and as partners.

It is not easy to pinpoint their 'official' or designated responsibilities in the department. The Staff Handbook for 1982/83 shows that Kevin Edmonds is 'Head of Boys' PE', a scale two position, and Phil Bayle is 'Head of Health Education and Recreation', also a scale two post. However, Pete Gardener's comments convey the ambiguity that surrounded their responsibilities

"Kev's was a strange case anyway, because he arrived here already on a scale two, and his initial brief was rugby, cricket, and athletics, none of which he particularly liked to teach. In fact, he's only ever taken a rugby team once, I think - that's one time, not one season (laughing). Cricket he's never taken, and we don't have any athletics matches which is a shame, but then again it's a very short term. So he's always been put down as 'Head of Boys' PE'; maybe it happened because we had a 'Head of Girls' PE' and I was 'Head of Faculty', so it was really to justify the scale point as much as anything. Phil was on a scale two for his involvement in the Community College; now once again it was written down as that, so you could see what he was supposed to be doing, but he was responsible for quite a lot of things, in fact. He could have had a point for the Geography and Geology teaching he did at one time, or he could have had a

point for his music teaching."¹⁹

Perhaps this ambiguity in designated responsibility is an important condition in creating an environment that permits a degree of teacher autonomy and the freedom to develop ideas.²⁰ Nevertheless, there is little ambiguity in the acknowledgement from Bayle and Edmonds themselves, and from their colleagues, that their involvement in the innovative process is crucial and significant.

Both teachers considered that they were working in partnership, and that this partnership is important in their own social as well as professional lives.²¹ Of research interest here is how that partnership worked, and how each teacher's personality combined to create a successful working relationship in the context of the innovation. The starting point seems to have been a realisation that they share similar beliefs, values, and aspiration - they call this their 'philosophy' - in relation to teaching physical education.²² Phil Bayle comments in this respect, and in so doing provides us with an insight into the development of Kevin Edmond's perspective.

"In terms of developing ideas, the first important thing is

¹⁹ PG, 1/23

²⁰ See in this Chapter, pages 292-294

²¹ See KE, 4/9; HA, 25

²² See eg KE, 1/1-2

having somebody who was like-minded on the staff - that's Kev. Although it's fair to say that Kev didn't always think that way. He was very much wrapped up in his own sporting aspirations, seemed to care little about school, he was a 'four-o'clock-and-away man', at least for the first three years I taught here. I didn't even associate with him then as a friend. Obviously, he wasn't getting much out of his teaching, and then he began to change subtly over a year or so. He got a lot more involved socially, actually, and at the same time he re-thought what he was doing and came to the same conclusions as me."²³

However, it appears that both teachers arrived at this point of similarity from different directions. One account of Kevin Edmonds in his early years in the department suggests an intense and apparently discontented person. In a sense, he did not fit into the ethos prevalent in the department at that time.

"Kevin was a problem in that he didn't see the things that we thought were important. He taught his subject, and he did his extra curricular things at that time, probably more then than now. But he did things because he wanted to do them, and not because it had been suggested by someone else ... I think it was a deliberate ploy on his part. I mean, people said he had a mystifying personality, but I don't think it was that. The more you pushed him, the more he

²³ PB, 1/11-12 .

backed off, and the less he wanted to do because you were pushing." ²⁴

However, with the advent of the CSE, Edmonds became involved in the 'health related' aspects of the curriculum, which perhaps played a part in settling the discontent. Nevertheless, the intensity of personality remained in some respects, and this is particularly evident in his interactions with students. The field notes give a flavour of this. The following note, for instance, was made whilst observing a fourth year group who were working at mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

'By the time KE reached the stage of distributing the pamphlets some students had obviously lost concentration completely, (eg chatting and giggling at the back of the group). KE seems happy to ignore this. However, one student at the front (Ian) seems to have great difficulty in concentrating on his reading. KE's rebuke took the form of a sincere appeal - 'come on Ian, this is important', and again about two minutes later - 'this is a serious problem'. The manner of ticking off is quite and calm.'²⁵

Another note, made on Edmonds' interactions with students relates

'One characteristic of KE's teaching which stands out is his

²⁴ HA, 14-15

²⁵ KE, Fieldnotes, 4

sincerity and commitment to what he's teaching.²⁶

And another

'KE's contacts with the students seem on the one hand to reflect great concern for the welfare of particular students;²⁷ on the other hand he seems to be a bit 'stiff' with students, not particularly relaxed. He is often serious and sincere in his teaching, which is the best way I can think of describing his manner.'²⁸

In some ways, Edmonds' personality, as it is expressed in these accounts, suggest similarities to a notion developed by Smith and Keith to explain the behaviour of some of the Kensington teachers. They suggest an analogy between innovating and a crusade, and comment

"The role of a crusader or participant in a movement, such as the new elementary education of which Kensington was a part, encompasses a combination of behaviours and sentiments that contrast with the ones considered characteristic of the 'typical' employee or incumbent in an organisational position. The task 'rises above ordinary life because it requires one to leave business-as-usual and commit himself earnestly to something he believes in deeply' (quoting Klapp). The uniqueness, the separateness, the differentness, the intensity of the sentiments and behaviours of the individual engaged in an enterprise of this kind must be emphasised. Thus, it is both the remedial effort with its extraordinary intents and the accompanying zeal and enthusiasm that help to define the role of crusader."
(1971, 100-107)

²⁶ KE, Fieldnotes, 4

²⁷ See KE, 3/5, and the case of 'Paula'

²⁸ KE, Fieldnotes, 6

It is clear from the evidence that Kevin Edmonds' contribution to the innovative process at Forest School is something of this kind.²⁹ However, I would characterise his role, not as 'crusader' but as that of 'catalyst', which better conveys the notion of an individual whose own belief and conviction has the potency to cause reaction and change in others. Although it is fair to say that Edmonds communicated the innovative idea with enthusiasm and zeal, it would be less than fair to suggest that his interactions with colleagues lacked subtlety and thought.³⁰ 'True belief', to use Smith and Keith's term, touched all of the case study teachers, particularly evident in relation to changes in their own lifestyles concomitant with the ideals associated with the innovation.³¹

Phil Bayle's contribution on the other hand, seems to have been complementary to Kevin Edmonds' in a number of way. His belief in the innovative idea, whilst as sincere as Edmonds', seems to have been tempered by an easy going, relaxed personality. By his own account, he says

"I do circulate in the school quite a lot, and I've been involved with teaching in various departments. I've taught some music, and I taught a fair amount of Humanities, particularly in my early years, and especially in Geography.

²⁹ See further MW, 12; HA, 24

³⁰ See KE, 4/10

³¹ See eg Chapter 5, pages 227-229

I've taught Adult Literacy as well. I've been Social Secretary for the staff over a number of years, we used to organise all the social functions. I'm a sort of social person anyway, I get around people."³²

Phil Bayle also suggest some other factors which he felt were important in this respect.

"I've got a pretty wide view of life, not just experiencing other interests, but doing other things like travelling, getting about and seeing different people and mixing with them. I reckon my musical experience has taught me as much as anything, working as a professional musician."³³

It appears that Bayle put this easy going manner to good use in discussions concerning curriculum development

"Phil comes across as this easy going bloke, but he's very knowledgeable, and he's got a way with him It was his personality. Within discussion groups he was sensitive enough to realise what a bolshi group of individuals we all are, and that one had to have a convincing argument. It was no good just banging your fist on the table. I think in the end Phil's way of doing things was to make us think that we had thought of it. That

³² PB, 1/1; see also KE, 3/7

³³ PB, 1/1 - Bayle was a professional rock musician

was the good thing about Phil."³⁴

Thus, the interplay of personalities, of Kevin Edmonds' apparent intensity with Phil Bayle's apparent laxity, was a potent mixture in relation to developments at Forest School. The range and scope of their involvement suggests the significance of their partnership - researching information; educating, supporting, and persuading colleagues; creating ideas; disseminating ideas; and, of course, actually teaching the curriculum.

This analysis of the relationships and involvements of the case study teachers in the innovation at Forest School raises a series of questions which centre on the factors which influence and determine these relationships. The next section, in acknowledging Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds as central figures in the developmental process, begins to make explicit the influential factors in a teacher's decision to innovate.

2 Innovation as an Expression of Teacher Values

Bayle's and Edmonds' relationship to the innovation at Forest School indicates a central role in the developmental process: thus, as catalysts for change they have also been involved as prime movers or initiators. A number of factors have already been outlined³⁵ which indicate the

³⁴ HA, 23

³⁵ In Chapters 4 and 5

structural dimensions, the conditions, and the context of this initiative. The question remains, however - 'what are the factors in a teacher's interpretation of this context which have influenced this response?' The notion which is evoked here to explain Bayle's and Edmonds' involvement in the innovative process is to be found in what they call their 'philosophy'. This consists of a collection of beliefs, values, and aspirations for teaching physical education, and it these 'values' which have guided their action at Forest School.³⁶ Their initiative, to become centrally involved in an innovative process, can be seen as an expression of these values.

Ward and Hardman have noted a similar relationship between teacher values and educational action

" anticipated pupil effects related to the values of a particular teacher in an astoundingly persistent way and the pupil effects tended to be at the value rather than the skill or knowledge level of objectives." (1978, 64)

The significance of this formulation of the relationship between these two teachers' initiative to become involved in innovation, and their values as teachers, indicates that these values are not merely a rationale for teaching the health related aspects of the curriculum - although they can and do function in this way, particularly in a formalised version such as the formal doctrine - but that they are also

³⁶ House remarks 'Innovation, particularly for the pioneers, is an act of faith'. (1974, 186)

the driving force behind developments in the curriculum. Thus, within the context of historical and contemporary circumstances, and within the framework of the rules supplied by the mandate, Phil Bayle's and Kevin Edmonds' initiative to innovate can be seen as an expression of their values as professional teachers.

It seems clear, then, that the account of what the innovative idea is, as it is expressed by the formal doctrine, provides only a partial understanding of this idea and of the nature of teacher-initiated innovation. To complement and elaborate this picture, what is now required is an account of the values which influence these teachers' decision to innovate. Indeed, it is only through an exploration of teacher values as they are expressed explicitly, or as reflexive aspects of their accounts, that we as outsiders can come to understand something of the meaning and significance Bayle and Edmonds ascribe to the innovative idea. We will then be in a better position to understand what it about this idea that is seen by these teachers to be an appropriate response to their circumstances. Thus, the task in this section is to identify some of the ideas central to Bayle's and Edmonds' 'philosophy'.

(i) The structural dimensions of teacher values - a response to circumstances

It is important at the outset to reaffirm the structural factors which form the conditions and context in which teachers' thoughts and actions are located. These factors are outlined in detail in Chapters Four and Five, and include the historical events in the school and department which have led to the contemporary situation, and a number of dimensions in this current situation such as the management and administration of the school and department, the informal code of rules which guide social action, and so on. It is in this context that teachers' thoughts and actions are located, and in which their personal and professional experience is brought together. Thus, there is a synthesis between structure and the individual which can be expressed in the following way: that teacher-initiated innovation, as an expression of teachers' values, is a response to circumstance. Actions are located in time and space, or as Schutz (1962, 212) says, in the 'world of working'. This notion of 'circumstance' does not determine teachers' values, but dictates the form these will take in particular situations. Ward and Hardman put it this way

"The mode of expression of teachers' particular dominant values were adjusted according to the teaching situation in which the teacher found himself. This adjustment appeared to occur to make possible a reconciliation of the manageable programme with an authentic expression of teachers' values." (1978, 67)

Thus, 'circumstance' is a linking concept between structure and the beliefs, values, and aspirations that are born of a teacher's subjective interpretation of the world.

In judging Bayle's and Edmonds' response to their circumstances, perhaps the most difficult factors to assess are each teacher's own biography of experience. There are temporal and ethical limits on what can be collected in this respect. However, some indicators of these factors do appear in the case record.³⁷ More explicit evidence of their response to circumstance is their characterisation of the conventional approach to teaching physical education in schools.

(ii) The roots of discontent - the 'traditional orientation'

Smith and Keith noted at Kensington that some of the teachers there saw the 'need for remedial effort' or in other words, there were 'wrongs to be righted'. As such, the Kensington teachers articulated much of their formal doctrine in anti-traditional terms. Smith and Keith remark that 'in our data a great deal of the formal doctrine illustrated the wrongs and 'evils' of traditional education that Kensington was to alter and replace.' (1971, 102-103). There are parallels in the situation at Forest. One of the 'problems' that Bayle and Edmonds identify in their situation is the conventional approach to teaching physical education, which

³⁷ See HRF Seminar, 2 and 3

they characterise as the 'traditional orientation'. Indeed this characterisation serves as the antithesis of their own 'philosophy'; in other words, it says what their approach is not.

They describe the traditional orientation to teaching physical education as 'practically orientated, conventional, organising games and teams, competitive.'³⁸ The little sociological research that has been done in physical education, for example, Whitehead and Hendry (1976), or that has mentioned physical education teachers, for example Woods (1979), has tended to emphasise the accuracy of this characterisation.³⁹

It is the apparently excessive preoccupation with the competitive element of this 'traditional orientation' that Bayle and Edmonds see as one of its major drawbacks. For them, competition unavoidably brings elitism into the curriculum. Ethically, there is 'nothing wrong with competitive sports for competitive kids'.⁴⁰ However, the dilemma that this competitive element presents is that it works itself out as a practical problem. The problem is to cater for the full range of student interest and ability and not just for the talented minority. In addition, they

³⁸ KE, 1/3-5: 2/7; PB, 1/13

³⁹ Bayle's and Edmonds' characterisation is a caricature, which they themselves recognise; however, whether caricature can pass as legitimate sociological research, as in the two cases referenced in the text, is questionable - eg see Woods (1979, 152-153); and Whitehead and Hendry (1976, 80)

⁴⁰ KE, 2/6

claim that competitive activity tends to produce negative attitudes in students, by exposing them to the risks of stress, failure, and possible humiliation.⁴¹ This does not rule out all competitive sport from Bayle's and Edmond's scheme, but is a comment on the effects of excessive provision of such activity. The place competitive activity is awarded can be seen in the HRF based PE curriculum outlined in Chapter five.

According to Bayle and Edmonds, the traditional orientation also implies a particular teaching style.

"The PE teacher is more like a sheep dog, where the real skill is how efficiently the dog herds the sheep round obstacles. It doesn't matter who the sheep are, as long as you do it in the most efficient way, and you're back on time, that's how you score the highest points, and that's the skill a typical PE student comes out with. Damned good teachers, and damned good at herding people about in gymnasiums, and in sports halls and on playing fields. But let's face it, these are the tools we've been using for the last fifty years, along with the football and the rugby, we ought to be good at them by now."⁴²

There is for Bayle and Edmonds a parallel to the traditional orientation to teaching physical education, in the wider

⁴¹ HRF, Seminar, 2

⁴² PB, 1/13

context of schooling, which is the 'exam-based grammar school tradition'.⁴³ Here, there is the same obsession with behavioural efficiency and performance through competition and a concomitant alienation of teacher and student. The teacher who typically perpetuates this tradition is oblivious to development and change.⁴⁴

It is clear that both Bayle and Edmonds consider the teaching role implicit in the traditional orientation to be inappropriate both for them as teachers at Forest School and as people. As Phil Bayle expresses this

"I think at the end of the day, you've got to sit down and consider what your job consists of, and if it consists of going up and down to that field all day long trying to teach kids how to throw a rugby ball, it becomes apparent that it's not about that, and your time could be spent in more valuable ways..... It didn't take me long to decide that there was something fundamentally wrong with what I was doing!"⁴⁵

The traditional orientation has a straight-jacket effect on genuine teaching and communication with students, or as Bayle puts it 'I wasn't teaching kids, I was treating bodies!'⁴⁶

⁴³ PB, 1/5

⁴⁴ PB, 1/13

⁴⁵ PB, 1/11

⁴⁶ PB, 1/12

The point was made in the previous chapter⁴⁷ that the highest 'affective tone' in statements made by the teachers is not to be found in the formal doctrine, but in the informal doctrine of beliefs, values, and aspirations. Bayle's and Edmonds' perspective on the conventional approach to teaching physical education illustrates this high affective tone. It is also clear that Bayle and Edmonds - and indeed the rest of their colleagues - consider what they are trying to do to be in some sense 'unique'.⁴⁸ In other words, by characterising the conventional approach to teaching physical education as the 'traditional orientation', they effectively mark themselves off as 'different', 'special', 'atypical'.

The traditional orientation represents the negative side, or the antithesis, of Bayle's and Edmonds' philosophy. The rest of this section outlines the alternatives they propose to this.

(iii) The student as individual

Bayle and Edmonds consider the individual student to be the central focus and concern of their teaching⁴⁹. Kevin Edmonds emphasises the fundamental nature of this focus.

⁴⁷ See Chapter 5, pages 236-245

⁴⁸ See Smith and Keith (1971, 45); and KE, 1/1; KL, 1/8

⁴⁹ eg See HRF Seminar, 10; KE, 2/1&3: 3/2&4; PB, 1/11

"The philosophy is all about the needs of the individual and trying to keep those needs in mind as much as possible."⁵⁰

The individual student is important because 'each kid has a right to be seen as an individual human being' and as a consequence of this, 'has a right to a physical education which is relevant to him in the society we're living in'.⁵¹ Thus, Bayle's and Edmonds' teaching is grounded in certain fundamental beliefs about human nature, and a moral imperative which these beliefs entail. Applied to the situation at Forest School, these beliefs seem to be important determinants in considering the special needs of the school's particular student age range. For instance, students in this 14-18 age group begin to question what they do in school, and Bayle and Edmonds see this as only right and proper. In order to accomodate this, the teacher often has to try to see the student's point of view.⁵² There is, therefore, the need for understanding and empathy, because

"If you've got a kid with a physical problem you must get the background information on them and try to understand them, to have some empathy; otherwise it's hard to be effective."⁵³

⁵⁰ KE, 2/7

⁵¹ KE, 2/1

⁵² HRF Seminar, 9

⁵³ KE, 3/8

An important idea in this respect is the presentation of 'relevant' subject matter to students; 'as far as possible the ideal is to provide something which is appropriate for each individual.'⁵⁴ However, students are unlikely to be interested in activities at which they regularly fail. Thus, achievement is important, but is dependent on the relevance and appropriateness of subject matter. Edmonds contrasts this point of view with the effects on students of the traditional emphasis on competition.

"We have to think about the effect we have on kids and what they take away from our physical education programmes. If all they can remember is pain, discomfort, humiliation and being beaten, then they'll probably tend to associate that kind of experience with all forms of physical activity and hold a very negative attitude throughout their lives."⁵⁵

With this notion of 'relevance' in mind, Bayle and Edmonds are aware of a need to 'democratise' the provision made for students so that those with 'exceptional needs', from 'both ends of the spectrum' are given help and advice. For the talented sportsperson, this may mean coaching and help with competition preparation; for students with 'problems', such as asthma or obesity, this may involve counselling or remedial help, such as the fitness evaluation and exercise prescription, advice on diet, and so on.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ KE, 2/7

⁵⁵ HRF Seminar, 2

⁵⁶ KE, 1/4: 3/5; HRF Seminar, 9

According to Bayle and Edmonds, teaching should always be in the best interests of the students.

This decision to focus on the student as individual has in practice been problematic. Some of these problems have been organisational and operational, as we saw in Chapter five;⁵⁷ some problems which derive from this focus also have implications for the process of dissemination of the innovation. This matter is discussed, in terms of gaining recognition for the innovation, in Chapter seven.⁵⁸

(iv) The teacher's task

In the light of the position Bayle and Edmonds take in relation to students, it follows for them that a major part of the teacher's task is to influence students' attitudes and through this bring about changes in behaviour.⁵⁹ This view underscores the aim of 'trying to produce improvements in kids' outlooks, so they can improve their own health and fitness later in life, if not now'.⁶⁰ The emphasis on attitude change is in part due to a 'futuristic perspective', the notion that the school's influence should be carried over to adult life. Immediate behavioural change does not guarantee the longer term changes they wish to bring about.

⁵⁷ See KL, 2/5

⁵⁸ Chapter 7, section 3 (iii)

⁵⁹ See eg PB, 1/4-5; and Ward and Hardman (1978, 62)

⁶⁰ PB, 1/6

Another reason for this emphasis is a realisation by Bayle and Edmonds that there is an affective element to their teaching; they want students to care about certain things which they, the teachers, believe to be important.⁶¹

Both teachers seem to be aware that any attempt to change or influence attitudes has moral implications.⁶² However, Bayle defends this position

"You could argue that it's not up to teachers to try to alter people's attitudes, but I would always argue that it is. I don't see anything immoral in that, so long as teachers as a group of people present things in an unbiased way."⁶³

This declaration is balanced, in a sense, by the resolution that students should be involved in their own learning, self-motivated, and encouraged to make up their own minds about the value of materials and subject-matter without being brow-beaten by teachers.⁶⁴

The teachers' task, then, for Bayle and Edmonds, is to encourage 'positive attitudes' in the student towards his own health and fitness. Kevin Edmonds provides an example of this aspiration in practice; he is talking about a group

⁶¹ PB, 1/4

⁶² See Lortie (1975, 111-112) on the teacher as 'moral agent'

⁶³ PB, 1/4

⁶⁴ eg see KE, 1/2-3: 3/2; PB, 1/6

of depressed fifth year early leavers.

"We spent a lot of time in class talking about how they could shape their own destinies a bit more, and in more subtle ways of how they could present themselves and how they feel about themselves, and getting on to the nuts and bolts of keeping fit and eating the right food. I tried to show them how they could feel better about themselves, which would help their confidence by adding to their physical selves and mental selves."⁶⁵

Bayle's and Edmonds' perspective on their task as teachers is in some ways a departure from a more common conception of the teacher's task - the transmission of knowledge. This is not to deny that they consider knowledge a 'vital component' in this process but - as we will see with competitive sport in the next subsection - they consider that knowledge is not an 'end-in-itself', but is instead just one 'means-to-an-end', that end being attitude change.⁶⁶ Thus, knowledge should be used in the teaching process as an instrument in the development in students of positive attitudes towards health and fitness.

(v) Means to ends

Bayle and Edmonds suggest that a certain teaching style is prerequisite to achieving the aspirations expressed in the

⁶⁵ KE, 3/4

⁶⁶ HRF Seminar, 3; PB, 1/3

previous section. Much of this style involves the teacher in stimulating interest and enjoyment amongst students. There are certain methods or 'tools' which are better suited to these purposes than others. For example, the traditional teaching medium in physical education is games and sports, and these activities imply a particular teaching style. This traditional style is the 'sheep dog method'.⁶⁷ However, while these methods can be appropriate in some instances, this is not always so. Phil Bayle draws an analogy to illustrate this point.

"If the job is cutting a piece of wood, you don't use a hammer do you? If you're trying to knock two things together, you use a hammer and not a saw, and the problem for us was that we were using the wrong piece of equipment."⁶⁸

The 'tools' which the teachers consider more appropriate to the task of developing student attitudes are 'discussion'; 'drama'; and 'demonstration'; discussion of issues arising from reading and teaching, dramatisation of incidents, like road accidents, and demonstration of concepts, like Karen Lowe's example of 'reaction time'.⁶⁹ The development of a repertoire of new teaching methods and skills is, for Bayle and Edmonds, vital to achievement of their aspirations because, as Bayle remarks

⁶⁷ See page 270

⁶⁸ PB, 1/11

⁶⁹ See PB, 1/11; for a discussion of these methods see Rice, pages 208-224 in Cowley et al (1981)

"You can't dictate attitudes - you've got to create an environment in which desirable attitudes occur."⁷⁰

The creation of such an environment will be highly dependent, not only on new methods to complement or replace the old, but also on the quality of interactive skills that teachers develop. Just as the flow of information and communication in general between colleagues is dependent on the quality of their professional relationships, so the creation of an environment where 'desirable attitudes occur' will depend to a large extent on the quality of relationships between staff and students. The kinds of interactive skills that teachers have developed at Forest School to make best use of the techniques of discussion, demonstration, and drama, are outlined in detail in Chapter seven.

The beliefs, values and aspirations which comprise Bayle's and Edmonds' 'philosophy' have been identified and described in this section. The researcher's intention, in making this philosophy explicit, is to reveal something of what the innovation and the innovative idea means to these two teachers central to the innovative process. It is on the basis of this philosophy that their orientation to teaching physical education is guided. And so, in this case, teacher-initiated innovation is an expression of this philosophy. It is, in this case, a manifestation in the intersubjective world of working of time and space, of each teacher's subjective

⁷⁰ PB, 1/3

interpretation of that world. The process of innovating serves as a window on this world of subjective experience in that it reveals and makes explicit values that more often exist at the level of assumption, as subconscious entities that are rarely articulated speech or action. Thus, the factor which has influenced Bayle's and Edmonds' level of involvement in initiating an innovation is the perceived gap or shortfall between belief, value and aspiration, and reality. The attempt to close this gap in the concrete physical world is the teaching of the health related aspects of physical education at Forest School. Herein lies the significance of the innovation for Bayle and Edmonds. What it means to them is an attempt to close a perceived gap between their own values and reality as it is manifest in their own situation; it is, in other words, an attempt to actualise and realise their beliefs, values, and aspirations.

There are important implications in this discussion for Bayle's and Edmonds' colleagues at Forest School. These are that during the educative process, these teachers are not only being asked to understand and teach new subject matters, new materials, new concepts and use new methods; they are also being asked implicitly to take on a concomitant philosophy which underlies this new material. The issue that is raised by this realisation concerns the meaning and significance of the new materials, and the new ideas, for the other teachers in the department. This issue is central

to explaining why these teachers are less involved in the innovative process than Bayle and Edmonds, and so relatively speaking peripheral to the initiation and creation of new ideas and new subject matter. The next section addresses the question of how the rest of the teachers in the department receive and orientate themselves towards the innovative idea, what sense they make of this idea, and how their subjective interpretation of the situation manifests itself in practice.

3 Communication as a Process of Translation

House refers to studies which suggest that teachers invariably deviate from the original intentions and aspirations which precede innovations.

"For any innovation one can name, teachers muster a variety of opinions from the groups to which they belong (Innovations) may eventually be adopted, but, when they are, they will be transformed from the philosophical purity in which they were born into something easier for the social network to absorb."
(1974, 79)

House's point is that innovations are always transformed in the course of their progress from conception to implementation. However, we noted in Chapter five House's notion of the 'primacy of personal contact' in the innovative process, wherein he suggests that ideas are communicated more effectively if there is some degree of personal contact between potential users of an innovation. We saw that a high

degree of personal contact between teachers is a daily occurrence at Forest School, and one of the effects of this was the personification of ideas in association with Bayle's and Edmonds' persuasive efforts. The question is, then, whether transformation of the aspirations and intentions behind the innovation is inevitable during the educative process. Where the degree of personal contact is so high, we might expect a low level of transformation of ideas amongst colleagues. However, the reader will be aware from the discussion in the previous chapter, that some differences do exist at Forest as to how the teachers understand the innovative idea, or rather, how they conceptualise the teaching of the health related aspects of the curriculum. The evidence cited there suggest at least some 'distortion' of the innovative idea has occurred. But the situation is complex; although it is possible to identify differing degrees of involvement in the innovative process amongst the case study teachers, we have seen - in section one of this chapter - that all of the teachers are involved in the implementation of the innovation. In addition, all play some part in the production of materials and the researching of topics. What the evidence points to at Forest School is not so much a transformation of the innovation, but a species of that genre which is called here 'translation'.⁷¹ As ideas are communicated from teacher to teacher during the educative process, these are translated by each teacher into meaningful entities so that, as they are worked through in

⁷¹ See Olson (1983, 20-24) for a similar use of this notion

practice, outcomes differ. Thus, each teacher translates the information, concepts, and materials into a meaningful and coherent form. Schutz's powerful theorising on the topic of social interaction, where he proposes that communication takes place through the 'typifying medium' of language (1962, 10-14), suggest that the outcomes of each teacher's translation of ideas will be, for the most part, recognisably similar. Otherwise, joint actions amongst colleagues would not be possible. However, the process of translation allows that each teacher can, within the framework of institutional and group norms, arrive at a variety of perspectives on the innovation. The evidence reproduced in the case record suggests that this is what has happened at Forest School, and the variety in teachers' perspectives is manifest in the different levels of involvement of each teacher in the innovative process.

Before proceeding to outline how some of the teachers in the department have understood and orientated themselves to the innovative idea, it is important first of all to attempt to describe the factors in each teacher's interpretation of the concrete situation at Forest which allows a variety of perspectives to be possible.⁷² In this respect, there are three significant elements which underwrite the teacher's own interpretation of events and so influence the teacher's response to these events. These three elements are 'the teacher's own biography of experience'; 'circumstance'; and

⁷² This analysis applies to Bayle and Edmonds also.

'the influence of colleagues', each of which operate in a dynamically interrelated manner in the concrete reality of Forest School. However, each of these elements is delineated here, for the purposes of analysis, as discrete entities.

(i) Factors in the teacher's interpretation of the situation

a) The sedimentation of experience The first factor which influences a teacher's interpretation of his situation and events in that situation is the teacher's own personal biography of experience. Berger and Luckmann have pointed out that

"Only a small part of the totality of human experiences is retained in consciousness. The experiences that are so retained become sedimented, that is, they congeal in recollection as recognisable and memorable entities. Unless such sedimentation took place the individual could not make sense of his biography." (1971, 85)

A part of each individual's experiences is retained and is used in the everyday business of making sense of the world. This process of sedimentation, of the building up of sensible experience, is not only expressed through memory, but is visible in an individual's personality, mannerisms, gait, expressions, and so on. As such, the biography of experience is the basis for our subjective interpretation of the world.⁷³ Schutz emphasises that biography is socially formed

⁷³ See PB, 1/15-16

"All interpretation of this world is based upon a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experiences and those handed down to us by our parents and teachers, which in the form of 'knowledge at hand' function as a scheme of reference." (1962, 208)

Indicators from the teacher's own biography of experience which have found their way through sedimentation into the 'stock of knowledge at hand' are particularly difficult to identify. However, there are some examples of teachers' personal experiences in the case record which appear to be significantly influential in forming their present perspectives.⁷⁴ Professional training and teaching experience is another dimension of each teacher's biography which will be important here. For instance, from what we know about Kevin Edmonds' involvement in the innovative process, his opinion of his preservice training seems significant.

"The course was quite good practically, and teaching was good in some activities. But in terms of philosophy it was going through a weird time. It was just at the start of BEd courses, and there seemed to be a vague feeling that the thing to do was to make it academic As a professional preparation and a philosophical preparation for teaching, it was in many ways inadequate."⁷⁵

⁷⁴ See eg HA, 22; KE, 1/2; HRF Seminar, 3; KW, 1/5; SF, 1/3: 3/5; PB, 1/15

⁷⁵ KE, 1/2

Sue Ripley's view that she 'started off as a practical teacher' seems to be a significant statement of her perspective also.⁷⁶ Phil Bayle's comments suggest that the teacher's experience can be influenced from less conventional sources.

"Questions from adult friends suggested that they were more interested in getting rid of 'beer guts' and being able to jog, and doing that kind of activity. Health and fitness questions were more prominent than questions about how to do layups in basketball or how to vault over boxes. That was the thing that adults were concerned about, and it worried us that we couldn't answer these questions."⁷⁷

Other influences on the teachers' interpretations of their situation from professional experience can be found in the case record.⁷⁸

b) Circumstance A second factor which has influenced teachers' perspectives can be expressed in the notion of 'circumstance'. This notion, as a structural dimension of Phil Bayle's and Kevin Edmonds' philosophy, has already been mentioned in section two. The notion is used here to refer to the wide range of conditions and contextual factors which locate the teacher in space, time, and social milieu, and these have already been outlined in some detail in

⁷⁶ See SR, 1/11

⁷⁷ PB, HRF Seminar, 3

⁷⁸ See eg SR, 1/1-10; KW, 1/1-4; PG, 1/1-4; HA, 7-9; KE, 1/2-4; KL, 1/1-12; SR, 1/3-4; PB, 1/15

chapters four and five. Knowledge of these circumstances is internalised by teachers and so becomes taken for granted or assumed.

One factor which teachers isolated from this range of external phenomena, and which they seem to have been acutely aware of, was the distinctive problems they faced in working with adolescents. Adolescents are recognised by the case study teachers as a specialised teaching group⁷⁹ and as such have particular needs that require particular attention. We have already noted Bayle's and Edmonds' awareness of this matter in the previous section. It is also interesting to note that many of the characteristic features of working with students in this age range are conceptualised by the teachers as problematic, problems to which teachers must respond and attempt to overcome. For instance, within this age group 'so many are disenchanted'⁸⁰ which is a possible source of motivational and discipline problems. One explanation offered for this disenchantment is put down to the students' transfer to Forest at fourteen and so 'there's no sense of belonging'⁸¹; another teacher suggests that time-tabling makes it 'impossible to know a thousand kids'⁸². The teachers are also aware that the student sub-culture may work against the messages they try to transmit, so that

⁷⁹ eg See SR, 2/9

⁸⁰ See SR, 2/9

⁸¹ KL, 1/3

⁸² KE, 3/8

'they don't think they're ever going to die, at fifteen or sixteen, who does?'.⁸³

Thus teachers act within and respond to, and in some cases create, the circumstances which are given to their interpretation. They act on the basis of this interpretation within the structures of norms and rules derived from the mandate, and also within an informal doctrine or ethos of shared ideals. This latter structure, which is created by the social interactions of the teachers, represents a third factor which impinges on an individual teacher's interpretation of the situation.

c) The influence of colleagues and the phenomenon of shared ideals The influence of colleagues, and the collective ethos that is generated through interaction, on each individual's perspective and interpretation of the situation can be expressed in the notion of 'shared ideals'. The important function that this collective ethos performs is not to negate individual differences in interpretation; rather, shared ideals as we will see perform an important social function in the department which permits variation in individual perspective and the possibility of joint action.

The extent to which ideals are shared by the teachers at Forest School seems to be high. Three ideals in particular

⁸³ SF, 2/6

are almost universally cited by the teachers: the notion that 'the individual student is the focus for teaching'⁸⁴; that 'students should be provided with enjoyable and meaningful experiences'⁸⁵; and that 'students should be helped to develop attitudes and skills that will be relevant in adult life'.⁸⁶

Two prominent characteristics of these ideals, as they are expressed by the teachers, are their ambiguity and abstractness. It is by virtue of these characteristics that the ideals are so widely shared. On the other hand, the ideal of 'developing games skill' has a much more specific application, relatively speaking, and so is less open to a variety of interpretations, and thus seems to be shared by fewer teachers.⁸⁷

A danger that was noted in the previous chapter⁸⁸ with the formal doctrine of the innovation is that if ideals or aspirations are highly formalised and objectified, there is a chance that these ideals will be misinterpreted. Thus, in practice, the formal doctrine as a guide to action can only produce operational havoc in the concrete setting. However, this

⁸⁴ See eg SR, 1/9; PG, 1/26: 2/7: 2/13; KL, 2/5; SF, 2/4; see also Edmonds' and Bayle's comments on pages 272 above.

⁸⁵ See SR, 1/7; PG, 1/15; KL, 2/10; SF, 1/10: 2/7

⁸⁶ See SR, 1/7: 2/7; KL, 2/10; PG, 1/15; SF, 1/10-11: 2/5-7; Bayle and Edmonds, page 275

⁸⁷ See eg SR, 2/5-6; HA, 27; PG, 1/26

⁸⁸ Page 240-243

has not happened with the shared ideals which form the informal doctrine, the communal ethos, in the department. This matter is elaborated in the next subsection, but suffice it to say for now that because these ideals are transmitted verbally, (if they are transmitted at all), and not in the written word, they retain an ambiguity and flexibility that the formal doctrine, which appears in written form, cannot have.

The significance of these shared ideals in relation to each teacher's interpretation of the concrete situation at Forest School lies in the social function these ideals serve. This function is best illustrated through the notion of 'fitting in'.

'Fitting in' to the network of social and professional relations amongst the teachers seems to be important for each teacher;⁸⁹ so important for some teachers that the only course of action open to a teacher who does not 'fit in' is to leave the job and the school.⁹⁰ The existence of shared ideals which contribute to a communal ethos makes 'fitting in' possible.

"The job at Forest was mine if I wanted it, being a transfer, although I suppose the teachers here could have said 'we don't think he's going to fit in' but obviously enough

⁸⁹ SR, 1/9 is a good example

⁹⁰ KL, 3/10

was said at the interview for both parties to realise that we could get on together and work within the same ideas."⁹¹

'Fitting in' means that there is a mutual acceptance that a new comer to the department will be able to develop a working relationship with the already established teachers. Sharing ideals is, then, the 'professional' side of 'fitting in'. Teachers also 'fit in' on the basis of the social relationships they develop with colleagues; a good example of this is Phil Bayle's and Kevin Edmonds' partnership. Thus, 'sociability' is another side of 'fitting in'. Bayle relates his general experience of this phenomenon

"I suppose you tend to be biased because your own personal experiences were quite good, and socially I think the staff were a better bunch then (in the mid-seventies) than now in those days, at the end of term 'thrash' down the Blacksmith's it was packed out, everybody used to go....."⁹²

Thus, professionally and socially, teachers generally feel the need to 'fit in'. The existence of shared ideals helps in this process.⁹³ In relation to each individual teacher's subjective interpretation of the concrete situation, these ideals act as a structure which works to shape this interpretation into a socially acceptable form. The teacher whose ideals are in direct conflict with the rest of his colleagues'

⁹¹ SF, 2/4; see also SF, 1/10: 2/3; KL, 3/10; KW, 2/7

⁹² PB, 1/2: see also 1/12

⁹³ See Schutz (1962, 12 and 220) on the 'We-Relationship'

is liable to become an outcast, both socially and professionally; there is evidence in the case record to suggest that this situation may have arisen for Kevin Edmonds in his early years in the department.⁹⁴ On the other hand, there is also a great deal of leeway possible within this social structure. Indeed, due to the requirement that social action must be possible in the concrete situation, shared ideals are allowed to exist in an ambiguous and abstract form, because they allow agreement amongst colleagues on general beliefs, values, and aspirations, which in turn creates an ethos through the crystallisation of these ideals into group norms. Thus, shared ideals contribute to the maintenance of a communal ethos which is necessary for the existence of joint actions amongst colleagues; however, the ambiguity and abstractness of these ideals also permits a degree of freedom of interpretation for each individual teacher as these ideals are applied in the concrete teaching situation. In relation to the innovation at Forest School, the notion of 'teacher autonomy' has operated as a mechanism for translation of the innovative idea, by creating 'space' for each teacher's own interpretation of the situation.

(ii) Teacher autonomy - the mechanism for translation

We noted in section four of the previous chapter page 218. that the case study teachers consider the freedom to develop ideas to be vital to successful teaching. We saw that the

⁹⁴ See especially HA interview

the notion of 'teacher autonomy' functions within a framework of rules, a mandate, and helps to 'balance the power' between individual action and the administrative structures in the school. The notion of teacher autonomy serves another function, which is to act as a mechanism for translation. What this means is that, even where ideals are shared by the teachers, as is the case here, each teacher interprets these ideals in his or her own way. In other words, on the basis of each individual's interpretation of the situation, each teacher, through the mechanism of teacher autonomy, reserves the right to make his or her own sense of the innovation and the concrete teaching situation.⁹⁵ Each teacher reserves the right to make up his or her own mind as to what the shared ideals mean in practice. This flexibility is possible due to the ambiguity and abstractness of these ideals. And so, teachers can argue with consistency that they are 'treating students as individuals', and at the same time use quite disparate means from colleagues to achieving this end. Although the evidence suggest a high incidence of shared ideals at Forest, it is clear that teachers' choice of means to achieving these ends has differed. This difference lies in each teacher's interpretation of the situation, firmly grounded in his or her own biography and personality. Also, as we will see in the next chapter, methods have a very specific character and unavoidably operate within each individual teacher's own style.

⁹⁵ See eg SR, 2/11

And so, in the course of applying these ideals in practice, teachers emphasise different aspects of subject matter, concepts and so on.

"I think we all teach the same things, but in completely different ways, because of the different importance one of us places on one aspect in relation to another. For instance, I don't think it's particularly useful for children to know lots of medical terms, and I think if you go too far on the medical side it can be quite harmful. I think if Health Education is taught badly, it's worse than not being taught at all."⁹⁶

One of the consequences of teachers working through the course materials and subject matter in practice, as we have seen⁹⁷, is that they gain insights into this subject matter, and how better to convey this to students. Thus, as new insights are gained and ideas emerge some are pooled and shared with colleagues, and this contributes to the maintenance of the collective ethos.⁹⁸ However, this process also contributes to differences in how the teachers conceptualise teaching the health related parts of the curriculum and to their understanding of the innovative idea .

⁹⁶ SR, 2/7

⁹⁷ See Chapter 5, pages 222-229

⁹⁸ See eg KE's comments in interview.4.

(iii) Understanding the innovative idea

The clearest evidence in the case record which shows that the case study teachers have different conceptions of the innovative idea is to be found in the attempts of the two newcomers to the school, Kate Watkins and Steve Finney, to make sense of the concrete situation at Forest. For instance, Finney relates his understanding of the situation

"We've got a practical content and a theory content and it's difficult to link them together because with one we're out on the field or down in the sports hall, and with the other we're in the classroom and I think the kids tend to see it as different things. They call it by different names, 'PE theory' or 'Lifestyle'. Even Pete and Kev used to argue about what the course should be called. Hilary calls it 'Lifestyle' I think, somebody else calls it 'Health Education', and Kev's always said it should be put down as 'PE theory', so that's what I call it. The idea of the compulsory gym course is to link the two components, where we talk about it in the classroom then apply this in the gym. Now that's the only time I can see when we mention the health related aspects in practical. It could be applied to a team game like basket ball, but we don't do that."⁹⁹

⁹⁹ SF, 2/4-5; see also KW, 2/10

Even though there are shared ideals amongst the teachers, it would appear on the basis of Steve Finney's statement that there is no common conception of the innovative idea. There is no overt or explicit evidence available for Steve Finney and Kate Watkins within the reality of the concrete situation which suggests that some of their colleagues, particularly Kevin Edmonds and Phil Bayle conceptualise this concrete situation at Forest School as 'Health Related Fitness based Physical Education'. The actual experience of this situation, for Finney and Kate Watkins, is a curriculum with two separate components; a classroom based course which deals with health related topics, and which takes up about ten percent of curriculum time,¹⁰⁰ and which is tagged on to a fairly traditional programme of team and individual sports. And for some teachers, the 'practical' work which forms the other ninety per cent of curriculum time, has been neglected. 'I think what needs doing here, which we haven't got, is an actual written down curriculum for practical work'.¹⁰¹ Sue Ripley is another of the teachers aware of the apparently disparate nature of the PE curriculum at Forest, and offers her own account of the situation.

"I think criticism can be levelled at all of us, because we haven't insisted that theory and practical be related. And the people who are more interested in the health related fitness work, I think criticism can be levelled at them for

¹⁰⁰See SR, 2/11

¹⁰¹SF, 1/14; see also SR, 1/11: 2/11

not insisting that this happens as well. I mean, we go and tell the kids one thing in the theory class and then ... (pause) well as far as I'm concerned I do try to relate it. But if we all pooled our resources it would make for better lessons, and it would seem relevant."¹⁰²

Sue Ripley's statement suggests that she does conceptualise the curriculum at Forest in a similar way to Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds. She is obviously aware of the lack of integration of the two parts to the curriculum, but her comments suggest that she thinks this situation is unsatisfactory. What we can say, then, is that although Sue Ripley has a concept of the innovative idea as 'Health Related Fitness based Physical Education', this idea has not been translated into her, or her colleagues', practice. Kevin Edmonds, who is also aware of this problem, suggests an explanation

"At the moment, I teach the bulk of the health related things, I do the gym course, I do the weight training, and when I do activities like swimming I make them very fitness orientated, and similarly with some other activities. Now some of the others get the more games orientated parts of the curriculum and that's due to timetabling."¹⁰³

¹⁰²SR, in SR and KL Conversation, 7

¹⁰³KE, 4/4

For Edmonds, there is something about teaching team or group orientated activities that makes realisation of the innovative idea difficult in practice. According to him, integration of the theory and practical components of the curriculum can only happen through the provision of appropriate, individualised activities.¹⁰⁴ However, even if the curriculum could be re-organised to include only 'appropriate' practical activities, timetabling the course would remain a problem.

"Ideally we would run those first practical teaching blocks concurrently with the theory blocks, so that we could do a lesson in the classroom and then go into the gym and illustrate this with practical work, and that would be great! But I don't think it will ever happen like that, the timetabling is too complicated."¹⁰⁵

And so, the way in which the two components of the curriculum are presented to the students is likely to remain a problem, and this presentation hinders conveying the innovative idea as an integrated phenomenon in practice.

However, whether the account offered by Edmonds is entirely necessary for an integration of the curriculum is not beyond debate. On the one hand, it seems that for some teachers, like Kate Watkins, Kevin Edmonds' comments may be appropriate.

¹⁰⁴KE, 4/3

¹⁰⁵KE, 4/6

For instance, she appears to have had difficulty in realising the ideals of 'treating students as individuals' and 'providing opportunities for enjoyment and success' through the activity of volleyball.

"I always go round and make sure that I see every person working, if they're working on small groups tasks. A thing that makes it difficult is not knowing all of their names. What I try to do is avoid putting them in a position where they're going to fail or be humiliated, but in volleyball that seems to happen a lot. In a situation where I have four on each side there's one person who is forever missing the ball, and it doesn't really do much for their confidence in that activity."¹⁰⁶

As a probationary teacher, it seems to be asking too much of her to realise these ideals through this medium. Indeed her priorities are focused on organising groups, maintaining control and having some impact on student skill level.¹⁰⁷

However, one of the more experienced teachers, Sue Ripley, considers that it is possible to use team and group activities to these ends. Her approach is to

" mix the teams up. I do some coaching at the beginning of lessons, but I keep that to a minimum, because some of

¹⁰⁶KW, 2/8

¹⁰⁷KW. 2/9

the students come here having spent three years being coached and never having played a game. By the time girls get to fourteen, they're either going to be keen on netball or they're not. So I do some skills work to warm them up, and then we play and have tournaments, and I sort the good and bad players on each side so that as part of a team, the less talented can be successful."¹⁰⁸

Sue Ripley's example illustrates the point that has been argued in this section, that individual teachers take different means to achieving what they consider to be similar ends. Thus, we can see that the existence of shared ideals amongst the case study teachers does not preclude these ideals from individual interpretation. And so, for Bayle and Edmonds for example, achievement of these ideals is only possible through a PE curriculum based on Health Related Fitness and using individualised activities. For others in the department, a more traditional orientation and conception of the curriculum does not preclude these ideals.

The premise which helps to rationalise this situation is that 'teaching - and innovating - are expressions of teachers' values'. In other words, underlying each teacher's overt level of involvement in the innovative process at Forest School are the beliefs, values and aspirations which are the product of, and in turn play a part in, each teacher's subjective

¹⁰⁸SR, 2/5

interpretation of his or her world. Thus, what teachers teach, and how they teach, and the level at which they involve themselves in teaching and developing the health related aspects of the curriculum, is based in what teachers believe.¹⁰⁹ Teachers' ultimate justification for, and defence of, what they do is that according to their professional judgement and personal disposition, this is what is best for the students. There is a primacy of teachers values, then, in guiding what teachers do when they teach - teachers teach what they believe in, and these values become manifest in the curriculum through what teachers do, how they form relationships with students, what they say, the materials they select as most important, the materials they choose to emphasise and so on.

There are two further concepts which can be evoked to help explain teachers' involvements in the innovative process at Forest School.

4 The Legitimisation of Involvement in the Innovation

This section further elaborates the account presented thus far, by outlining and describing two factors of which the teachers themselves are either implicitly or explicitly aware, and which help to explain in greater detail the levels of involvement by the case study teachers in the innovative process. As we have seen, the teachers are themselves aware of differential involvement in developing

¹⁰⁹See eg KL, 2/10; and Ward and Hardman (1978, 64)

the health related aspects of the curriculum; the two ideas of the 'teacher's partial knowledge' and 'commitment' are evoked here as a means of explaining how the teachers legitimise the different levels of involvement.

(i) The teacher's partial knowledge of his professional world

Smith's and Keith's attempts to explain their observation that the Kensington teachers each had a different conception of the formal doctrine led them to comment

"As the divisions and teams went their individual ways, both geographically and instructionally, individual members were privy to only partial experiences of the totality." (1971, 35)

This is perhaps an obvious point, but it has important implications for teachers' experience of their concrete situations. It is one of the effects of this partiality of experience which leads Schutz to point out that

"Knowledge is socially distributed. The general thesis of reciprocal perspectives, to be sure, overcomes the difficulty that my actual knowledge is merely the potential knowledge of my fellow men and vice versa. But the stock of 'actual' knowledge at hand differs from individual to individual, and common sense thinking takes this into account." (1962, 14)

Teachers are aware, but at a taken-for-granted level, or implicitly, of how this social distribution of knowledge works out at Forest. In a very basic sense, every teacher in the department has only a partial knowledge of his or her professional world; that is, no-one knows everything

that happens in every lesson or what every colleague or student thinks about every issue or incident that arises in the course of the working day, week, term, and so on. Of course, some teachers have access to more information than others. For instance, Steve Finney and Kate Watkins did not work with Phil Bayle, and so lack the experience of having known him personally. If they had known him, perhaps their perspectives on teaching at Forest would have been influenced by him.¹¹⁰ Some teachers, by virtue of their seniority - in terms of status in the hierarchical organisation of the school, or length of time in the school - may have access to information, say from Administrators, which is not generally available to other colleagues.¹¹¹ Or some teachers may have access to information on the basis of their personal relationships with other teachers. There will also have been events in the school's and department's history which will only be available to newcomers to the school at second or third hand, or from which they may be excluded completely.

Knowledge of their professional world is, then, unevenly distributed amongst the teachers at Forest. In addition, this partiality of teachers' knowledge of the whole situation is compounded by their primary concern for issues or events which affect them directly or personally. Schutz makes this point

¹¹⁰See eg KL, 1/7

¹¹¹See HA, 15

"The wide awake man within the natural attitude is primarily interested in that sector of the world of his everyday life which is within his scope and which is centred in space and time around himself." (1962, 222)

Thus, each teacher's concerns focused on the 'world within reach', and knowledge which is irrelevant in this context is largely ignored.¹¹²

It is this notion, of a partial knowledge of their professional world, that underwrites teachers' accounts of their various degrees of involvement in the innovative process. This issue is of particular importance in relation to newcomers to the school, like Karen Lowe, Steve Finney, and Kate Watkins, because their initial understanding of their situation is based upon a very limited amount of contextual knowledge. This situation is hindered rather than helped by the way in which teachers characteristically communicate information, that is, by word of mouth. For example, it was only after attending a lecture given by Pete Gardener on the curriculum development in the department at a one-day conference at a local University, that Steve Finney had a coherent picture of the background to the contemporary situation of which he is now a part.¹¹³ This was because, in the five months that Finney had been in the school, the information he received about his teaching role and the innovation was passed on orally, not in written form. Whilst there are definite advantages to using this

¹¹²eg see KL, 1/9-11: 2/2

¹¹³SF, 2/1

medium, not the least of which is that in face-to-face interaction meaning is more effectively communicated,¹¹⁴ the information that is passed on is communicated in an imprecise, unsystematic, loose, and partial form.¹¹⁵ It is within this context, then, that the newcomers to the department identify Bayle and Edmonds as prime movers in the innovative process. For instance, 'I think Kev and Phil were the originators of it all, the started it all off';¹¹⁶ and Phil Bayle's name comes up a lot, he seems to have initiated the whole thing originally'.¹¹⁷ However, whether Bayle and Edmonds can be given all the credit for the initiation of change at Forest school is debatable; as we have seen, there are important factors extraneous to these teachers' control which continued to give structure and legitimacy to their efforts. The point is, though, that it is precisely this historical, circumstantial, and contextual information that the newcomers lack. There is a danger that the role of particular individuals in the innovative process is distorted and simplified on the basis of a partial understanding of the whole situation, and so the newcomer's accounts take on a 'mythical' quality. This appears to be what has happened at Forest School, in respect of the accounts of Karen Lowe, Steve Finney and Kate Watkins. And on this basis also, these individuals see themselves as

¹¹⁴See Schutz (1962, 219-220)

¹¹⁵See Handel's comments in Chapter 3, page 119

¹¹⁶KL, 3/12

¹¹⁷SF, 2/1

peripheral to the innovation. Their lack of contextual knowledge reinforces their own place 'on the outside' of developments. This situation can, of course, change over time, as these teachers become more highly sensitised to their own circumstances and context; but the understanding of what they teach, and why they teach the health related aspects of the curriculum, will be carried into the future as a partial account of these circumstances. This state of affairs will undoubtedly change and reshape the innovative idea as it continues to progress through time.

(ii) Commitment

A second notion, and one which teachers evoke explicitly to account for their involvement in the innovative process is 'commitment'. For instance, Phil Bayle suggests that there is a close relationship between being a highly committed teacher and being an innovative teacher.

"I think there are different levels of commitment amongst staff at any school. You get people who are heavily committed and who throw themselves totally into their jobs and feel unsuccessful and unfulfilled if they don't achieve something. These are the kinds of people I think who create change."¹¹⁸

Although not all committed teachers are necessarily innovative, to be innovative, according to Bayle, a teacher requires to be committed.¹¹⁹ Smith and Keith express a similar idea in their description of 'total commitment' as a dimension of 'the belief' in an innovative idea.

"By total commitment we mean an increase in time and energy beyond the formally contracted 'eight hours per day' and beyond the professional knowledge and skills possessed by the staff." (1971, 103)

It is something like this notion of 'total commitment' that Bayle's and Edmonds' colleagues recognise in them in their relationship to the innovation. For instance, one account characterises their relationship to the innovation as one of 'extra involvement'.

"I always felt Kev and Phil were more 'into it'. They've got more depth of knowledge and they've been on courses, and they're the ones who've had the time to go out of school and talk about it."¹²⁰

The fact that they are, or seem to be, more knowledgeable than their colleagues, that they spend more of their own time in reading and preparation, and more time on courses, and talking about the health related aspects of the curriculum, signifies to their colleagues a high level of

¹¹⁹Although committed to 'what' raises an interesting issue, but it is of peripheral interest here. See Woods (1979, 141)

¹²⁰SR, 1/10

commitment to the innovative idea.¹²¹

However, Smith and Keith (1971, 104) make the point that the consequences of over involvement, of working 'above and beyond the call of duty', is fanaticism. Similarly, House suggests that an innovator can be guilty of 'overselling'

"When this happens, non-believers begin to focus on the gap between promises made for the innovation and its performance, and begin to label its propogators as medicine-men or charlatans." (1974, 86)¹²²

The evidence suggests that both Bayle and Edmonds are aware of the dangers of overselling and potentially negative consequences of this for the innovation.¹²³ However, whether a high level of commitment necessarily leads to fanacitism is not clear. In some ways, this matter may, as Bayle has suggested, rest in individual disposition.

"I think a lot of people are prepared to sit back on what they're confident at, and once there they stay there. It's a lot to do with seeking out achievement orientated tasks. I mean, we're all different, aren't we? Some people live at a level where there isn't a great deal of challenge in their lives and some people need it."¹²⁴

¹²¹SR, 2/11; SF, 2/2; KW, 2/12

¹²²See MW comments on 12

¹²³See PB, 2/7; KE, 4/10

¹²⁴PB, 2/5

Certainly, Bayle and Edmonds don't see themselves as fanatics, even though their commitment has gone so far as to bring about about changes in their own personal lifestyles, especially in relation to diet and exercise. Such a high level of commitment is characteristic of a 'catalyst', an agent of change whose personal belief is strong enough to stimulate a reaction from colleagues, and it may be, as Smith and Keith (1971, 103) suggest, that such a commitment will always be necessary for an innovation to 'take off'. However, any attempt to quantify commitment, so that we can say how much is too much, is bound to fail. At Forest school, it is clear that individual perspectives on Phil Bayle's and Kevin Edmonds' commitment to their work is very much influenced by their colleagues' own values and interpretations.

Indeed, the notion of commitment is evoked to account for their own involvement in the innovative process. As Karen Lowe relates

"I think the health related fitness course is not my first commitment in the school. Whilst saying that, I enjoy teaching it and I'm committed to teaching it, but it's not my main love I suppose."¹²⁵

Her main commitment is, in fact, to dance. What it means for her to be committed to dance is illuminating, as this

¹²⁵KL, 3/12

commitment involves

" spending a lot of time thinking about dance, and doing it, and getting others involved in it. It takes up a lot of time, it's my main interest, it's something I enjoy."¹²⁶

Thus, it is because of the extra time and energy that commitment demands that "you can't be too committed to everything, especially in an area like PE. It's time spent, and time is pretty valuable." In practical terms, then, as it is manifest in the concrete world, commitment works itself out in terms of time, energy and emotional involvement thinking about and doing particular things related to one's area of interest.¹²⁷ In addition, being committed according to Karen Lowe, is a necessary condition for being a successful teacher.¹²⁸ The notion of 'success', and how it is measured by teachers in return for commitment, is discussed in the next chapter.

The two concepts of 'partial knowledge' and 'commitment' provide an elaboration and further explanation of the case study teachers' relationships to and involvements in the innovative process. In addition, these notions provide an insight into how teachers' legitimisation of their own involvement is underwritten.

¹²⁶KL, 3/12-13

¹²⁷KL, 3/13

¹²⁸KL, 3/14

Summary

This chapter has explored the teachers' perspectives on their experience of the concrete situation at Forest School. In so doing, the teachers' various involvements in the innovative process were outlined. Phil Bayle's and Kevin Edmonds' partnership was highlighted, as these two teachers are identified by themselves and their colleagues as centrally involved as initiators of the innovative process, and the values underlying their involvement in the innovation were explored. The idea evoked to explain this relationship is that 'innovating is an expression of teacher values'. Indeed, the decision to develop the health related aspects of the curriculum represents their attempt to close a perceived gap between their aspirations and 'reality'. Section three focuses on the educative process of the communication of ideas, and how these ideas are translated by teachers into their own value structures and on into their own teaching. It is suggested that whilst particular ideals seem to be widely shared by colleagues, the translation of these ideals into practice results in individuals holding different and sometimes disparate conceptions of the PE curriculum at Forest. The factor which underwrites the process of translation is the teachers' values upon which each teacher's interpretation of the world is based. What teachers teach, and how they teach, and so their involvement in the innovative process is determined - within certain structural limitations which are outlined - by what they 'believe in'. Thus teaching can also be said

to be an expression of values. Finally, the fourth section develops two concepts which further elaborate and explain the different levels of involvement in the innovative process.

This account of the situation at Forest School remains incomplete, however, without an examination of how the teachers' perspectives on their experience in the concrete situation relates to their conceptions of the occupational nature of teaching. As professionals who earn a living by teaching, teachers' perspectives are firmly grounded in the realisation that what they do when they teach is 'work'. The ideas, which are developed in this and the previous chapter, must now be located in this context.

Chapter 7Occupational Characteristics of Teaching and Innovating

Teachers' interpretations of their professional world are firmly grounded in an implicit awareness that what they do when they teach is 'work'. Teaching may, of course, be significant to individuals for other reasons, but all of this is underwritten by the taken for granted knowledge that teaching involves 'earning a living'. Thus, an examination of how the teachers' perspectives on the concrete situation they experience at Forest as work reveals a fuller picture of this case of teacher-initiated innovation. In teacher-initiated innovation there is an intimate connection between innovation and teaching as work.

The analytic framework which gives structure to this chapter is derived from four occupational characteristics of teaching which are identified from the relevant literature, or by the teachers themselves, again either explicitly, or as reflexive aspects of their accounts. These four characteristics are analysed in the first section of this Chapter, and are then discussed further in section two, where the interrelationships between the characteristics are elaborated. This analysis provides a framework of concepts illustrating teachers' perspectives on teaching as an occupational activity; in the third section, the innovation at Forest is located within this framework and discussed.

1 Four Occupational Characteristics of Teaching

(i) Teachers have histories

Teachers seem to be aware, at least implicitly, that teaching is a process; they are conscious of their past and have aspirations for the future. Berger and Luckmann comment that

"Temporality is an intrinsic property of consciousness. The stream of consciousness is always ordered temporally."
(1971,40)

There is, then, a time dimension to teachers' perspectives on 'being a teacher' - there is an awareness of 'being', 'having been', and 'will be'.¹ The present is not experienced as being 'static', but has a dynamic quality.²

This awareness of 'teaching as a process' is commonly expressed by teachers in the notion 'experience'. The notion is significant for teachers when it is linked to the related notion of 'interactive skills'.³ Thus the effect of experience is 'becoming a better teacher', or as Lortie puts it

¹ See Schutz (1962, 223). All time is organised from 'now', it is the origin of all my time perspectives.

² Schutz says 'living in the vivid present, the working self experiences itself as the originator of ongoing experiences'
(1962, 216)

³ See pages 332-336 in this chapter.

"Teachers say that their principal teacher has been experience; they learned to teach through trial and error in the classroom, they portray the process as the acquisition of personally tested practices, not as the refinement and application of generally valid principles of instruction." (1975, 79)

One of the case study teachers makes a similar point

"You need to know the science of methods and ways of structuring lessons, but all of that is useless if you're not aware of the interpersonal messages, and this awareness is an art learned through experience."⁴

The 'normal' state of affairs for teachers, in the 'vivid present', is the sensation of becoming a better teacher through experience.⁵ This is most clearly evident with the newcomers to the department who have come straight from preservice courses to take up their first appointments at Forest. For both Karen Lowe and Kate Watkins, improvements in their teaching are sought after and keenly noted.⁶

The point has already been made that it is in the process of practice, of working through the concepts, information and skills with students that teachers develop insights into the subject matter itself, and how best to transmit this.⁷

⁴ KE, 3/7

⁵ Eg KE, 1/5; SR, 1/1-3: 2/2; see KE, 2/10 for the contrary case - 'being in a rut'.

⁶ KL, 2/3; KW, 2/1 and 3

⁷ See Chapter 5, page 222

The notion 'teachers have histories' expresses the realisation that teaching is a process; this realisation is acknowledged in the teachers' notion of experience.

(ii) Teaching is achieving

In a fundamental sense, the notion of teaching presupposes a concept of achievement or success. In other words, to teach is to attempt to achieve some goal; to be ineffective is to fail to teach. There is, then, a logical connection between teaching and achievement.

The notion that teaching is achieving is so fundamental to teachers' conceptions of themselves and what they do, that when they talk about their work, there is copious evidence to suggest that they are assuming a concept of achievement or success.⁸ Teaching is, then, an achievement-orientated activity.

This notion is linked to a number of important ideas. The first of these is that what counts as success for teachers is closely linked to, and so reflects, their aspirations.⁹ Teachers conceptualise success in terms of achieving their aspirations¹⁰; or to put this another way, success is

⁸ See Carroll's (1975) report of research on teachers' evaluations of their own teaching

⁹ What Lortie (1975, 104) calls their 'perspectives on purpose'

¹⁰ See KE, 2/7; KL, 2/10; SF, 3/1

measured by the size of the gap between aspiration and reality. Teachers' major source of feedback for their success seems to come from the students. Thus, a teacher knows a lesson is successful by being 'cued in' to the students. The signs they look for are the students showing interest, asking relevant questions, and by the atmosphere in the class, that is, whether the students seem to be happy and enjoying themselves.¹¹ This instantaneous feedback from students is of particular importance to teachers. There is a link here also with the development of interactive skills. Being successful is an important element in getting through the school day comfortably, and the teacher's interactive ability is measured by student response.

"I think if you're getting resentment back from the kids, then that's a sign that they don't like what they're getting, or the way you're handling them."¹²

Another related notion to 'teaching is achieving' is reward. Teachers see success and reward as being closely bound up.¹³ The idea that if teaching is successful, then reward ought to follow, seems to be fairly widespread amongst the teachers at Forest.¹⁴

¹¹ KE, 3/1-3; SR, 2/9; KL, 2/8-9; SR, 2/1-2

¹² KE, 3/3

¹³ PG, 2/10

¹⁴ See Eg SF, 2/8

Lortie (1975, 101-103) suggest that reward can come in different forms. For instance, pecuniary recompense or status enhancement are rewards extrinsic to the activity of teaching.¹⁵ Other rewards are intrinsic to teaching

"I get a lot of satisfaction out of helping people on a one-to-one basis."¹⁶

Lortie suggest that the occupational structure of teaching favours intrinsic reward; it is this form of reward which is likely to be most prevalent and easily obtained. One account from a case study teacher bears Lortie out.

"If someone is teaching just to earn money, full-stop, then they'll probably get bored with it pretty soon. If they get other rewards for teaching, then I think that will keep them interested in the job. I think a lot of staff at Forest are interested in the job, and get rewards other than pecuniary rewards, so they're energetic, dynamic, far sighted and high thinking."¹⁷

There is, then, a primacy of intrinsic rewards in teaching (Lortie, 1975, 101). Karen Lowe's observation adds an additional dimension to this point.

¹⁵ For an illustration see SF, 2/8

¹⁶ KE, 1/5

¹⁷ KE, 2/9

"I don't think you can be a successful teacher without being committed."¹⁸

Being a committed teacher is a precondition, for Karen Lowe, of being successful; according to Lortie (1975, 103), commitment or 'effort' is more likely to increase satisfaction intrinsic to the activity of teaching. Thus, commitment might also be construed as a precondition of the occurrence of intrinsic reward.

(iii) Teaching is everyday

Many of the teacher's professional tasks are performed 'everyday', that is, the same or similar tasks are repeated time and again under similar conditions. Thus, various aspects of the teacher's everyday life are subject to a process of routinisation which is reinforced by strict timetabling of classes and activities and a predictable seasonal variation of events.¹⁹ This is to say, much of what teachers do professionally is repeated so often that life becomes routine. The extent of this routinisation will, of course, vary depending on the frequency of occurrence of particular actions or events. For instance, the teachers at Forest go to the same buildings every working day, probably using the same means of transport and travelling the same route; they are required to perform the

¹⁸ KL, 3/13-14

¹⁹ See Ball in Hammersley, (ed), (1983) on 'institutional time'.

same or similar administrative tasks each morning; classes arrive at the same times throughout the day, bringing the same or similar children who are to be taught the same or similar activities and subject matter. Thus, routine or several routines are established through 'typification' (Schutz, 1962, 7-10); that is, events, objects, and people are remembered by characteristics relevant to their context of occurrence and to particular purposes at hand. And so, objects, events, and people, and their behaviour become increasingly familiar through frequent contact. Eventually, much of the knowledge that guides the teacher's everyday professional life is assumed.²⁰

"The reality of everyday life is taken for granted as reality. It does not require additional verification over and above its simple presence. It is simply there, as self evident and compelling facticity. I know that it is real."

(Berger and Luckmann, 1971, 37)

The way in which this particular occupational characteristic of teaching functions in the concrete situation at Forest, is discussed in the proceeding sections.

(iv) Teaching is interacting

Another prominent occupational characteristic arises from the apparently obvious observation that teachers teach students. This implies, however, that one of the teacher's basic requirements for teaching is the possession of certain

²⁰ See eg KL, 3/1-4

interactive skills, for the communication of concepts, information and skills, and for the maintenance of an environment wherein such communication can take place. These skills belong to a more general category which Woods, (ed), (1980) refers to as 'teachers' strategies'. Woods characterises a strategy as 'a way of achieving goals' (1980, 18). It is a broad notion denoting the way in which teachers go about their professional tasks. A strategy, as the term is used by Woods, conveys a sense of intentionality on the part of the teacher. It has, as a consequence of this, a strategic or tactical element. In addition, strategies can vary in their degree of generality and specificity, depending on the task, the perceived goals of the teacher, and the context of their application.

It is the interactive dimension of teachers' strategies which are of particular interest in the context of teacher-initiated innovation, although other strategies are discussed in the next section which have a more general application to teaching outwith this context. In terms of communicating concepts, information and skills, teachers at Forest make use of a number of 'techniques', such as games and sports, demonstration, discussion and dramatisation. Techniques, as the term is used here, represents the structural component in the design of students' learning experiences. The choice of structure will be guided by the subject matter to be conveyed, and the aspirations which

underlie its transmission. Teachers operate within these structures on the basis of contingency, sometimes employing particular 'devices', two of the most common at Forest being 'personalising' devices and 'attention-capturing' devices. The personalising device is used frequently by the teachers observed²¹ in attempting to convey information and concepts which might be considered 'abstract' by the teachers; for instance, students were sometimes asked to put themselves in someone else's place, 'how would you feel if the first person who came to help you at a road accident didn't know any first aid?'²² Attention capturing devices can range from a simple direct request for attention to more subtle means of manipulating the teaching/learning environments; for instance, during a slide show on nutrition, Kevin Edmonds slipped in a slide of a semi-clad female with the comment, 'this is what healthy eating does for you'²³. The effect on the class was to arrest any 'attention drift' which had taken place.

These devices are used by the teachers, within the structure provided by the techniques, according to a 'personal style'. The teacher's style is very much a product or expression of personal or individual personality.

²¹ See KE, SR, KL Fieldnotes

²² KE, Fieldnotes, 1-6

²³ KE, Fieldnotes, 6

"I control the kids because I know them well, and they know me also. I speak to them around the school 'because that's the way I operate. It's much easier if you know them and you know where the problems lie, then you can control them without shouting at them, which isn't productive at all."²⁴

The way in which teachers interact with students, and their relationships with them, are reflections of teachers' style.²⁵

The statement quoted above indicates that teachers use their interactive skills not just to convey information, but also to control students and manage resources and the physical arrangements of the teaching/learning environment so that effective communication can take place. As Woods has observed

"The teacher cannot do his professional job without the right conditions. So he falters in this field without, however, appearing to do so, thus creating a hidden pedagogy of survival." (1979, 141)

According to Woods, teachers develop strategies which are geared towards creating an environment which is secure and safe, and within which they can operate relaxed and at ease. One such strategy we have already come across in a previous chapter is the informal doctrine of shared ideals. This 'ethos' functions, in the context of survival, to boost morale.²⁶

²⁴ SR, 2/3; see also KE, 3/2; KL, 2/9

²⁵ See KE, SR, KL Fieldnotes

²⁶ See Woods (1979, 146-147)

Some more of these strategies will be discussed in the next section, and particular attention will be paid to the interactive skills which also function within this context of survival.

2 Some Features of Teaching as an Occupational Activity

When the interrelationships between the four occupational characteristics of teaching are analysed and elaborated, several features of teaching as an occupational activity are highlighted which appear to be significant in the concrete situation at Forest. This section elaborates a matrix of inter-connections between these characteristics.

(i) Stress as an occupational occurrence

I have argued that there is an implicit awareness amongst teachers that teaching is an achievement-oriented activity. As 'teaching is everyday', it could be argued further that there is a daily requirement for teachers to be successful. How individual teachers define success in any given situation will differ from person to person, and will depend on circumstances and context. However, notwithstanding these differences, for teachers to have been unsuccessful in their teaching is to fail to teach. This situation is potentially highly stressful for teachers.²⁷ This analysis perhaps explains teachers' general reluctance to allow observers into

²⁷ Although only for a teacher who could be reasonably described as 'committed' - constant failure may not bother a teacher who only seeks extrinsic rewards for teaching

into their classrooms. 'Teachers are paranoid about people looking over their shoulders.' Evaluations of their work are, to them, 'potentially threatening exercises'.²⁸ It could be said then that in teaching, stress is an occupational occurrence.

The frequency of the occurrence of stressful experiences for teachers will, obviously, depend on a number of factors. One important factor will be the ethos and conduct of students in the school.²⁹ Another factor will be the organisational and operational arrangements in the school and the department.³⁰ A further factor will be the individual teacher's teaching ability and experience, the quality of an individual's interactive skill, and this factor is examined in detail in the next sub-section.

Woods suggests that 'survival' is one of the major orientations of teachers' perspectives in his study of a secondary modern school.

"As survivor, problems of control have become paramount. It is not simply a case of 'more or less teaching' depending on resources. The teaching has become transmuted into a different activity. The transmission of knowledge or awakening and developing of skills associated with educating is relegated to a minor role. The teacher gives priority to factors such as promoting greater ease and quiet, and less personal strain, whilst fulfilling the letter of his obligations ..." (1979, 238)

²⁸ KE, 2/4; see also PG, 2/6

²⁹ See HA's comments on page 151 ; and PB, 1/14

³⁰ SR, 1/5; SF, 1/12

Whilst it should be noted that Woods' study took place in a school which he himself describes as 'beleaguered'³¹ it would appear that all teachers are subject to stress to some degree, either through problems in controlling their working environment, or through frustration at being unable to realise aspirations in reality.³²

At Forest, stress is most easily identified in the less experienced teachers in the department.³³ Their major difficulties seem to stem from the daily effort required to manage and structure a working environment conducive to effective communication and student learning.

"I think the greatest stress, for inexperienced teachers anyway, arises not so much in what they've achieved at the end of the day, but rather how they've coped, minute by minute. Because there's no constant factor, it's not like going into an office, and the typing is there to be done, and you can get on with it; you arrive at a class not knowing what's going to face you on that particular occasion. So it's the unpredictability of what's going to confront them in each particular lesson."³⁴

³¹ Woods (1979, 239)

³² eg, PB, 1/3; SF, 2/6-7: 3/3-4

³³ See KL, 1/1+3-5; KW, 2/1-10

³⁴ SR and KL conversation, 3-4

Extracts taken from Kate Watkins' teaching diary suggests some of the situations she finds stressful, and how this stress is manifest.

"Nov. 12th : Felt more relaxed today and less 'afraid' of the boisterous kids"

"Nov. 13th : Bit of a comedown after yesterday. The morning was fine, but I had two classes this afternoon neither of which I was able to control.

5th year dance : Got nowhere. Is it because of the last lesson? They were fine on Thursday, well better anyway. Was the content too easy/difficult? But they didn't even try at the beginning any way."

"Nov. 21st : My wonderful dance group were as wonderful as ever! Most of them did little except behave awfully and ignore me."

"December : Probation report today. I had a meeting with Sue and Pete. They expressed similar views about my lack of 'presence'. I need to be 'nastier'. But I find it so difficult! The kids just don't seem to believe me. Shouting and nagging doesn't help. I guess I need to be more angry when I reprimand them."³⁵

This teacher's stressful experiences seem without exception to be focused on her interactions with students, to the extent that most of her effort and energy is directed, as Woods suggests, towards creating a more comfortable environment, and less towards realising educational aspirations.³⁶ This stress is manifest in emotional upset, confrontation, and physical and psychological tension.³⁷

³⁵ KW, diary

³⁶ KW, 2/10

³⁷ KW, 2/4

Given this situation, then, that stress is an occupational occurrence, teachers develop through experience a number of strategies for 'toning down the stress potential' of situations.

(ii) The skills of stress management

We have noted that experienced teachers are less likely to suffer stressful experiences than relatively inexperienced colleagues. Gaining experience is, then, a matter of becoming a better teacher, in the sense of becoming more proficient in the communication of concepts, knowledge, and skills. I would argue that one essential element in becoming a better teacher is developing the skills of stress management. In other words, teachers learn to manage their working environments, and their students, in such a way as to lower the stress potential of their work. Teachers learn 'the subtle skills of getting through a school day.'³⁸

(a) Routine³⁹ We saw in section one that various aspects of the teacher's everyday professional life are subject to an ongoing process of routinisation. The effect of this process is that situations, events and people become familiar; as such, the teacher's world becomes more predictable, less threatening, and so less stressful. As Phil Bayle suggests

³⁸ KE, 1/3: 3/1-2

³⁹ 'Routine' is one of Woods' survival strategies: 'You'll be all right once you get the hang of it'. (1979, 146-167)

"Some teachers are teaching the same material which they learned at school which is very familiar to them, and they're using the same teaching methods that were used in their school days which again is very familiar to them. It's very secure to do that, it's non-threatening, it's more comfortable, so they feel safe."⁴⁰

Routine brings about familiarity and so teachers are more relaxed, things are easier for them, and this can have a positive influence on their teaching.⁴¹ The sorts of things that upset routine are unpredictable events.⁴² Being taken for 'cover' is an example of such an event at Forest which upsets routine, when free periods are lost for which some task or activity has been planned.⁴³

Routine helps teachers to tone down the stress potential of their work, because events become familiar, predictable and safe.

(b) Accountability Another way in which teachers tone down the potential for stress in their work is to find out what they are accountable for. In other words, they need to know what they are required to do, in terms of what they teach, and how they behave, and they have to know what is

⁴⁰ PB, 1/6

⁴¹ KL, 3/1-2

⁴² See KE, 2/2 : 4/3-4

⁴³ See SR, 1/5; KL, 3/2

considered to be successful achievement of their professional tasks.⁴⁴ At Forest, there are two main sources which define teacher accountability; the first of these is the informal doctrine of shared ideals in the department, and this is reflected in the notion 'fitting in'.⁴⁵ The second source is the mandate, derived from the management structure of the school, and applied by Pete Gardener, the Head of Department.⁴⁶

Once the factors that define the teacher's accountability have been identified, and teachers know what is required of them in terms of professional conduct, teaching becomes less stressful.

(c) Masking reality A third way in which teachers cope with stress is to mask the reality of their situation from themselves. One way this is done is to play down or simplify the complexity of the concrete situation teachers must operate in.

"Perhaps I don't think deeply enough. I mean, I think my job here is to let kids enjoy PE, and if every child who left here went away saying 'I enjoyed PE', then I'd think I'd done my job."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See eg SR, 1/9; SF, 1/13; KL, 3/7; KE, 2/3-5

⁴⁵ See Chapter 6, pages 288-291

⁴⁶ For a practical example, see PG, 2/5-7

⁴⁷ SR, 1/7

Here, the complexity of the teaching situation and the educational enterprise is reduced to a simplistic and partial justification.⁴⁸

Another way teachers mask the reality of their situation is to play down the seriousness of events when things go wrong. Here, laughter and making light of the situation are used to dissolve the tension created. The following account presents an example of this.

"I had a dreadful lesson. It was a 'Fitness' lesson with the fourth years, and I was using the projector. Now I had booked it, or thought I'd booked it, but as it turned out somebody else had booked it first. But the projector was in the room when I arrived so I thought 'I'll just carry on and use it.' So the film started and, of course, somebody then came in and said 'We've booked the projector, can we take it?' So I had to rewind the film and let the projector go. And then ten minutes later they came back with it and said 'No, we don't need it after all'. So I put the film on again, but then the projector wouldn't work! We only saw half the film in the end. So really, it was a dreadful lesson, but I didn't panic, I just laughed, and the kids thought it was quite funny as well."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ However, it is clear from the comment which follows the one just quoted that Sue Ripley does have a grasp of the complexities of her situation

⁴⁹ KL, 3/3-4

And so, laughter and the refusal to take events too seriously can take the tension out of a situation that hasn't gone as planned.

(d) Interactive skills The teacher's interactive skills are also used to manage stress. Indeed, these skills form the core of teachers' strategies for managing potentially stressful situations.

The skill with which teachers handle situations and events is an important factor in determining the success or failure of their teaching.

"You've had a good day if you've been successful in what you've been doing. Part and parcel of that is creating an atmosphere around yourself. I think more and more, as time goes on, you've got to think very hard about your own perceptions and expectations of people in situations, because the way you tend to anticipate events will shape the messages you put out."⁵⁰

The interactive skills which teachers use for stress management, then, involve the ability to project the right kind of persona. This is an aspect of a teacher's personal style, discussed in section one. These skills also involve the ability to understand students. One of the most important interactive skills for the teachers at Forest is the ability to develop good relationships with students.

⁵⁰ KE, 2/2

"The kids ask you questions and tell you things and say 'Hello' and smile when they meet you, it's all quite pleasant, and that happens a lot at Forest. There is a very pleasant atmosphere and I have good relationships with the kids."⁵¹

The ability to be highly flexible and adaptable, to be able to think on one's feet, is another important interactive skill. Being 'cued in' to the students' behaviour and the general atmosphere in the class allows teachers to anticipate problems and restructure activity before problems can escalate. Evidence from the fieldnotes indicates that the teachers' use of devices in the course of their teaching is strategic. For instance, teachers changed the 'format' of their lessons from 'discussion' to 'direct instruction' to 'demonstration' to 'individual writing' and so on, on the basis of cues picked up from the student. The cues teachers use for changing format of lessons centre on student behaviour - for example, 'fidgeting'; 'talking'; 'disrupting'; 'not listening'.⁵² Format changing is an attention-capturing device, designed to maintain students' interest and involvement in the lesson, and so anticipating and pre-empting boredom which leads to loss of control.

⁵¹ KE, 2/3; see also SR, 2/3; KL, 2/5

⁵² See SR and KL Fieldnotes; and SR, 2/5; KL, 2/4

What this discussion suggests is that much successful teaching is 'ad hoc-ing'.⁵³ Jackson's comments would appear to support this claim

"Sometimes teaching is described as a highly rational affair. Such discussions often emphasise the decision-making function of the teacher, or liken his task to that of the problem-solver or hypothesis-tester. Yet (my) interviews with elementary teachers raise serious doubts about these ways of looking at the teaching process. The immediacy of classroom life, the fleeting and sometimes cryptic signs on which the teacher relies for determining his pedagogical moves and for evaluating the effectiveness of his actions call into question the appropriateness of using conventional models of rationality to depict the teacher's classroom behaviour."
(1968, 151)

Thus, it is on the basis of being cued in to the interpersonal messages which pass from student to teacher, and student to student, that allows the teacher to pre-empt problems which may result in loss of control, and so lead to a rise in tension and stress.⁵⁴ The development of the skills of stress management is, then, an important function of experience, and play an important part in the teacher's success.

(iii) Recognition

We noted in the previous section the link between success and reward; teachers believe that if they are successful reward should follow. Lortie's (1975) notion of 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' reward indicates that teachers are motivated

⁵³ See PB, 1/15

⁵⁴ See SF, 3/7

by different forms of reward. However, he suggests that because of the way in which teaching is structured, there is a primacy of intrinsic reward for teachers. The committed teacher finds fulfilment in the activity of teaching itself.

Nevertheless, the teachers at Forest reflect what seems to be a widespread notion throughout their profession. This is that teachers conceptualise careers in terms of rewards. In addition, these rewards are entirely extrinsic to teaching. In other words, in the process of becoming a better teacher, teachers expect their progress to be rewarded. The most common expression of this is in relation to promotion.

"I was still happy at my other school, but for me to move from an unpromoted post to another unpromoted post by applying to the _____ LEA looks bad. I mean, it's got to look bad; ten years teaching and I'm on a scale one and moving to another scale one. So when the job came up here (at Forest) through redeployment, I thought well at least I can say I moved because I was redeployed, and I haven't gone from a one to a one to escape from the school."⁵⁵

There is an assumption in evidence here, that teachers who have not been promoted within a certain period of time risk the label 'failure'. Whether teachers are justified in making this assumption remains to be seen. At least for the teacher quoted above, his hard work, loyal service, and successful

⁵⁵ SF, 1/7

teaching record have done little to improve his status.⁵⁶

This notion, that teachers conceptualise careers in terms of rewards, indicates a special form of reward which is called here 'recognition'.

"Professional recognition, that's what frustrates me more than anything, that we don't feel we're getting the professional recognition we've earned. You like to be recognised for what you've been doing because you believe what you're doing is worth recognition. So it's a form of feedback, and I suppose if you don't get the feedback it either drives you on harder, or else it makes you give up in the end."⁵⁷

The evidence suggests that this kind of reward is highly regarded and sought after by teachers.⁵⁸

The notion of recognition is central to the way in which teachers conceptualise careers. Harré has suggested a similar concept

"..... the pursuit of reputation in the eyes of others is the overriding preoccupation in human life, though the means by which reputation is to be achieved are extraordinarily various. Though men compete individually for honour, reputation is a corporate matter and its acquisition a corporate achievement. It is the product of the recognition of one's worth by others." (1979, 3)

⁵⁶ SF, 2/8-10

⁵⁷ PB, 2/8

⁵⁸ See KL, 2/2; SR, 1/3

The achievement of recognition is, similarly, a corporate matter. Teachers appear to need this form of reward for their work, a sort of 'public' acclaim for their efforts. It may be that it is enough for some teachers simply to be regarded as proficient and effective by their colleagues, or to receive a 'pat on the back' from the Principal.⁵⁹ However the evidence indicates that teachers believe the most powerful form of recognition to be promotion. Promotion is, then, the ultimate form of recognition for the teachers at Forest; being promoted would be the 'proof' that the Principal's 'pat on the back' was, in fact, sincere.⁶⁰

3 Innovation in the Context of Teaching as Work

The framework of concepts gleaned from the analysis in the previous two sections are intended to reveal some significant occupational characteristics of teaching. In this third section, the innovation at Forest is discussed in the context of teaching as work.

(i) Innovation and the changing criteria of success

We noted in section one that the teachers' criteria for successful teaching reflects their aspirations; teaching success is judged in terms of achieving aspirations. What this suggests is that, as the informal doctrine of shared

⁵⁹ MW, 3-4

⁶⁰ See eg KE, 4/10; PG, 2/12

ideals embodies concepts which mark a departure from the ideals associated with more conventional approaches to teaching physical education, so the criteria for judging success is also likely to change.

Conventionally, the physical education teacher's success has tended to be judged publically on the basis of such criteria as first XI or XV results, interschool competition success, international representation amongst students, and to a lesser extent, general participation levels in extra curricular sport.⁶¹ The assumption which appears to underlie this set of criteria for successful teaching is that if a teacher can coach sport to a high level, then there must also be a good physical education programme in operation between nine and four.⁶²

However, the aspirations shared by the teachers at Forest are, as we have seen, often couched in anti-traditional terms. Thus, there is general agreement for instance that the individual and not the group is the basic unit of teaching; and that teachers should be concerned with the development of positive attitudes in students towards their own health and fitness, not the development of games skills.⁶³

⁶¹ See eg SF, 2/10; PG, 2/10

⁶² KE, 2/6 suggest this is unlikely; see also Almond (1983 b)

⁶³ See eg Chapter 5, section 3; and Chapter 6, section 2

However, if the conventional criteria of success are inappropriate in relation to the innovative idea at Forest, then the problem which faces the teachers is how to measure the achievement of their own ideals. If the teachers were concerned only with the transmission of propositional knowledge, then the effectiveness of their teaching could be judged by examination results.⁶⁴ But if the criteria for success must reflect ideals like 'enabling students to have enjoyable and meaningful experiences' and 'developing positive attitudes to health and fitness', then it is clear that the traditional methods and criteria employed are inappropriate.⁶⁵ The teachers' attempts to measure their effectiveness in relation to their new criteria of success throws up a number of complex problems which a discussion of the two ideals mentioned above serves to illustrate.

For instance, in attempting to measure their effectiveness in achieving the ideal of 'enabling students to have enjoyable and meaningful experiences', the teachers relied heavily on the cues and messages picked up from students during lessons.⁶⁶ If students appear to be interested and involved in the lesson, then it is assumed that they are enjoying themselves. It should be noted that the only judges of the teacher's effectiveness in this sense are the students and the teacher him/herself. Success here happens within the confines of the classroom or gymnasium, and so is not

⁶⁴ See KW, 2/11; KL, 2/11

⁶⁵ PB, 1/3-6

⁶⁶ SR, 1/8; SF, 1/13: 2/9; KL, 2/10

normally open to public scrutiny.⁶⁷

It could be argued, perhaps, that this idea, and the means of measuring its achievement, are not exclusive to the developments at Forest; indeed, 'pupil enjoyment' would appear to rank highly amongst the aspirations of most physical education teachers. However, in a conventional programme, teachers do not only have the responsiveness of students in lessons as an indicator of success; they can and do judge the success of this ideal by levels of student participation in extra curricular sport. This is because the substance of what they teach during curricular time is sport. Some of the teachers at Forest would also cite this criterion.⁶⁸ However, in so doing, they divorce the ideal of 'student enjoyment' from the innovative idea, and how it works itself out in the innovative context. That is to say, high levels of student participation in extra curricular sport is not, necessarily, an indicator of student enjoyment of a HRF based PE curriculum. The criterion for success in the innovation context is located primarily in student response during lessons themselves.⁶⁹ As such, there are important implications here for the development of interactive skills in relation to teaching the health related aspects of the curriculum which are discussed below on page 357.

⁶⁷ PG, 2/10

⁶⁸ SR, 1/6-7; PG, 2/10

⁶⁹ This discussion illustrates something of the ambiguity of the shared ideals as they work out in practice - see Chapter 6, page 295

However, the situation with respect to the measurement of teacher effectiveness in achieving this ideal is further complicated because indicators of success or failure from the cues picked up from students cannot be trusted as infallible guides. The case of 'Paula' illustrates this point. Paula was a fairly stout fifth year student who intended leaving school early. She was present in some of the lessons observed, and her behaviour in these lessons was generally mildly disruptive. She appeared to be disinterested and paid little obvious attention to what was going on.⁷⁰ The cues available suggested that Paula was getting very little out of the lesson which had been observed. However, as Kevin Edmonds related later

"At the end of the last lesson, in fact, Paula saw me, and is now monitoring her diet, and has arranged to come and see me once a week to be tested and measured. And this is as much from her own volition as prompting by me, so obviously something has got in there. I think perhaps that the way she was diverting her attention might have been a bit of a defence on her part, because it is quite an embarrassing message to receive in public for the fattest girl in the class. In a way she had to divert her attention from the embarrassing messages that were getting through."⁷¹

⁷⁰ KE, Fieldnotes, 5-6

⁷¹ KE, 3/5

Taken together, the findings of the group of researchers who have studied the process of implementation makes a strong case for the conclusion that a rational planning approach to curriculum development within a centre-periphery structure has been largely responsible for widespread failure of a large number of initiatives. Their evidence also suggests that research in the curriculum should focus on the teacher, and the nature of the teaching situation, as key issues in explaining the change process in schools. In this respect, MacDonald and Walker have asked

"Could it be that more understanding is needed of how unplanned educational change comes about?" (1976, 5)

What these writers seem to be saying is that researchers should relocate their efforts outside the centre-periphery structure and look for instances of curriculum change which has, perhaps, been initiated by teachers themselves. This conceptualisation conforms to Havelock's PS mode (in which, as we have seen, the consumer himself defines his needs and problems and agencies external to the situation are used in a consultative or support capacity. However, the problem with this conceptualisation is the widespread assumption amongst researchers in the curriculum field which is reflected in House's comment that 'the teacher does not usually initiate an innovation'. (1974, 67)

gap in our knowledge of how change and development takes place in concrete school settings. The suggestion that lack of documentation in this area is due to teachers' lack of initiative to institute changes in their practices is, however, contested here. My own experience as a teacher convinces me that, on the contrary, most teachers are constantly involved in change, albeit predominately minor alterations to their working practices, as an intrinsic part of their normal day-to-day operations. In some cases, these changes are neither trivial nor inconsequential. For my own part, I can recall two instances which demonstrate this point. The first consisted in a decision to change my approach to teaching gymnastics to my twelve to fourteen year old pupils in the all-through comprehensive in which I taught. This change did not involve a sweeping alteration of teaching content, but simply the idea that all movements should be performed by pupils with a certain deliberate quality. Thus, each floor sequence for example, even if it only involved a forward roll, should have a distinct 'beginning' and 'end'; each pupil was asked to 'tidy up', as best they could, all of their movements so that elbows and knees were tucked in where appropriate, feet were stretched and so on. As it happened, this change in approach had important and unforeseen consequences. For example, the pupils had never before been asked to display such concentrated effort and quality in a physical education lesson. This demand was too much for some, and as learning became more difficult, discipline problems began to result. Notwithstanding this, I found that the new approach required me to adopt a

much more formal teaching style than usual. However, this change of style brought about additional problems, because pupils suddenly became unsure, in other contexts, of how they were expected to behave. Relationships which until this time had been good soon began to be strained. In the end the pupils' gymnastics generally improved, so that it was more easily accommodated into the general context of teaching in my department.

Another change we brought into our teaching, this time as a department, was the use of an Award Scheme as the basis for our athletics course. Each pupil's performance was recorded in a variety of events, and points awarded for each performance. The points were accumulated over the weeks, and at the end of the course, pupils could win one of four grades of award depending on their points score. This development again had a number of unforeseen consequences, one of which was that as pupils' performances had to be measured, more time was spent recording than teaching. The recording and administration also represented an additional workload. On the other hand, the course was enjoyed immensely by the majority of pupils, most of whom won awards.

These two instances of teacher-initiated change represent the sort of development, I would argue, in which many teachers are involved in the course of their daily working lives. Some of these changes, like the gymnastics example, often remain entirely private to the teacher concerned and to his pupils. Others, again, are apparently so specific and

And so, although it could be argued that there is a primacy of immediate feedback in lessons, Kevin Edmonds' comments suggest that wider contextual factors are also taken into consideration in judging success. Edmonds does not necessarily use just one lesson to judge the effectiveness of his teaching; his judgement is also influenced by his knowledge of the individual in question, of the student sub-culture within the classroom, and of the state of mind of a fifth year early leaver in the last few weeks of compulsory schooling.

One other possible indicator of the success of this idea, in the context of the innovation, is the extent to which students take exercise, and continue to take exercise after leaving school. This is related to the ideal of developing in students positive attitudes towards health and fitness. The aspiration here is that, through the development of such attitudes, students will look after their health now, and continue to do so in adulthood.

There is, however, an immediate and obvious difficulty in attempting to assess the effectiveness of teaching towards this ideal, which is that the 'pay-off' occurs after the student has left school and is away from the teacher's immediate sphere of influence. This problem is acknowledged by the teachers themselves.⁷² One way to judge the effectiveness of teaching towards this ideal is to carry out a follow-up survey of a sample of students at intervals after they had

⁷² SF, 2/6-7: 2/10-11; KW, 2/11-12; KL, 2/11-12

left school; however, this would involve a number of serious problems in terms of finance, time, consistency of staff, locating students, and access to relevant information from, for example, doctors, employers, etc.⁷³ Perhaps in anticipation of these difficulties, there is no evidence that such a survey has been contemplated at Forest, neither by the PE staff nor the Administration. Without such feedback on the effectiveness of their teaching, it seems that the best the teachers can do is to hope that their teaching has some influence.⁷⁴

The problems in judging teacher success in this case arise out of the nature and character of the ideal itself. One problem arises due to its futuristic perspective, but this could, in theory, be resolved if sufficient and appropriate support services were available. Another problem arises out of the ambiguity of the idea. That is, there is no clear, precise statement of what kinds of student behaviour would legitimately signify teacher effectiveness in terms of having developed a positive attitude to health and fitness in students. Thus, even if support services were available it is clear that a whole range of student behaviours might count as legitimate, from 'walking to work' to 'swimming five miles before breakfast'. However, the high level of ambiguity in this ideal is not a confounding factor for the teachers; as we saw in the previous chapter, this ambiguity serves an important function in relation to the

⁷³ See KL, 2/10-11

⁷⁴ SF, 2/10-11

teacher's everyday professional life. We will return to this issue in just a moment.

Without factual evidence of their success, and thus of the appropriateness of their teaching, the teachers are forced to argue the case for teaching the health related aspects of the curriculum solely on the basis of the importance and vital role of this knowledge in the students' lives. In other words, they must argue that this knowledge is so important, that it is better that students are 'in the know', and then allowed to make a decision for themselves as to whether or not to use this knowledge, than to leave them in ignorance.⁷⁵

However this in turn creates another difficulty, because the teachers are then in a position of making '*a priori*' claims about what is and is not good for their students. Certainly, these claims are based on research and other available evidence on health and fitness, but such claims nevertheless are '*a priori*' in as much as they ignore another ideal shared by the teachers, which is 'treating students as individuals'. Without firm evidence of the effect their teaching is having on students, the teachers cannot claim to be catering for individual student needs through providing relevant knowledge and skills. Working with individual students on a one-to-one basis, as in the case of 'Paula', might surmount this difficulty. But this cannot be said to

⁷⁵ See SF, 2/7; KW, 2/10-11

be true in relation to entire groups of students. These problems, at the time of writing, remain unresolved.

However, to return to a point made earlier concerning the ambiguity of the shared ideals, it appears that whilst the teachers are at least implicitly aware of the complexities and problems the measurement of the realisation of these ideals presents, in the concrete situation at Forest this complexity is for the most part ignored. We could hypothesise from the preceding analysis that the problems in judging teacher effectiveness will result in a higher stress potential for the teachers. However, this does not appear to be the case at Forest.⁷⁶ This is because teachers must act in the 'world of working', and so these difficulties are rationalised into workable premises.⁷⁷ This is where the ambiguity of the shared ideals serves a useful purpose for teachers. Because of this ambiguity, the teachers have flexibility, a certain amount of freedom for interpretation without which the ideals would be entirely unworkable. Without this ambiguity, there would be operational havoc in the department. There is a looseness about the specification of the criteria for successful teaching which, because these have by and large been created by the teachers themselves

⁷⁶ There is no evidence, except amongst newcomers of any overt stress. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case - see PB, 1/14; KE, 2/11

⁷⁷ See Ward and Hardman (1978, 64); see also Schutz (1962, 233) on the concept of 'epoche', which involves the suspension of doubt.

reflect quite accurately the way in which people in fact work in concrete situations, in the 'world of working'. Garfinkel's notion of 'let it pass' illustrates this point

"Instead of a fixed standard of acceptable information such as the law of the excluded middle used in technical arguments, practical circumstances are managed by using information judged by flexible standards, often with little confidence. To let it pass is to apply those standards." (Handel, 1982, 45)

The teachers at Forest are aware of the complexities of their situation, but they are prepared to let these pass for contingency's sake. This does not mean that they see themselves as being contradictory; on the contrary, 'true belief' mitigates against such confusion. Nor are they guilty of holding double-standards. Their actions simply reflect their realisation that they must mould and bend themselves to suit the demands of their working situation; to do otherwise would be to paralyse action.⁷⁸

The teachers are faced, then, with a number of complex issues that arise as a result of a change in aspirations and a concomitant change in the criteria for successful teaching. By evolving ideals which are less tangible than those commonly held by more conventional colleagues, they are presented with the difficulty of judging the effectiveness of what they teach on the basis of criteria

⁷⁸ To refer to Schutz again, a pragmatic motive governs the 'world of working' (1962, 209)

quite different from that employed by other sectors of the system in which they operate.⁷⁹ Thus, examination success, or high levels of extra-curricular participation in sport by students are not particularly good indicators of effective teaching of a HRF based PE curriculum.⁸⁰ There are important implications in this state of affairs for reward and recognition in the context of innovation.

(ii) The problem of recognition in an innovative context

As we have seen, teachers seek rewards for successful teaching. Within this context, recognition represents a special kind of reward gained through 'public' acclaim. The achievement of recognition is, then, a corporate matter, and is a reward many teachers seek in the course of their everyday professional lives.

In the context of an innovation, the criteria for successful teaching changes. In the relative privacy of the classroom or gymnasium, these changes are accommodated, worked through, and rationalised by individual teachers. In a sense, the teacher's own individual interpretation, within the framework of the informal doctrine of shared ideals, guides the creation and judgement of criteria for success. However, as recognition is a corporate matter, involving persons outside

⁷⁹ This perhaps explains the desire for some quantitative measure - see HRF Seminar, 6-7

⁸⁰ SF, 2/11; PB, 1/3-6

the teacher's immediate sphere of personal contact, problems arise through this change of criteria concomitant with innovation. For example, in a conventional PE programme, teachers seek recognition for themselves, their departments and their schools, by publicising success in interschool sports competitions.⁸¹ However, the work associated with the innovation at Forest cannot be publicised in this conventional manner.

"It's much easier to publicise first XV, hockey and soccer XI results than it is to publicise 'Fat Boy Makes Good' or 'Recalcitrant Fifth Year Girls Enjoy PE'. It just doesn't make the headlines in the local paper, or get the school governors excited or the local parents."⁸²

This problem is compounded by an awareness amongst the teachers of what Hendry (1976) has referred to as the PE teacher's 'marginality' in relation to the main functioning of the school.⁸³ Thus, notwithstanding the existence of an innovation, the PE department has to fight in any case for timetable space with other traditionally more prestigious subjects.

"It's a political battle because we have to justify the worth of the course up against courses in Maths and English,

⁸¹ See SF, 3/1-2

⁸² KE, 1/6; see also KE, 1/4 and the 'coach's dilemma'.

⁸³ In Whitehead and Hendry (1976, 89-102)

Humanities and so on. The problem is that because our subject is non-examinable, it's probably not seen to have great vocational or academic value, and therefore tends to get pushed to one side."⁸⁴

The wider context of the school system within which the PE teachers at Forest must operate plays an important role in defining professional activity worthy of recognition.

Although there is obviously some room for manoeuvre for the teachers at Forest in this respect, there are structural factors like the 'examination system', which have a momentum and prestige quite beyond the control of individual teachers, groups of teachers or schools. Michael Williams, the principal, makes this point.

"We're always going to have people saying 'we mustn't' forget the examination classes, they've got to pass the exams', and I say myself, with only five terms to push people through their 'O' levels and CSE's that's bound to loom large during much of the year. That's one of the problems we have as a fourteen to eighteen establishment, and that tends to lead people to take up what might generally be described as 'conservative' stances. But that's just part of our normal operation; we have to live in the 'real world', where kids have to get 'real' examination results."⁸⁵

⁸⁴ KE, 3/3; see also PB, 1/5

⁸⁵ MW, 10; see also PG, 2/2

Thus, it appears that because their course is non-examinable in terms of 'O' levels and CSE's, the most prestigious means of gaining recognition are denied the teachers at Forest. Any recognition they do gain will therefore be marginal, in this respect, to one of the overt functions of the school.

The conventional PE programme has, in any case, as Hendry suggests, occupied a marginal role to the school's overt purposes, and so the criteria for success which has been developed traditionally has emphasised PE's contribution to the extracurricular life of the school, through the provision of sporting and recreative activity. However, central to the formal and informal doctrines at Forest is the idea that it is what goes on during curricular time that is most important because it here that all students in the school are catered for. Although some contribution to the extracurricular life of the school may be desirable, it is on the basis of the teaching during curricular time that the teachers wish to be judged.

We can see, then, that in terms of establishing criteria for success by which the teachers' effectiveness can be judged and thus recognised, the innovation pulls against the traditional and public criteria in two areas; in terms of the wider educational system, and in relation to conventional orientations to teaching physical education. As a result, the teachers have had to find new ways of publicising their

efforts.⁸⁶ They have done this, as we have seen, through 'Project '82'; through the provision of a fitness evaluation and exercise prescription service for colleagues; and through the production of journal articles and talks to professional bodies.

Much of this work falls into the categories of 'negotiating for' and then 'servicing' a mandate, matters which have already been discussed in Chapter Five. The recognition that is gained in this respect is for the innovation itself and is manifest mainly in the provision of resources and timetable space made available for the course.

However, there is also the reward aspect of recognition which, as we have noted, can come in various forms, but is sought after by teachers at a more personal level.

"If this thing is going to be successful then I want to be a part of it, because I've done so much work to make it possible anyway, as far as I'm concerned. It's not as though I've picked up on this thing to try and make a name for myself, but if there are names to be made then I want to be involved in it. I'm not someone who goes out and aims for glory, I mean I'm not bothered about being famous particularly, but I would like to see credit where credit's due. Often with this kind of thing you see people get shoved into the background when they've really been the ones

⁸⁶ See HRF Seminar, 10; PB, interview 2

responsible for what's happened, and I'm not going to let that happen to me. I react quite strongly when people start to do this, because I think I have a right to be recognised, mainly because I put in so much work, and I do work hard."⁸⁷

House has suggested in this respect that

"People are often shocked that teachers should require tangible incentives to try a new innovation."
(1974, 73)

In this case, the teachers did not look for rewards for innovating, they looked for rewards for teaching. As innovating requires an even greater investment of emotional, intellectual and physical energy into their teaching than normal, or in other words, higher levels of commitment, then they seek rewards for this extra effort. The fact that this effort is being channelled into a new idea is, for the teachers, quite irrelevant.

However, the evidence suggests that, because the teachers have made this extra commitment to a new idea, rewards particularly in the form of recognition, have been slow to arrive.⁸⁸ This is at least partly because there is little or no support structure available to teachers to allow them to disseminate and develop innovations.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ PB, 2/9-10

⁸⁸ PB, 2/9

⁸⁹ Almond (1983 a) documents one of the few examples; see Chapter 8 for discussion.

"The people who are regarded in the profession as being responsible for change we expect to recognise what we're doing, and I'm referring to HMI's and PE Advisers." ⁹⁰

It was only through initiative, taken quite independantly of the Inspectorate and Advisory Service, by a lecturer in a nearby University that the teachers had the opportunity to disseminate the innovative idea, through talks and publications. It is not clear, however, whether fault or blame can legitimately be attributed in particular quarters in this case. From the teacher's point of view, the support structure which would allow them to disseminate their work, and thus gain some form of professional recognition was totally inadequate, and there is some justification for this view. On the other hand, the teachers may not have been sufficiently aware of the best way in which to use the support that was available. Whatever the answer to this, it is clear that there is little or no support structure for innovation available to teachers in physical education at this time, apart from individual initiative; the agencies that do exist, and that were used by the teachers at Forest, are non-specific and ancillary to innovation as such. ⁹¹

In the light of this discussion, the fact that this innovation has evolved and survived until now in its present form may be, in some respects, surprising. On the one hand, the various

⁹⁰ PB, 2/9

⁹¹ Like eg HEC; Sports Council; PEA

structural factors of the 'educational system' and within this the 'examination system', create an environment in which it is unlikely that an innovation such as this can take root and survive. However, the fact that it has done so suggests that these structural factors are not overriding. Perhaps the fact of physical education's marginality to some of the school's central purposes is a positive factor in this respect.⁹² The question is, would such developments have been possible in a more prestigious subject like physics or mathematics? In addition, there may be other factors associated with PE's marginal role, such as the development of alternative norms and criteria for success quite separate from those applied to other subjects in the school. Research which has indicated professional sub-cultures within teaching - like the 'physical education profession' - lends support to this notion.⁹³

(iii) Tailoring means to suit new ends

The analysis in the preceding section indicates that, because of a change in the criteria for success concomitant with the innovation, and the difficulties in gaining recognition due to the need for consensus change of certain structural and conventional criteria, teachers are thrown back on the quality of their interactions with students as

⁹² See PG, 2/6

⁹³ See Esland, pages 83-104 in Young (ed) (1971); and Ball and Lacey, pages 149-177 in Woods (ed) (1980)

the main measure of the success of their teaching. It is on the basis of cues that teachers pick up from students that indicates the level of student involvement in learning and so the level of teacher effectiveness. As such, the quality of the teacher's interactions with students are the major source of reward for teaching.

The teachers at Forest use a number of techniques and devices in their teaching, within a personal style, which forms the substance of their interactive skills. Some of these techniques, which provide the structural component in the design of student's learning experiences, like games and sports, and possibly demonstration, are also used within conventional approaches to teaching physical education. However, the teachers at Forest have been required to develop additional techniques, like discussion and dramatisation, by virtue of the fact that some of their teaching is classroom based. As the teaching of health related aspects of the curriculum involves teaching new concepts, information and skills, there is a need for new means of structuring students' learning experiences. In addition, the development of new interactive skills reflects the teachers' shared aspirations for their teaching. Thus much of the teaching is designed to 'create an environment', not only where information is passed on, but in which 'desirable attitudes occur'.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ PB, 1/3

The problem for the teachers that this aspiration presents is that traditional teaching techniques are, by and large, inappropriate. Formal lecturing may be a useful means of transmitting propositional knowledge, but to achieve the goal of 'developing positive attitudes' requires something more. This is because the development of attitudes has an affective dimension.

"We hand out information to all the kids, and if one takes it in and it has some effect then that's great. But we can't make them listen, we can't make them believe."⁹⁵

The kind of interactive skills that this aspiration suggests goes beyond the conventional 'sheep-dog' method.⁹⁶ In this method the group is the basic teaching unit. However, at Forest, the individual student is the focus of the teaching. Because of this, there is a greater emphasis placed on interactions with students at a personal level, and much of this is evident at Forest.⁹⁷

The kinds of techniques, devices, and personal style that the innovation at Forest requires is in some ways quite different from that which most of the teachers in the department were trained in and have developed through

⁹⁵ SF, 2/12; see also PB, 1/3; SR, 1/8

⁹⁶ See Chapter 6, page 270

⁹⁷ As with Bayle's and Edmonds' 'remedial work'; see HRF Seminar

teaching in other schools.⁹⁸ Conventionally the means of structuring learning experiences for students is through sports and games. This is not to deny that high levels of personal interaction with students is possible through the use of these techniques, and it is clear that some of the teachers develop very good relationships with students through extra curricular sport.⁹⁹ But for some teachers in the department, the use of discussion is a more appropriate means of realising the idea of focusing on the individual as the unit of teaching, and so creating a suitable environment for attitude change.¹⁰⁰ The use of such techniques forces the teacher to pay more attention to the individual student, and less to the subject matter.¹⁰¹

It would appear, then, according to the analysis in this chapter, that this situation presents a high potential for stress, not only because all of the teachers have been required to develop these new skills¹⁰², but because it is mainly on the basis of these skills that they are able to judge the effectiveness of their teaching and ultimately their worth as teachers. There is the additional possibility that a teacher may be temperamentally unsuited to working in a way which relies so heavily on the teacher's own personality

⁹⁸ PB, 2/3

⁹⁹ SR, 1/6-7; HA, 7-8

¹⁰⁰ PB, 1/3

¹⁰¹ Herein lies the notion of student v subject centred teaching - see KL, 2/6

¹⁰² See House (1974, 73)

and personal relationships with the students.¹⁰³

It may be an important factor in relation to the evolution of the innovative idea that most of the teachers at Forest already had some experience of classroom teaching, and so using some of these new techniques, through doing the CSE. They had already developed some of the skills required to enact the current innovation. The evidence indicates that those teachers who have not had this experience have found themselves in unfamiliar situations and so have had some difficulties, at least initially, as a result.¹⁰⁴

There are additional issues raised by the crucial role the quality of the teacher's interactive skills play in the teaching of the health related aspects of the curriculum at Forest. For instance, if these skills are largely the product of experience, and in addition they form the core of the skills of stress management, then we might speculate that new or inexperienced teachers are less likely to be innovative in their own teaching than their more experienced colleagues. The evidence seems to support this speculation, in as much as the less experienced teachers have generally followed the course syllabuses closely, and any changes they have made have been relatively minor.¹⁰⁵ This may be because

¹⁰³There has not been much evidence of this at Forest - the notion of 'fitting in' might explain why - (see Chapter 6, page 290)

¹⁰⁴See SF, 1/14-15

¹⁰⁵See KW, 1/9: 2/3+12; KL, 1/6: 3/7

their efforts are focused on survival, on mastering 'the subtle skills of getting through the school day', rather than attempting to realise ideals in practice.

Another issue is suggested by House (1974, 79-81) who proposes that teachers' traditional instructional strategies resist change. We might hypothesise that as interactive skills become established, this will be true of these new techniques also. As we noted earlier in this Chapter, the ongoing process of routinisation helps to tone down the stress potential of teachers' work, because events become familiar, predictable, more comfortable and safe. This is how practices become established, and how instructional strategies resist change. Routine acts as an anchor or depressant to change, because change upsets routine; events then become less predictable, less familiar, and so potentially more stressful.

However, at Forest there appears to be little evidence of this process. The way in which some of the teachers were able to avoid the difficulties that the above analysis suggests was perhaps due to their adaptability and flexibility. We noted earlier the point that much successful teaching involves 'ad hocing', and the evidence from the fieldnotes indicates that the particular devices that the teachers at Forest have developed, like 'format changing' displays this particular characteristic. Entwistle (1969, 121) suggests that a substantial part of performing intelligently is the ability to read a skill or technique, or what I have called

a device, into an appropriate context. Experience again plays an important role.

"I think that through experience you learn to become more flexible, although even when I was at college and I made a lesson plan, I didn't plough all the way through it. I think I was adaptable, and I do think that as you become more experienced you become more adaptable."¹⁰⁶

The teachers whose lessons were observed at Forest generally display a high degree of adaptability in their teaching.¹⁰⁷ It could be argued, then, that being cued in to the students and to the interpersonal messages in teaching/learning situations is an important quality possessed by innovative teachers. We might also speculate that teachers who do not possess this quality in their teaching will be unlikely to initiate innovation on their own account, and will struggle to work with innovation, because their interactive skills will function to maintain routine and thus the 'status quo'.

Another issue that is raised by this discussion is that there is less likelihood of genuine change resulting from initiative which has its source outside the school or department, than change initiated by the teachers themselves. The statement quoted earlier by Jackson (1968)¹⁰⁸ lends

¹⁰⁶KL, 2/5

¹⁰⁷See KE, SR, KL Fieldnotes

¹⁰⁸In Section 2, page 334

support to this point. He suggests that it is inappropriate to apply conventional models of rationality to teaching, which implies that the nature of the teaching process is highly situation-specific. In other words, because successful teaching is dependant on good 'ad hocing', it is only the actors in any given situation who are likely to be well enough placed to judge the appropriateness or otherwise of any developments or new ideas.¹⁰⁹

This does not deny the importance of support structures for teacher's efforts.¹¹⁰ At various points in the process of development, teachers will require assistance in developing their own knowledge of subject matter, resources, and means of disseminating their work. This is a practical issue which needs to be explored further.

The evidence presented here, however, allows us to speculate with some confidence that innovations which derive from the teacher's own initiative are more likely to involve genuine change for the better, than innovations initiated by external agencies. The concept that is being suggested here, then, is 'teacher as researcher'¹¹¹ and so 'teacher as initiator of innovation'. These issues are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁹Olson (1983) has indicated that something of this kind lay at the root of the misunderstandings between guide-writers and teachers in the implementation of an innovation (SCISP) developed by an outside research team.

¹¹⁰See Almond (1983a, 4 + 11)

¹¹¹Stenhouse (1975)

Summary

This chapter has attempted to locate the innovation at Forest School within the context of teaching as work. Four occupational characteristics of teaching are identified and their interrelationships outlined and elaborated. The innovation at Forest is then located and discussed within this framework of analytic ideas. This discussion indicates that, in the case of teacher-initiated innovation, there is no distinction for teachers between teaching and innovating. In other words, an important feature of teacher-initiated innovation is that innovating is an intrinsic part of teachers' work.

It is for this reason that the developments at Forest have been located in the work context. By doing this, a number of important and potentially wide ranging implications for the conduct of innovation in schools by both teachers and external agencies are suggested, and these are elaborated in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 8 : Reflections and Speculations

CHAPTER 8

REFLECTIONS AND SPECULATIONSReflecting on the development of the study

An underpinning tenet of this study has been a conception of myself as researcher as a member of the social world I have studied. In light of this reflexive role, I have attempted to treat, where possible, my own biography as a source of data, in an effort to open to the critical scrutiny of readers my interpretations of the events at Forest School. In the opening section of the chapter, I wish to reflect on the development of the study from its conception to its final form in this thesis by highlighting a number of issues which I believe to be of major significance in this process. The aim of this section then is two-fold; first, in following through in a reflexive effort it attempts to open the study to further critical scrutiny, and second it aims to contextualise the synthesis of the findings of the study in the sections which follow this.

By the time studies like this one reach the stage of being a 'finished product', in the form of a thesis, book, paper or monograph, writers usually leave few clues to the underlying processes and stages of development the study underwent as it unfolded. Thus, most research in its finished form represents in reality a 'reconstruction' of its actual progress over time and so camouflages the

intellectual re-orientations that researchers experience as they learn from their own research efforts and what these produce. In the next few pages I wish to set out briefly in a reflexive effort some of the issues which provide at least a few, albeit cryptic, clues to the way in which I grew together with the study.

The first point to note is the chronological sequence in which the chapters were written. Although some parts of the first three chapters were written as review papers at the pre-field work stage, and some during field work, the chapters themselves were written, in the form they appear here, in the following order - four, five, six, seven, then two and three, then one, and finally this chapter, eight. I had hoped that this sequence in writing chapters would allow me to spot and eliminate incongruences between my original intentions and the actual results of the research, by reviewing these intentions after the report section of the thesis had been written. I now consider that I have only been partially successful in this task, however. It seems to me in retrospect that while I did, in fact, begin the project with a concern to approach the problematic relationship of educational theory in practice, with the idea that a more relevant and meaningful body of knowledge could be built on teachers' theorizing their own practice, that this notion slipped from being a substantive concern before I began the fieldwork to occupy the role of a 'meta-theme' or a 'guiding principle' in the conduct of the research. Consequently, I do not think that the report section of the thesis deals in a substantive way with the

theory/practice issue.

This conclusion may conflict with much of what I have written in the third section of the first chapter, where I discuss the theory-in-practice issue at some length. While I am aware the possibility of misunderstanding exists, I think that by retaining this section the reader has some indication of where the study and its author began and so will be in a better position to judge the residual influences of these early preoccupations.

As I suggested, my concern for the theory/practice issue slipped from the level of substantive focus to become a meta-theme throughout the study. I now believe it was this concern which lay at the root of my selection of the social-phenomenological orientation which frames the study, and so is to a large extent responsible for what I now consider to be an important area of under emphasis in the report. By arguing and then assuming that it is possible to build theory on the basis of teachers' theorizing, I selected a framework for the study which tends to neglect the structural features of the social world (Giddens, 1976). The realisation that there were important structures which existed outside and beyond the case study teachers' theorizing of their practice gradually stole upon me as the study progressed. The theory/practice problem does not simply derive from a neglect of teachers' theorizing alone, as some phenomenological researchers would have it, but is embedded in a much more complex issue concerning the shaping or structuring of human agency and consciousness by forces

created by people but not necessarily controlled by each and every individual. The social phenomenological framework left me with the difficulty of attempting to explain this case of teacher-initiated innovation solely within the limits of the teachers' individual and collective consciousness. This framework sees the theory/practice dichotomy as an epistemological problem, but not as a political one. That is to say, the notion that the stock of knowledge at hand is unevenly distributed in the social world fails to place this fact in the context of power relations (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). The teachers at Forest were indeed intentional agents capable of theorizing their own work practices and in the broader context, their own lives. However, in the first place, their knowledge of their world can only ever be partial and there will be institutionalised social and cultural forces which shape their consciousness in ways that they may be entirely unaware of. And second, no matter the breadth and scope of their theorizing, the kinds of policy decisions this could lead to are severely delimited within a hierarchical system of power relations. ?

This under-emphasis of structure in the study does not mean, however, that the report provides an account which omits this dimension of analysis altogether. It seems to me now that much of the structuring of the teachers' world at Forest is implicit in the account presented in the report chapters, a factor which sits uneasily within the social phenomenological framework. There exists a tension between the phenomenologists focus on teachers as world producers

and the need to move beyond teacher consciousness to adequately explain social reality. Later in this chapter, I address the issue of structure/agency more directly, in moving from substantive to formal theory, and attempt to show how this issue may be approached methodologically. ?

In a more practical view, it also needs to be noted how the study was shaped by exigencies in the research situation at Forest School. In chapter two I discussed how I gained access to the Physical Education Department at Forest, which was mainly on the basis of casual acquaintance with one of the teachers. Permission for my presence there was not granted unconditionally, although there were few overt restrictions placed upon me by the staff or administration. There were, however, a number of tacitly communicated conditions, that I should not speak to students about their teachers for example, that placed particular limits on the study. The decision, in the first place, to choose Forest for a one-site case study offered particular opportunities but also limitations for what I could achieve in the study. My point is that the final product as it appears in this thesis is very much the result of a series of compromises, a situation every social researcher will encounter and have to accommodate. The social world is not a laboratory where people can be manipulated to suit a particular study design; the right to privacy and to refuse to co-operate or to participate in only certain ways cannot be overruled, no matter how worthwhile the project. Thus, in this study, I had to make the most of the opportunities that were offered to me, and to accept less than the ideal

when other people's sense of privacy or correct conduct were challenged. At the outset, when I had made the decision to focus on the Forest teachers and their health related fitness innovation, I felt the site offered opportunities that far outweighed any foreseeable restrictions. I would now say, in retrospect, that the decision to choose Forest is still a defensible one, since some of the practical problems one encounters only become evident as the study proceeds.

In concluding this reflexive section, I think it is important to point out that this final chapter was written some time after the rest of the thesis. It will be obvious to the reader that there is not only a difference in writing style, but also in intellectual style. In this sense, the final chapter does suggest an end point of sorts, or at least 'the story so far', in the intellectual journey the study represents for me. It needs to be stressed that it was the process of doing this study which has brought me to this point. Thus, in summing up the findings of the research in the following sections, it is important that the reader does not lose sight of the contingent nature of this piece of 'educational theory'. My feelings about this study are probably best expressed in this statement by Lawrence Stenhouse. He suggests that educational theory

... is not to be regarded as an unqualified recommendation but rather as a provisional specification claiming no more than to be worth putting to the test in practice. Such proposals claim to be intelligent rather than correct.

(Stenhouse, 1975, 142).

A Synthesis of the Findings

This study has been concerned primarily to describe and explain a case of teacher-initiated innovation, and to generate at a substantive level (Glaser and Strauss, 1968) theory which can make sense of the events at Forest School and provide some insights into the reasons why things happened the way they did. As I argued in the first section of the thesis, there have as yet been few studies of educational innovation which focus on "the actuality of decision-making processes, (and) the particular forms that participation in decision-making takes" (Hargreaves, 1982, 253). Consequently, the study was designed intentionally as 'descriptive/interpretative'; it attempts to discover what was happening in this case of teacher-initiated innovation, and to explain these happenings at a substantive level, that is to say, in a manner specifically related to the case. It is, essentially, an exploratory study.

I plan to locate this case of teacher-initiated innovation within the broader context of 'school centred innovation' (SCI) (Hargreaves, 1982)¹, for the purposes of highlighting the implications of the findings for educational innovation. Echoing the argument presented in the first chapter of this thesis, Hargreaves identifies a trend over the past decade towards localised control of curriculum development. He

*1. Hargreaves uses this term to embrace SBCD, SFCD and other trends towards localised curriculum innovation.

remarks that while SCI has been enthusiastically advocated by many writers (e.g., Skilbeck, 1982; Stenhouse, 1975), there has been little critique of the assumptions underpinning this advocacy. For Hargreaves

what is most discomfoting ... is the absence of that scepticism and watchfulness among academics and practitioners which so strongly characterizes the debate surrounding the centralizing tendency of curriculum change. In effect, SCI has been optimistically and zealously advanced as both guardian, if not modern patron, of teacher autonomy and professionalism and as a likely cure for much of the current educational malaise.

(Hargreaves, 1982, 252)

In this final chapter, I will present a discussion of the possibilities and limitations of localised curriculum innovation by drawing on the findings of this study. First, I will look reflectively at the study and highlight the main ideas that have been generated at a substantive level in relation to innovation and the curricular practice of teachers. This discussion will be organised around the issues of 'the temporal context of innovating'; 'teachers' involvement in innovation'; and 'innovating and teaching as work'. Next, I will point to the implications of these findings for SCI in general by structuring my comments around the notions of 'the participation and collaboration of teachers in innovation' (Hargreaves, 1982, 257-8), and 'the structuring of teachers' innovative actions'. The third section ends the chapter on a speculative note by suggesting, firstly, how a move from substantive to formal theory might proceed, and secondly, drawing particularly on Hammersley's (1984:1985) work on testing theory, what

the methodological implications of such a shift might be.

Innovation and curriculum practice

(i) The temporal context of innovating

(a) History - the active involvement of the past

The innovative idea was created, practiced, and disseminated within a broad temporal context in relation to developments and changes within the school and the physical education department. Chapters four and five outline some of the main features of these developments in an attempt to provide, in the first place, a 'backdrop' to more recent events against which these developments in health related fitness based physical education can be understood. The historical account is provided, in this sense, simply as a means of sensitising the reader to the temporal context of the contemporary situation. Having said this, there is a second and more important reason for providing this historical account. To simply layout the backdrop to contemporary events fails to take into account the active involvement of the past in the present; in this respect, an historical account of broader developments and trends in the school is vital to our understanding of how and why things happened the way they did. In other words, the past actively shapes the present, by creating the circumstances which constrain the possibility of some outcomes, and facilitate others.

This is not to suggest, however, that we can

draw tight 'cause and effect' connections between past and present events; it is not always possible to see precisely why particular things happened the way they did. Furthermore, this historical work draws on retrospective accounts of the past as a major source of information, and so inevitably involves interpretation and reconstruction both on the part of the informers and the researcher (Hexter, 1971). In the light of these qualifications chapters four and five attempt to highlight the temporal features of the past in relation to the school and the department in a way that allows some latitude in drawing conclusions (Stenhouse, 1982, 268).

With this preamble in mind, it is possible to show through selected examples how past events were important influences on contemporary occurrences, and where the evidence permits the possibility of drawing close connections, I will attempt to do so.

For example, it is clear that changes in the schools' function, from girls' grammar to comprehensive and then to community college, and the concomitant changes in clientele (Denscombe, 1980), had particular effects, both in the school generally, and more specifically in the physical education department. These influences were manifest to some degree in the residual ideologies for teaching physical education which were the source of tensions and contradictions in the way some teachers viewed the innovative idea. The conventional or 'traditional' sports-orientated approach, for instance, which prevailed as the dominant ideology in the days of the grammar school was

probably inappropriate in the context of a nonselective, mixed ability and mixed sex comprehensive. As Hilary Ashford's comments indicated in chapters four and five, the 'ethos' within the school itself changed, and the notion of excellence in interschool sport had a less important place in a school beleaguered by forced changes in teaching styles and subject matter to accommodate the change in clientele, and preoccupied in particular with the problem of discipline. Reorganisation of the school's management structures also brought changes of direction in policy. The CSE, for instance, was seen within the school as a way of catering for some of the problems associated with comprehensivisation, and was also picked up within physical education as a means of providing, in the words of Pete Gardener, a more 'structured' approach to teaching physical education activities. Further reorientations within the school, particularly with the advent of the community college and so a shift in focus in terms of what the school was doing for its clientele, was illustrated in the notion of 'lifeskills'. Departments were asked to state what lifeskills they could provide students with, and the response from physical education was the embryonic health related fitness concept.

However, while these reorganisations and reorientations were taking place, former ways of teaching physical education did not disappear overnight. It is clear that the conventional sports-orientated ideology was still operant at a residual level, as were some of

ideas underlying the CSE, in the consciousness and practices of the physical education teachers. The 'traditional orientation' to physical education teaching was a recurring consideration in the interviews with Phil Bayle in particular, and its importance as a continuing and ongoing influence on the teachers' thoughts and actions was great. For example, it was the source of dichotomies in relation to teaching methods - 'sheep dog' versus 'student centred' approaches; to the criteria for successful teaching and accountability - 'competitive sporting success' versus 'impact on students' lifestyles'; and in relation to theoretical and practical knowledge - 'field/gym/pool-based practical work synonymous with physical activity' versus 'classroom-based theory work synonymous with health education'. In this historical context, the innovative idea itself can be identified as an emergent ideology, and one which had to assert itself in opposition to previous orientations to physical education teaching.

The significance of these residual ideologies to the contemporary curriculum practice of the physical education teachers at Forest is that the emergent ideology of health related fitness based physical education was distorted in particular ways by the teachers in practice. This point exemplifies the dialectical relationship between past and present, because it is precisely in this sense that the formal doctrine becomes a facade, cloaking the realities of curriculum as practiced, due to its

embeddedness in the temporal context.

The innovative idea and the innovative actions of the teachers were, therefore, interpenetrated and influenced by history in a multiplicity of ways, some subtle and ambiguous, and some more explicit and obvious. However, the innovative idea is not only embedded in an historical context, but also has temporal dimensions of its own. The progress of this idea over time and the effects on the form and substance of the idea by this progress are conceptualised in the notion 'formal doctrine'.

(b) The formal doctrine and temporality

The notion 'formal doctrine' provides a means of conceptualising the processual nature of the curriculum developments at Forest and thus an insight into the effects of the passage of time on the form and substance of the idea itself. Moreover, it conceptualises the effects of temporality on the relationship between the innovative idea and teachers' practice.

In chapter five I identified three processes in the progress of the innovative idea, creation; practice; and dissemination. During the process of creation, the innovative idea existed in a largely unarticulated, embryonic form; it consisted of some teachers' intuitions about what physical education ought to be doing in the school, and some specific though mostly unrelated

arguments for the retention of particular elements of previous practice, such as some of the 'theory' units from the CSE. As these intuitions began to be articulated more coherently, and worked through in practice, an awareness among the teachers grew of the possibilities and limitations of a health base to the physical education programme. When the teachers started to disseminate the idea, first within the department, then the school, and then to a wider professional audience outside the school, the innovative idea was increasingly articulated in a formal, systematic and integrated way, and so the formal doctrine was created.

The formal doctrine represents the outcome of the progress of the innovative idea within the time period covered by the study. It presents the notion of 'health related fitness based physical education' in a lucid and well thought out form, with strong recommendations for an integrated programme of conceptual, skill and attitude development in students through a combination of cognitive and experiential learning.

However, the effects of the passage of time on the relationship between the innovative idea and teachers' practice was problematic. As time progressed, and the innovative idea became more formalised and objectified, it resembled less and less the actual practice of the physical education curriculum at Forest. This dysfunctional relationship between the innovative idea and the practice of the programme it was supposed to represent is exemplified in two ways.

First, the formal doctrine acted as a facade; it cloaked the organisational realities of curriculum practice at Forest. However, while the formal doctrine was in this respect dysfunctional in relation to teachers' practice, it performed an important mediative function between their innovative actions and the wider school organisation, particularly in relation to 'accountability' (Denscombe, 1980). That is, it presented the 'public face' of the innovation and so was used explicitly to express in a positive, clear and codified manner the benefits of the programme. As we saw in chapters six and seven, the notions of 'recognition' and 'success' were particularly important in relation to the way teachers viewed their work. The formal doctrine, as Smith and Keith (1971) suggest, is a formal statement of what teachers considered themselves accountable for, and so can be seen at Forest as a statement of an emergent ideology of health based physical education. This was important because it represented a statement of the criteria for successful physical education teaching by which the physical education teachers considered their work should be judged. It was then a crucial ideological and political device for communicating to people outside the department what the innovative idea is and why it is worthwhile. It is for this reason that the formal doctrine presents a facade, because its primary function is to present the public face of the innovation.

Second, the formal doctrine failed to act as

a 'guide to action' or an ideal for the teachers to measure their practice against. Instead, it was an idealisation of that practice, an account of what the teachers were trying to do, not in fact what they were doing. This point can be seen particularly by the fact that the formal doctrine was not used as an educational or socialising device when new teachers joined the department. By the time Steve Finney and Kate Watkins arrived at the school, the innovative idea in its formalised and objectified version bore little resemblance to the programme they were experiencing. As Denscombe (1980) has commented

... gaining competence is a process largely learnt on site in the school: much of what the teacher needs to know and do to get by in the real-world of the classroom will be the product of experience on site through direct contact with colleagues, pupils (clients) and the exigencies of the situation.

(Denscombe, 1980, 284)

This process of face-to-face, experiential learning was indeed the major educational process undergone by all of the teachers in the physical education department. Their knowledge and skills and attitudes to teaching the programme were developed through a sharing of ideas, through discussion, and as Denscombe points out, through the practice of the programme, and not through the formal doctrine.

The formal doctrine, as the outcome of the progress of the innovative idea over time, plays a key role in this study in terms of conceptualising the relationship

between the effects of time on the substance of the innovative idea, which was undergirded by the ongoing processes of formalisation and objectification, and teachers' practice. In addition, it plays a second role in the study as a means of judging the level of teachers' involvements in the innovation and in particular, as a way of focussing on the outcomes of teacher participation and collaboration (Hargreaves, 1982).

(ii) Teachers' involvement in innovating

The teachers' involvements in innovating are discussed in some detail in chapter six. From this analysis it is clear that the teachers adopted different relationships to the innovative idea, and were involved in the innovative process at a number of different levels. For instance, I suggested all teachers in the department were involved in implementing the innovative idea through the physical education programme. In addition, some individuals like the Head of Department, Pete Gardener, and Phil Bayle and Kevin Edmonds, had particular and more specific levels of involvement, Gardener as the negotiator for and provider of a mandate for the innovation, and Bayle and Edmonds as initiators, educators, disseminators and crusaders. These roles in themselves were significant in terms of who took responsibility for what aspects of the programme; as Edmonds commented, he had a major responsibility for teaching some of the compulsory practical courses such as the 'gym-based' course. while others taught more games and sports. Notwithstanding this division of labour,

each teacher taught the classroom-based activities, or what in the formal doctrine is termed the 'theory' component, and latterly each had a major responsibility for researching and developing aspects of 'theory units'.

These levels of involvement and the taking of particular roles in the innovation are significant in terms of each teachers' relationship to the innovative idea. The evidence presented in chapters five and six suggests that there were disparate conceptions of the innovative idea amongst the physical education teachers and that as a consequence, teachers in practice emphasised some aspects of the programme over others. Furthermore, the evidence shows that not only were there differences in emphasis in the curriculum as practiced, but there were also confusions and contradictions within the teachers' understanding of what the innovative idea implied for the practice of the curriculum.

Within the conventional wisdom of innovation theory, the occurrences of disparate conceptions of the innovative idea is, perhaps, surprising. According to House (1974), where there is a high frequency of personal, face-to-face contact between teachers, there is less likelihood of an innovative idea being transformed in practice. Even in studies which identify teachers' intentions as a key to understanding how innovations fare in practice (Olson, 1981), teachers tend to be treated as an homogenous group who more or less share the same confusions, misunderstandings

and insights. However, a transformation or at least, a translation of the innovative idea as it is expressed in the formal doctrine, in the consciousness and practices of teachers, did occur at Forest. There are at least three important factors discussed in chapter six, which account for this occurrence, which are worthy of further discussion here.

First, teachers' biographies of experience and their personal beliefs, values and aspirations for teaching physical education played a vital role in shaping their understanding of the innovative idea. This factor was in itself shaped by a second consideration, which was the influence of dominant and subordinate ideologies for teaching physical education. Teachers' own personal values were crucially influenced by the intersection of their biographies with the various ideologies for teaching physical education which can be identified at Forest; namely, a residual traditional orientation which was based on competitive sports, a second ideology influenced by the CSE and viewing physical education as an examinable subject, and a third, emergent ideology, that of health related fitness based physical education.

Both factors are further intertwined by the influence of colleagues and the process of socialisation into the departments' work practices, expressed in this study in the notion 'shared ideals'. Communication of the innovative idea was, as we saw, an important process

not only in educating colleagues about the idea, but it also played a crucial role in the translation of the idea. This was because, in coming to understand the innovative idea, the teachers were engaged in a process of interpretation, which was undergirded by the combined influence of biography and professional teaching ideologies. The process of interpretation thus represents one mechanism for translation of the innovative idea.

Third, each of these factors was in turn shaped by the organisation of the teachers' work practices in the school setting. It is these organisational arrangements which create and legitimates the notion 'professional autonomy' and thus creates a second mechanism for translation of the innovative idea. Indeed, it is in this third factor that the teachers' individual perspectives, the professional ideologies for teaching physical education, and the features of school organisation come together and interact. In this respect, Denscombe (1980) has remarked

It is the 'closed classroom' organisation, prevalent in contemporary secondary schools, which facilitates and fosters teachers' aspirations to professional autonomy. Because teachers are isolated from colleagues when in the classroom and are given individual responsibility by the formal organisation, they are able to promote a vision of their task as one which can be legitimately accorded 'professional' autonomy.

(Denscombe, 1980, 288)

It is here that the practice phase of the progress of the innovative idea plays a crucial role in the evolution of the formal doctrine. It is through practice that teachers see the limitations of their ideals and aspirations, and also the possibilities for these ideals. While these possibilities became formalised and objectified as a public statement of the innovative idea, the teachers themselves were required to maintain a high level of flexibility in their teaching to cope with the exigencies of classroom life. As Denscombe (1980) again remarks

... the idiosyncratic, intractable and even incorrigible nature of the input-units (pupils) is regarded by teachers and external authorities as requiring flexibility of method and ad hoc measures. Teachers are constantly faced with new situations which require them to innovate and use ad hoc procedures and necessitate 'deviation' from official prescriptions for activity.

(Denscombe, 1980, 288)

In the case of the teachers at Forest, it is paradoxical that the 'official prescriptions for activity', in the form of the formal doctrine, were generated by the teachers themselves in a collective effort, and yet the nature and structure of their work practices required teachers to deviate from these prescriptions. More significantly, it is the cumulation of ad hocing measures in the curriculum as practiced that played a prominent role in shaping teachers' understanding of the innovative idea and of its implications for future practice.

The formal doctrine in this context provides a 'sounding board' for judging the level of individual teachers' understanding of the innovative idea, their relationships to this idea, and the way they draw out the implications of the formal doctrine for their own classroom practice. In this respect, it performs an important function in this study as a means of focussing on teachers' involvement in innovating and in particular, of judging the outcomes of the process of 'collaboration' (Hargreaves, 1982) or collective action.

The issues highlighted in this sub-section, the interaction of teachers' biographies, teaching ideologies and work practices on their conceptions of the innovative idea, and their involvement and collective actions resulting in disparate conceptions, begs the question of the extent to which the innovation can be described as teacher-initiated. This question relates more generally to Hargreaves' (1982,258) suspicion that SCI may only be a subtle 'front' camouflaging the backdoor entry of centralised curriculum control, an issue I will take up when I discuss the 'structuring of teachers' innovative actions'. In the meantime, I think it is important as a prelude to this discussion to clarify, in the context of teachers' involvement in innovating, my use of the term 'teacher-initiated' innovation as it applies to the health related fitness based physical education programme at Forest.

The term is used to identify the source of the initiative to innovate. Most curriculum innovation has been initiated from outside the school, either by government agencies or by research projects (McDonald and Walker, 1976). In this case, however, the initiative to innovate came in the first instance from the collective efforts of the teachers in the physical education department. Thus, as I suggested in chapter one, this innovation more closely resembles Havelock's (1971) 'Problem-solving' model where the users of a new programme are also the creators.

This conceptualisation does not exclude the assistance of external agencies such as the PEA, advisors, HMI's, or the HEC; the telling feature of teacher-initiated innovation is that, in the specific context of teaching physical education at Forest, it represents a 'response to circumstance' (Denscombe, 1980, 280; see also chapter five and chapter six, section two). Thus, this study is concerned to document the nature of these circumstances, where they are identifiable, that can be said to be the sources of the teachers' innovative actions. The point needs to be stressed, though, that this conception still recognises the interplay of human agency and social structures as problematic, a matter to be discussed in more detail later in this section and in section three.

(iii) Innovating and teaching as work

While studies have on occasion approached innovation from an analysis of schools as organisations (e.g. Smith and Keith, 1971; Gross et al, 1971) and in so doing have sought to highlight the features of the institutional and instructional milieux (Hamilton, 1973) which shape the innovation in practice, researchers have seldom focussed on how teachers experience teaching as work and how innovation is affected as a result. Chapter seven attempted to generate an analytic framework based primarily on the case study teachers' accounts of their experience of teaching as work, and then to apply this analysis to understanding the consequences for innovating within the work context.

The main point chapter seven makes is that, from the teachers' perspectives, 'innovating' and 'working' are synonymous in that they are underpinned by the same factors and concerns. This point contradicts the impression conveyed by the conventional wisdom of innovation theory that 'innovation' is some kind of ephemeral activity, something teachers do over and above teaching. I would argue, however, that when we locate innovation in the context of teachers' work practices, it does not just become 'work-like'; innovation is work.

Having said this, it is at the same time important to note that, as a new idea, and undergirded by the emergent ideology of health based physical education, the innovative idea will have an impact on teachers' work particular to itself. That is, the features special to health

related fitness based physical education will have particular implications for teachers' experience of work.

The main body of the discussion in chapter seven attempts to spell out these implications in the local setting at Forest and in a wider sense for innovation in physical education generally. Three points are identified in this discussion.

First, the innovative idea brings with it a change in the criteria for successful teaching. The problem this presents, however, is that the residual ideologies of conventional physical education teaching still play an important part in forming the teachers' own, and other peoples', perceptions of what counts as successful physical education teaching. Thus, the stage is set for conflict and contradiction, because the teachers at Forest are clearly in danger of being judged by others against inappropriate criteria and similarly being confused themselves in terms of how their work should be given credit.

The second problem, which is closely related to the first, shows how this shift in the criteria for successful teaching affects the teachers personally, in terms of gaining recognition in an innovative context. On the one hand, the teachers were applying the extra time and effort the creation and implementation of the new programme demanded, but on the other were experiencing

some difficulty in gaining recognition for their efforts. This problem was not insurmountable, for as we saw in chapter seven, the teachers made attempts through, for example, exhibitions of fitness activities and presentation of talks, to inform others of the worth of their work. However, this educational effort in itself takes time, and in addition requires a persuasive element (see chapter five, section four), as ideas not only change slowly, but the innovative idea, as an emergent ideology, must compete with more traditional criteria for good physical education teaching.

The third point, 'tailoring means to suit new ends' suggests that the innovative idea in the work context also has implications for the teachers' practices in terms of teaching methods and styles. However, this involves more than a simple change in how teachers teach, in the same way that a production line worker may learn a new drill. Teachers use their interactive skills with students to control and manage the classroom environment, to establish and maintain pedagogic and sometimes more personal relationships with students, and importantly, to manage stress in teacher/class interaction. Thus any change in teaching methods has significant ramifications; it implicates the quality of teachers' relations with students as well as their effectiveness in the more conventional task of transmitting knowledge and skills.

Furthermore, adapting teaching styles and methods and learning new interactive skills is also significant for teachers in terms of the interrelatedness of all three points, in as much as they were thrown back on the quality of their interactions with students as a measure of the worth of their teaching to a far greater extent than they might have been if success was still measured by the more conventional criteria of sporting excellence or examination results.

However, this situation had implications beyond the qualitative dimensions of teachers' and students' pedagogic relationships; given the necessity of 'servicing the mandate' for the innovation, in the ongoing struggle to maintain and improve the timetable allocation to their subject, the teachers were required to move beyond their subjectively felt experiences of their teaching as grounds for justifying their subject's inclusion in the school curriculum. It is this requirement that also helps account, in part, for the rhetorical role played by the formal doctrine in presenting the public face of the innovation. Whatever the teachers' levels of awareness of how closely the formal doctrine matched the realities of actual curriculum practice, it is clear that the formal doctrine played an important political role in servicing the mandate and presenting the teachers' work as research based (that is, health related fitness research), carefully thought out and planned, and of benefit to students.

The location of innovation in the work context of teaching is significant, then, for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that the way teachers experience teaching as work has consequences for the fate of innovative ideas, particularly in terms of the quality of teacher/student interactions. Second, it allows teachers' innovative actions to be located within the organisational setting of the school, particularly through the mediating notion of 'recognition', which is linked to how teachers see themselves as accountable for their work.

Implications for school-centred innovation

In this section, I employ three assumptions about the value of SCI to structure my comments. I will outline where the findings of the study lend support to advocates' claims for SCI, and where they point to shortcomings and problems. The three assumptions relate to 'teachers' participation in the innovative process'; 'collaboration and the teachers' collective efforts; and 'the structuring of teachers' actions'.

(i) Teachers' participation in the innovative process

Hargreaves makes the point that the ideology of SCI "emphasizes and encourages increased teacher participation...but does not assess the different forms that participation actually takes, nor the uses to which it tends to be put" (Hargreaves, 1982, 257). This point is confirmed in the work of a number of other researchers.

Walton (1978), for instance, argues that the notion of SBCD is often employed in a way that assumes high levels of teacher participation. Close and Postle (1977) note that it is commonly assumed such participation is, necessarily, a 'good thing'. What is often left out of accounts that advocate localised curriculum innovation are the precise possibilities that participation might offer and the limitations it might entail.

As I reiterated in the previous section, all of the teachers at Forest were involved in the innovative process. The point of interest however is that each individual took on, or in some cases was allocated, particular roles; as Pete Gardener remarked in chapter five, teachers were given responsibility for developing specific units of work, during the latter stages of the innovation, in addition to their shared roles as implementers. I also made the point in chapter six that the nature of each teacher's involvement played a crucial part in determining his/her conception of the innovative idea. In this respect, we can see a double involvement (Giddens, 1982) of individual teachers' participation in the innovative process and their perspectives on the innovative idea. That is, teachers' participation in the development of the innovative idea shaped their understanding of it, which in turn worked back on their levels of participation.

There was, then, participation in the innovative process by all of the physical education teachers, which

had the positive effect on the innovation of creating shared ideals which in turn lead to identification with the innovation, and so to a general willingness to be involved in, and to continue to support, further developments (see Harris, 1978). However, it is clear that there was by no means equal participation by all teachers. Bayle and Edmonds, and to a lesser extent Gardener, all revealed higher levels of involvement in the innovative process than the other teachers. Participation was also determined to some degree by teachers' own perceptions of their competence (Mathews, 1976; Morgan, 1980).

Thus, while all of the teachers participated in the innovative process, their involvement was not equally distributed. Whether equal involvement is in any case desirable might be questioned. The adages of 'Too many cooks...' and 'All chiefs and no indians' suggest that equal participation, while it may be a desirable democratic principle, may not necessarily lead to the production of a better programme. Some of the roles teachers performed at Forest, for instance, could only have been carried out by particular individuals; for instance, the Head of Department's role as 'provider of a mandate', while other roles were determined by individual teachers' personalities, talents and expertise. As the comments documented in chapter six indicate, both Bayle and Edmonds were effective motivators for some of their colleagues, and had also acquired knowledge and expertise that others did not, or chose not, to possess.

These different levels of involvement and their legitimation by claims to particular expertise should not be accepted at face value, however. Underlying Hargreaves' (1982,257-8) comments is the suggestion that some teachers' participation in the innovative process may be interpreted as an intentional attempt to exclude others from influential involvement. This issue will be discussed in the next sub-section in relation to collaboration and the problem of recognition.

Finally, it should be noted that whatever the benefits of teacher participation in innovation, there is the likelihood of increased problems in terms of the manageability of the innovative process. Certainly, with eight teachers actively teaching the health related fitness based physical education programme at Forest, there evolved a complex nexus of relationships, interactions of personalities, and distributions of workloads. In this respect, Gardener as Head of Department, played a key role in relation to the success of the innovation, a point remarked upon by a number of teachers. This suggests that the Head of Department or co-ordinator of an innovation will need special skills in managing teachers' collective actions which go beyond the mundane chores of routine administration. It is pertinent to note that there have recently been moves towards appointing 'Curriculum Leaders' at school and subject level who take a major responsibility for co-ordinating curriculum development (Williamson, 1984). The evidence from this study would suggest that this trend is justified, and

that Curriculum Leaders will require a specialised sensitivity to managing people as well as the curriculum.

(ii) Collaboration and teachers' collective efforts

Although the curriculum developments at Forest are marked by different levels of involvement from the teachers and by disparate conceptions of the innovative idea, the health based physical education programme was considered by all of the physical education teachers to be a joint project. There are two interrelated points that need to be stressed here, however. One, the way in which co-operation from all teachers in the department was secured provides an insight into the political processes within the school and department which undergird the innovative effort. And two, the fact that the programme involved a collective effort does not exclude the presence of conflict and struggle between teachers, particularly in relation to ownership of ideas and recognition.

The physical education teachers, and especially Gardener, Bayle and Edmonds, used the opportunities offered by administrative directives within the school to do two things; one, to confirm and further support the case for physical education within the school curriculum, which we saw was at times under threat; and two, to take physical education in particular directions, towards a health based programme. The first move in itself played a decisive role in securing both the consent and approval of the administration, because the department

had responded enthusiastically to their directives, and also the co-operation of the physical education staff, because the physical education programme was saved from extinction. Co-operation of the teachers was further secured by the fear that teaching might degenerate into a recreational or sports orientated programme without direction or structure. This co-operation and willingness to be involved in developments did not rule out the presence of conflict, nor was it easily won. As the account presented in chapter five shows, there were conflicting ideas about where the emphasis should be placed in the programme, on practical work, or on the classroom-based health related topics. This conflict played a significant part in shaping certain teachers' perspectives on, and understanding of, the innovative idea, and their involvements in the innovative process (chapter five, sections three and four). It was also stressed in these sections that the physical presence of Bayle and Edmonds in the setting played a vital role in the educative process, especially during the creation and practice of the innovative idea, by persuading their colleagues of the worth of the health related fitness orientation.

Each of the teachers were, then, involved in a collaborative effort, and this adds a dynamic feature to their participation in the innovation, because it highlights their interactions with colleagues. This collaboration had the positive effect of creating an ethos of shared ideals, or what I termed the 'informal doctrine' of the innovation. This consisted, in part,

of tacit agreements over the form the developments should take - although as I stressed above, this did not rule out negotiation and contestation of specific points - joint planning of units, sharing ideas and materials, and the personal and social relations between teachers.

However, this process of communication was at the same time dysfunctional. I made the point in the previous section in relation to the formal doctrine that the structure of teachers' work practices and their interpretative efforts combined to translate the innovative idea into a plastic form suitable for implementation in practice. And it was this process, the working through the innovative idea in practice which, as I argued in chapter five, was a source of continuing contestation and conflict between the teachers.

The collaboration of the teachers in the innovative process at Forest represents a major difficulty in relation to interpreting and narrating what did 'in fact' occur. On the one hand, all of the teachers claimed the innovation to be a joint project, and each as we have seen did contribute to this process in a number of ways. On the other hand, it seems clear that some teachers played a larger part than others, or at least, maintained a higher profile in relation to the new programme. Add to this the simultaneous presence of shared ideals and conflict amongst the teachers and the picture becomes very complex. It was particularly difficult to establish precisely

the nature and degree of each teachers' involvement in the innovative process, and who had legitimate claims to credit for specific ideas and developments. My interpretation of the situation identifies Bayle and Edmonds as key figures in the innovative process, with Gardener also playing a high profile role, and then with other teachers more or less on the periphery of the developments. While I think there is strong evidence to support this interpretation, it is important not to accept this situation at face value. There are a number of questions that need to be asked. For instance, how far did Bayle's and Edmonds' centrality to the innovative process exclude a higher level of involvement of other teachers? To what extent did the health related fitness based physical education programme come to represent for Bayle, Edmonds and Gardener, a vehicle for professional self development and career enhancement?

These issues can be focussed, within this discussion of teacher collaboration, by the notion of 'ownership'² of ideas and the problem of professional recognition. The belief that extra work, effort and commitment deserves recognition is a prominent theme in the interviews with Bayle and Edmonds. This apparent preoccupation, compared to their colleagues, could be interpreted in a number of ways, as ambition, as an acute political awareness,

*2. I wish to thank Alan Edwards at the University of Queensland for this idea.

or as narcissism. I suggest there are probably elements of all three underlying the thoughts and actions of these two teachers. However, the important point is that when an innovative idea is the product of a collaborative effort among teachers, the question of ownership and how effort should be recognised and rewarded becomes highly problematic. In this study, it is not an easy matter to discern who should be given credit for what developments, or even to gauge the legitimacy of claims for recognition. Thus, while the mixing of talents, ideas and expertise may be a highly desirable way of proceeding with educational innovation, both in terms of the quality of the programme produced and the ethic of democratic involvement, such collaboration presents the ambitious or narcissistic teacher with a poor vehicle for career development.

(iii) The structuring of teachers' innovative actions

Hargreaves (1982) points to a third assumption in the ideology of SCI which suggests that the move away from centralised curriculum innovation provides the possibility of 'grass-roots democracy' within schools. However, he questions whether this 'bottom-up transformation' (Bullough and Gitlin, 1985) of the process of schooling is as straightforward as the SCI ideology suggests. He argues that

Attention has been focussed so heavily on the centre's unsubtle attempts to storm the front gates of the citadel of teacher autonomy, that its quiet entry through the back door of SCI has been virtually undetected.

(Hargreaves, 1982, 258)

This issue of 'back-door centralism' raises a number of points which are of central significance to this study. For instance, it questions the notion of 'teacher-initiated' innovation itself; to what extent can the developments at Forest be described as teacher-initiated, and how far were they influenced by other factors both inside and outside the school? As I suggested in an earlier section the notion of teacher-initiated innovation indicates the source of the innovation, in a manner similar to Havelock's P S model. It does not preclude support from external agencies. I propose to approach this issue of the extent to which SCI may be a subtle way of gaining central control of the curriculum by focussing on some of the immediate structural influences on teachers' innovative actions at Forest.

The findings of the study suggest that the teachers at Forest were not entirely 'free' to teach towards a pedagogic ideal. Their actions were structured in a number of important ways. First, time and particularly the active involvement of the past played an important part here. Teachers could not 'wipe the slate clean' and create a new programme outwith the temporal context. As I argued in section one of this chapter, the past acted upon the present in a dynamic way to create limitations and possibilities for future developments. Second, teachers' biographies also had an important role to play in structuring their innovative actions, not only in terms of their professional preparation as teachers

but also their interpretations of the prevalent ideologies for teaching physical education. Again, their interpretative efforts worked both to constrain some possibilities, but also to facilitate others. The school management structures suggest a third way in which teachers' actions were both constrained and facilitated, and while the physical education teachers had some 'relative autonomy' (Giroux, 1981) from these structures to move towards health based physical education, this move was only possible within the mandate derived from the Principal. Fourth, the schools' clientele exerted a powerful influence on the teachers to make changes to the physical education programme at Forest; it will be recalled that the teachers considered the adolescent, 14 to 18 age group to require particular provision and consideration.

These four factors do not, of course, exhaust the ways in which teachers' actions were structured at Forest; in the third section of this chapter, I will indicate how further structural factors may be identified in the move from substantive to formal theory. At this point, the findings of the study show that teachers do not have complete freedom to innovate, even when the innovation is teacher-initiated. However, whether this structuring of teachers' innovative actions can be interpreted as a subtle means of gaining central control of the curriculum is, I suggest, questionable. Perhaps there are, indeed, a number of less obvious and subtle ways in which 'the centre' may be gaining access to the

curriculum through SCI, although it is unlikely to be possible in all but the most 'obvious' cases to determine precisely to what extent this may be happening.

For example, at Forest, the school administrators provided a mandate for teachers' innovative actions, but they themselves would also have been responding to directives from the administrators in the next few rungs above them in the hierarchical order that characterises educational systems. The extent to which these directives may be derived from a central source could be considerable; indeed, some may wish to identify LEA's as the centre.

The professional preparation of teachers, and the ideologies underlying the teaching of physical education suggest a further structuring influence on teachers' actions (see Whitehead and Hendry, 1976, 114). Again, though, the point of debate revolves around identifying 'the centre'. Who is doing the controlling and whose interests are being served in this process? I suggest that, in moving from substantive to formal theory, we may be in a better position to begin to more adequately identify the nature and form of external influence and control in SCI.

However, in the meantime, what this discussion points to is that while it is possible to identify ways in which teachers' actions in SCI are influenced by factors external to themselves and/or the school, it is not easy, in this case of teacher-initiated innovation to say whether we are witnessing a process of 'back-door centralism'.

Indeed, even the most forceful advocates of SCI, such as Skilbeck, would argue that external support for teachers' innovative initiatives is of crucial importance to the success of an innovation. For instance, he has commented that

School-based curriculum development requires various support structures and a developed capacity in teachers to use the structures that are available to them. It cannot be introduced as an isolated reform unless other structural changes take place, for example the provision of teachers' resource centres. Even quite small-scale development activities at the school level will be messy and damaging to all concerned if they are not adequately supported.

(Skilbeck, 1982, 28)

The presence and active involvement of external support agents does not, as I suggested above, invalidate the notion of teacher-initiated innovation, and indeed the findings of this study suggest that the presence of specialised support agencies for SCI and teachers' abilities to utilise these agencies, would have enhanced the possibility of success for the Forest school teachers' innovation. Almond's (1983a) report of a curriculum project in physical education involving teachers in four LEA's in England is an example of how teacher involvement in innovation and external support agencies tend to operate at the present time. The roles adopted by the external agencies were co-ordinators, providers of ideas and information, advisers, consultants, motivators and documenters of teachers' accounts of their experience of innovation. It was left to the teachers to work through and modify

the innovative idea in practice. The project is an example of one of the most recent attempts to involve teachers in the process of curriculum development in physical education. In this case, the initiative to innovate came from teachers only in the sense that they had (presumably) perceived a problem in their own teaching and had made a conscious decision to draw on the resources of the project to facilitate curriculum development in their own schools. Strictly speaking, though, we are still dealing with a form of centre-periphery innovation, and outwith 'centrally' devised projects of this kind, there is little support available to physical education teachers which is specifically designed to assist them with curriculum development. However, even if such support was available, it would still require a central initiative to set the agencies up in the first place.

The point is, then, that the possibility of freeing teachers from constraint in some form is neither likely nor desirable. What this suggests for the localising tendency in curriculum innovation is that whatever teachers do, their actions will always be structured to some extent. Probably the most crucial point for successful SCI is the extent to which teachers are able to utilise these structures to facilitate their own aspirations. Teachers' abilities to do this will be dependent to some extent on how the 'system of innovation' is organised, whether it allows the possibility of SCI or centralised curriculum control.

Most important of all, however, will be the extent to which teachers' consciousness itself is structured, and thus how far teachers are able to recognise problems in their own practice and conceive of possible solutions and alternatives. If SCI is to offer the 'grassroots democracy' its advocates claim for it, then we must, in moving towards formal theory, begin to identify evidence which allows us to judge the possibility and desirability of this claim.

From substantive to formal theory

In the final section of this chapter I wish to speculate briefly on how the substantive theory of teacher-initiated innovation presented here could be further theorised in a move towards formal theory. First, I will attempt to show how the substantive theory generated in this study can be located within a broader theoretical frame. And second, I will point to some of the methodological developments that the move towards formal theory may imply, involving a shift from descriptive/interpretative studies to 'critical case studies' (Hammersley, 1985). In undertaking the first of these tasks, the discussion will be focussed on three issues, the 'situating of teachers' actions', 'resistance theory', and the structure/agency debate.

(i) The situating of teachers' actions

The first step in attempting to move beyond the substantive level of theory is to locate or 'situate' (Apple, 1979) this case of teacher-initiated innovation in a wider context. Sharp and Green have commented in this respect that the question

...is not merely to describe such instances (of 'self-fulfilling prophecies') and illustrate the inconsistencies in the teachers' view of her role...but to ask at the level of teacher consciousness: 'To what problems are these viable solutions for the teacher?'. This approach will then lead to a systematic attempt to socially situate the classroom and intra-classroom processes within the wider structure of social relationships.

(Sharp and Green, 1975, 13)

This is an important step in developing our understanding of teacher-initiated innovation, and would overcome a common problem in many qualitatively inspired studies which stop short at the point of substantive description and explanation (Hammersley, 1985). The traditional approach to curriculum research, particularly in physical education (Jewett and Bain, 1985), has often committed the error of treating phenomena like teacher-initiated innovation, or school subjects like physical education, as if they were free-floating, autonomous, and unique in themselves. I would argue, on the contrary, that what goes on in school subjects for example is influenced in many important ways by wider events within the school, the education system, and society at large, which are not specific to physical education. Similarly, a development of this study would need to situate the phenomenon of teacher-initiated innovation, and SCI more generally, in order to understand how this phenomenon is structured by wider events and circumstances.

There are various levels of context which can be identified in relation to this study, the teacher at the levels of reflexivity and consciousness, the school, the educational system, and various societal structures. One example of how these various levels of context could be drawn together in relation to this study is the notion of 'health education' itself, and the ideology underlying

its teaching in schools. In the first instance, teachers' perceptions of why health education is important, and why physical education is seen to be a suitable vehicle for teaching health, will be grounded to some extent in personal biography, but more significantly in prevailing ideologies for teaching physical education which have long historical associations. These ideologies have in turn been shaped by a range of concerns, from militaristic concerns over the fitness of recruits for active service at time of war (McIntosh, 1968), to economic concerns for the availability of a healthy, productive workforce, and a population that does not place a strain on the health services through chronic illness. These latter concerns are of particular importance currently, as it is the notion of 'prevention before cure' which seems to be at the root of the revitalised interest in health education that this study documents. The following examples provide an illustration of the kind of economist thinking that lies behind this notion. Recently, the Commonwealth Department of Sport, Recreation and Tourism in Australia made the following statements on employee fitness.

Employee fitness programs are based on the premise that good health is good business. The workforce can be considered a form of capital investment and is definately not something which should be allowed to deteriorate through poor management...

The cost to industry of illness and disease runs to millions of dollars per year. Much of this ill health is preventable. The detectable health expenditures in Australia in 1980...were \$8.147 million. This represents the direct costs of health to the community for the provision of services and drugs and does not include the high indirect health costs, e.g. loss of production and purchase power through premature disability or death...

Most analyses of health costs consider the indirect costs to be some three times the identifiable direct costs. On this basis, the real health costs in Australia in 1980 were more like \$32.600 million. This represented \$2.218 per head or approximately 9 weeks on the average wage in that year.

(Commonwealth Department of Sport, Recreation and Tourism, Australia, 1986)

The point of quoting this example, and the point of interest for curriculum research in moving from substantive towards formal theory, is to begin to identify how economic considerations such as these interpenetrate curriculum practice. An understanding of how wider societal structures influence classroom life can only be achieved, however, when each of the levels of context identified above is "situated within the larger nexus of relations of which each is a constituent part." (Apple, 1979, 3). We must be careful, in situating teacher-initiated innovation within this 'larger nexus of relations' to stress the interrelatedness or dialectic between each of these levels, and to show how each penetrates and shapes the others. As apple has noted

All too often we forget the subtlety required to begin to unpack these relations. We situate the institution, the curriculum, and ourselves in an overly deterministic way. We say there is a one-to-one correspondence between economics and consciousness, economic base automatically determining superstructure. This is too easy to say, unfortunately, and is much too mechanistic. For it forgets that there is, in fact, a dialectical relationship between culture and economics.

(Apple, 1979, 3-4)

Descriptive/interpretative research and the generation of theory at the substantive level provides one way of ensuring that this attempt to situate the consciousness and actions of school members retains a high level of adequacy. Otherwise, as Apple suggests, we risk producing deterministic accounts of the relations between these levels of context which fail to capture the texture of the phenomena under study. Thus, by grounding theory in the first instance, it is possible to gain access to the subtlety, ambiguity and complexity of the innovative process in schools.

One line of development for this study could be to situate the notion of teacher-initiated innovation in a body of knowledge and a conceptual framework at a more formal level of theory.

(ii) Resistance theory

I suggest that teacher-initiated innovation could, for the purposes of theory development, be located and elaborated conceptually within what is currently termed 'resistance theory'. Both teacher-initiated innovation and resistance theory share a similar conception of the teacher as an active and interpretative agent of change both in and through the educational process. The central concerns of writers in the area of resistance theory have been with the role the teacher can play in ameliorating inequality, injustice, repression and domination in society.

A key source of inspiration for much recent work in this area was the publication of Knowledge and Control (Young, 1971), which marked the beginning of 'new directions' sociology of education and did much to focus researchers' attention on the possibilities of human agency as a transformative force, particularly in the context of highly structured, bureaucratic systems. Knowledge and Control presented the thesis that the structures of knowledge embodied in the school curriculum are not 'inherently worthwhile' (Peters, 1966), but are instead 'socially constructed'. Consequently, it is possible for teachers and pupils to take an active role in redefining what counts as 'worthwhile' knowledge. While Young and his colleagues have since qualified this thesis (e.g. Young and Whitty, 1977) in the light of some telling criticisms (see Bates, 1981), the propositions first presented in Knowledge and

Control have stimulated a crucially important debate around the possibilities of teacher and pupil resistance to oppression and domination in schools, which has wider points of reference in society at large.

For instance, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) have advocated a reconceptualisation of the teacher's role in schools. They argue that by revealing the curriculum process as at root political and ideological, it is possible to define the pedagogical function of the teacher as 'transformative intellectual'. They suggest that this reconceptualisation is necessary to overcome the increasing tendency to reduce teacher autonomy in the developing and planning of curricula to the point where teachers have become mere technicians who implement standardised curriculum packages. Thus, "central to the category of transformative intellectuals is the task of making the pedagogical more political and the political more pedagogical" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985, 36).

The notion of teacher-initiated innovation may seem to be some distance conceptually from concerns of this kind, but as I suggested in the previous sub-section, it is important in moving towards formal theory to begin to show how wider societal factors interpenetrate classroom life. Some writers have argued, however, that much work in this area needs to be done before we can begin to 'unpack' the relations between substantive and more abstract concerns. For instance, Bullough and Gitlin (1985) have questioned writers like Aronowitz and Giroux's optimism that teachers may be able to transform social structures that produce inequality and injustice. They have commented that

With others...we look toward bottom-up transformation for maintaining the hope that education can be more than reproductive of the status quo. With them we share the desire for a flattening of hierarchies and for an empowering of teachers. And, with them we find in teacher resistance reasons for optimism that structures do not narrowly determine behaviour. But is resistance, understood as actions that reflect a measure of teacher autonomy and control, an undeveloped beginning of bottom-up transformation that when solidified will lead to emancipatory change? Perhaps. It is, however, a mighty leap from the discovery that teachers frequently do act in contrary ways to school transformation. Making this link requires careful analysis of the context within which actions take place - the culture of the school and how it is internalised, understood, and responded to. This culture is embodied in the form of roles that are continuously made and remade by institutional structures and ideology. Comprehending the teachers' role is essential for those interested in promoting bottom-up transformation for it establishes the boundaries of the desirable and the possible.

(Bullough and Gitlin, 1985,221)

Bullough and Gatlin's point is well made, and their call for a better understanding of teachers' culture a valid one. It is indeed important for us to consider the nature of teachers' work and teachers' own attempts to make sense of their circumstances (Connell, 1985). It is in this sense that the present study may be located in this genre of research, as a means of fleshing out the possibilities inherent in teachers' actions for change both within and through the educational process.

(iii) Structure and agency

The findings of this study may provide some modest empirical grounding for the highly complex debate over the relative power of social structures and human agency in the production and

reproduction of social life. The range of structures which penetrated the innovative actions of the teachers at Forest has been restricted to those local and temporal factors of immediate relevance to understanding the nature of this case of teacher-initiated innovation. However, given this limitation of the study, it seems that a dualistic conception of structure versus agency would have presented a much more deterministic picture of the developments at Forest than was evident. At least, at the immediately relevant structural levels, the study would lend some substantive support for Giddens' (1976) conception of structure/agency as a duality. He suggests that "social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution." (Giddens, 1976). This dialectical conception of structure/agency allows Giddens to propose his 'theory of structuration' in which the "identification of structure with constraint is...rejected: structure is both enabling and constraining" (Giddens, 1979, 69).

At the substantive level, this study grounds the notion of structure/agency as dialectical by demonstrating in some detail how teachers' actions were both facilitated and constrained by the immediate structures at Forest. By focussing on the substantive within the micro-context of the physical education department, the study has investigated the power of human agency to bring about localised change.

Concomitant with this focus, however, has been an under emphasis of wider structural influences and thus a failure to demonstrate what Layder (1985) has called the 'obdurate power' of some forms of institutionalised behaviour to attempts to change

them. Such an analysis goes beyond the purposes of a descriptive/interpretative study. However, it may be possible to move closer to demonstrating more adequately the dialectical relationship between structure and agency by using critical case studies to test theory.

(iv) Theory development and critical case studies

I wish to outline in this final sub-section some of the methodological implications of the shift from substantive towards formal theory. Drawing on recent work by Hammersley (1984:1985), I will suggest how critical case study could be used to test and develop theory. This may on the one hand involve the testing of substantive theory which then leads to the generation of theoretical propositions at a more formal level, or on the other to the testing of abstract theoretical propositions against the empirical world and their eventual confirmation, modification or rejection.

The main purpose behind the use of descriptive/interpretative studies is to discover a great deal about which we currently know very little. Thus, as Hargreaves (1982) rightly points out, we know very little about the processes and problems in SCI. Hammersley (1985) suggests, however, that some areas of educational research using ethnographic techniques, such as classroom research (see Delamont, 1976) have become saturated with descriptive studies. Unfortunately, although these studies are rich in detailed information, their findings are not easily cumulated for the purposes of policy-making or teacher education. He makes the point that while there are many ideas in the educational research literature, what is required is the testing of these ideas and the development of theories.

Hammersley's solution to ethnography's 'dismal performance' is the employment of case study as a means of developing and testing theory. The first step, he suggests, is the creation of a theoretical proposition or a group of ideas to be tested, which will involve the researcher in reading the available literature in the area, and through this, narrowing the focus of particular ideas to be tested. This in turn will delimit the scope of data collection. The second step will be the selection of sites for data collection, and this will take place within and across cases by a process of theoretical sampling. In this respect, Hammersley suggests

Ethnographic research is often criticised for its failure to use statistical sampling techniques in selecting cases for study. However, such techniques cannot provide a representative sample of the universe to which conditionally universal claims apply, since that universe is infinite.. Given this, a much more effective selection strategy is to choose cases which are in some sense crucial for the theory. Initially, for example, one might choose a case for investigation where one would expect to find the empirical relationships postulated by the theory to be discovered. Subsequently, having tested the plausibility of the theory in this relatively weak way, one might employ falsifying selection strategies, choosing critical cases in which factors embedded in alternative explanations for the phenomenon are controlled.

(Hammersley, 1985, 252)

An example from innovation theory may illustrate how critical case studies could be used. It would now be commonly acknowledged that innovative ideas are transformed from their original form at conception to their eventual implementation (House 1974, 79). Most of the research which has noted this phenomenon, as we have seen, has studied innovation within a hierarchical, bureaucratic system where, employing Schon's (1971) conceptualisation 'centre-

periphery', the innovative idea is created at a central location by a special project team, and is then packaged and disseminated out to users, who most often have taken no part in the creative process.

The proposition to be tested could be, then, that 'innovative ideas are always transformed'; following Hammersley's advice, the next step would be to select a case where this proposition is likely to be supported. A critical case here would obviously be an innovation being conducted within a centre-periphery structure. Olson's (1981) study could probably be used here, as a study that provides strong evidence in support of the proposition. Having tested the theory in this weak way, we would then look for a case where transformation is least likely to occur. A case of teacher-initiated innovation, where the users of the idea are also the creators, would represent a good test of the 'transformation theory', since the possibility for distortion of the innovative idea, particularly through recalcitrance on the part of the users or through problems of communication, are likely to be significantly reduced. If this study presented evidence to suggest that transformation had not occurred, then this would suggest that transformation is essentially a feature of innovation within a centre-periphery structure. However, if the study presented evidence to the contrary, to suggest that even in teacher-initiated innovation transformation occurs, then this would be strong evidence in support of the theory.

The development of further propositions for testing would depend on the evidence that the critical case studies revealed;

for example, if as this study has shown, innovative ideas are transformed in teacher-initiated innovation, then the questions which could then be asked might be 'what are the similarities and differences between the two cases?'; 'to what degree has transformation occurred in each case?'; 'what are the mechanisms which create the possibility of transformation?'. The answers to these questions could then lead to the generation of further propositions for testing. For instance, we might, on the basis of evidence we have gathered from our descriptive/interpretative and critical case studies, hypothesise that 'transformation of innovative ideas is more likely to occur when teachers work in closed classroom rather than open settings'.

A similar procedure of testing by critical case studies could be followed at the level of formal theory, this time by grounding abstract theoretical propositions in the empirical world. For instance, drawing on resistance theory, we could select cases to test the proposition that teachers can function in schools as 'transformative intellectuals' (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985). Such tests may be, for example, teachers or groups of teachers who are reputed to have alternative views to the official prescriptions of administrators, teachers who are engaged in teaching topics such as race relations, or teachers who claim to have reorganised their programmes according to sex equity.

Thus, in the move towards formal theory, critical case studies could be employed for the purposes of theory testing and cumulation. This does not rule out the use of descriptive/interpretative studies, however, nor does it invalidate the use of grounded theory. I suggest that both should be employed in tandem with theory testing in an attempt to achieve a high level

of adequacy in curriculum research, by grounding our theoretical speculations in evidence, and by elaborating these ideas conceptually at an abstract level.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have attempted to draw the findings of this study together, and to highlight and discuss their implications for the trend towards localised curriculum innovation. I wish to avoid making any specific recommendations for educational innovation on the basis of this study given the massive scale, diversity, and complexity of this enterprise, which takes place from classroom through to systems levels. However, having said this, I think it is important to reiterate very briefly some of the issues this study raises for educational innovation.

First, it is important that we attend more carefully to temporality and its effects on ideas and on teachers' practices. It seems to me that we have little knowledge or awareness generally of the temporal context in relation to innovation, and this is demonstrated in the flagrantly ahistorical way in which so much educational innovation is approached and conducted. What is required in innovation, then, is in the words of C. Wright Mills (1970) an 'historical sensitivity'. Second, we need to give much more thought to the way in which teachers work together in innovative situations. Although some innovation projects have taken into account the 'climate of the receiving body', few have considered the importance of teachers' relationships, how responsibility is to be awarded, how tasks are to be demarcated, and crucially, how teachers are to be rewarded.

This touches on my third point, which is that innovators need to consider much more carefully the nature of teachers' work,

not just how they can be located within an organisational setting, but also how teachers experience teaching as work. Finally, we need to develop a more sophisticated notion of school-centred innovation. The advocates' rhetoric that SCI frees the teacher from bureaucratic control rightly serves, as Hargreaves suggests, to camouflage the ways in which teachers' innovative actions are structured, explicitly by the organisational setting and the educational system, but also at a more crucial implicit level in relation to temporaility and ideology. Indeed, what is required is the replacement of the dichotomising notion of 'centre-periphery', with a dialectical concept of innovation which recognises structure/agency as the central problematic in curriculum development.

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APPENDIX A : A Time-line of the research act

Figure 2.1 A time-line of the research act

October	1982:	Pre-field work stage
	December 1982	Condensed case study in research lab. at LUT; reported in Kirk (1983)
	March 1983	Review paper No 1
March	1983	Phase I field work begins
		- interviews (3) and observations with Kevin Edmonds
		- interviews with Phil Bayle
		- interview with Karen Lowe (1)
	April 1983	HRF Seminar, University
June	1983:	End of Phase I
		Review papers Nos 2-5 including report to Bayle and Edmonds
September	1983:	Phase II begins
		- interviews (2) and observations with Sue Ripley
		- interviews (2) and observation with Karen Lowe
	October	- interviews with Pete Gardener (2)
	November	- Reports to Sue Ripley and Karen Lowe, and conversation
	December	- interview with Kate Watkins (1) and Kevin Edmonds (1)
		- end of Phase II
January	1984:	Phase III begins
		- interview with Steve Finney (3)
		- interview with Kate Watkins (1)
		- interview with Hilary Ashford (1)
		- interview with Michael Williams (1)
April	1984:	Phase IV begins
		- write up
		- Presentation of reports and negotiation
June	1984:	- re-write reports - leave field