Some contributions of sociology to the organisational design of school systems

"SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY TO THE ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS"

by

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SUMMARY

The contribution of sociology to the organisational design of school systems has not emerged as an area of study in this country. This dissertation contends that the theoretical ideas, concepts, and research findings of sociology have a direct application to the tasks of schools by alerting educators to some of the conditions which may be the source of educational problems.

CONTENTS

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The organisational design of educational systems has not emerged as an area of study in this country and few students have turned their attention to the sociological study of schools as organisations. This is due to the lack of trained sociologists in schools, colleges of education, and institutes of education in which it is assumed that this study would be most likely to take place, and to the recent origin of the sociological study of organisations.

This study will concentrate upon the use of valid knowledge in the design of educational systems and on one of the avenues, teaching, through which this knowledge will be diffused to those involved in school systems of education. It will not deal with the sociologist in the role of consultant or adviser on specific organisational problems, with the problems of collaborative relationships between sociologists and their clientele in the educational system, nor with the use of specific strategies to effect organisational change. These processes are recognised as "precarious" in other organisational settings in which sociologists have been involved as consultants or advisers. (Cherns and Clark). Insights will be offered into circumstances and conditions which deserve consideration in dealing with educational problems and some suggestions will be put forward to deal with the consequences of proposed educational innovations.

The study will indicate that the limited perspectives and commonsense orientations of administrators and educators, although supported by a great deal of practical experience, do not alert them to many of the structural features of schools which may be associated with pressing educational problems. The insights which educationists get are fragmentary and need to be fitted into a comprehensive picture of social interaction in the school. It will be argued that the sociological perspective will sensitize educators to the structural features of school systems which could be the source of educational

problems. This should lead to the anticipation of organisational problems, and to some of the consequences which will be most likely to occur with the introduction of planned educational innovations. Left unanticipated these consequences could undermine planned schemes to improve educational practice.

The consequences of planned change were noted in a number of informal talks with headmasters in the initial stages of the formulation of this study. It was discovered that planned changes in educational practice, such as the introduction of team teaching into schools, had met with a number of unanticipated consequences. Team teaching in these cases required the co-operation of a number of members of staff from different subject departments to teach a large number of children, a strategy which allowed greater flexibility in the use of teaching staff, and in the organisation of teaching groups. Opposition was met from both teachers and heads of subject departments who advanced sound pedagogical reasons for their resistance. Sociologically it might be construed that a change of this type which cut across subject barriers would result in the disruption of existing clique and power structures. Explanations of a pedagogical or sociological nature, however, do not conceal the fact that schools as organisations have certain structural features which precipitate this type of problem. The staff on the one hand claimed a high degree of autonomy in determining the way in which specific subjects should be taught, a situation which affected both the headmaster's control of classroom activities, and the sequential co-ordination of teaching tasks. The professional status of the teachers collided with the authority of the headmaster and many of the schemes for team teaching were implemented in a modified form.

This study has two main objectives. Firstly, to indicate that there is a role for sociology in the organisational design of school

systems, although the intellectual basis of this work will be limited to the examination of the structural features of school systems. Secondly, to demonstrate that the sociological perspective will offer insights into circumstances and conditions which deserve consideration when dealing with educational problems.

It is further proposed that those who are involved in teaching this aspect of sociology in colleges of education and in institutes of education who use the findings of sociological enquiry, must do so with some knowledge of the complexity of the sociological enterprise. They should be aware of the potentialities and limitations of the logic and techniques of sociological enquiry. The informed use of these findings will lead to a more objective comprehension of the structural features of school systems which penetrates beyond superficial understanding. This is particularly important where theoretical ideas and concepts are taken from other organisational spheres. These must be interpreted with some knowledge of the original purpose of these studies and the theoretical assumptions upon which they were based.

Chapter one reviews the scope of the resources and the roles of sociologists in the organisational design of school systems. The extent of research in the sociology of education is examined and reasons are offered for the limited front on which research has developed. Due to the paucity of research findings which describe the organisational features of school systems, it is suggested that sociological studies which have been carried out in other organisational spheres, together with sociological ideas and concepts central to sociological enquiry, provide a body of valid knowledge on which to base organisational design. This chapter also briefly outlines the different roles the sociologist may play in this design, whilst the remaining chapters concentrate on the use of sociological findings in

one of these roles, teaching.

Chapter two examines some of the theoretical and empirical approaches to the sociological study of the school some of which base their work upon the sociological approach of organisational theory. Two of the features which emerge are the limited scope of the findings, and the lack of a distinctive theoretical framework on which to study the school. This chapter indicates the need to develop a framework on which to order existing research, one which abstracts the structural features of schools in a systematic and comprehensive way.

Chapter three scrutinises one of the most comprehensive studies carried out in the school in this country. It combines the skills of the sociologist with the perspective of the educationist. Although this investigation did not attempt to study the school comprehensively, it has many important consequences for the organisational design of school systems. It describes some of the structural features and functional problems of the school, and some organisational strategies to increase its effectiveness. This study does not offer a comprehensive framework on which to study the school. This is the objective of the next chapter.

Chapter four explores the usefulness of the systems theoretical approach contained in the work of Talcott Parsons to facilitate this development. There is no doubt about its comprehensiveness, both as a means of ordering existing studies, and as a useful analytical tool which identifies some of the structural features of the school.

Chapter five enquires into the social context of the school. Effective study of the school lies in placing it in relation to its immediate social context. This chapter isolates selected aspects of the community social structure and indicates their possible effects upon educational values.

C H A P T E R O N E

RESOURCES AND ROLES OF SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS.

The sociologist has at his disposal a number of intellectual resources which can be used in a variety of roles in the organisational design of school systems. The first part of this chapter will indicate that these resources have been limited by the lack of trained sociologists interested in carrying out empirical research in the sociology of education in general and in schools in particular. It will be argued that sociological studies carried out in other organisational spheres, together with sociological concepts and ideas which are the basis of all sociological enquiry, can be adopted to provide insights into the structural aspects of school systems which have not received systematic attention. The second part will briefly describe four roles which sociologists can play in the organisational design of school systems. It will be emphasized that in the teaching role sociologists can make a valuable contribution in alerting educators to organisation and community linked sources of educational problems.

1. INTELLECTUAL RESOURCES OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS.

a. The Scope of Central Research Findings in the Sociology of Education.

In Great Britain, sociologists' enquiries in the field of education have been dominated by social enquiry and documentation which dates back to the work of Booth (Taylor, 1966, p. 185). Sociologists have tended to investigate problems of social significance, a strategy not without value overtones. In fact Floud and Halsey suggest that the socialist influence still remains a strong source of inspiration for the selection of problems worthy of investigation (p. 167). This has resulted in the scope of the sociology of education being largely limited to the survey of the relationship between educational opportunity and patterns of social stratification and social mobility

at societal level (Glass), and differential educational opportunity and patterns of social selection and social differentiation at institutional level (Floud, Halsey and Martin). This work has been mostly undertaken by professional sociologists interested in the relationship between the educational system and the structural features of society, although in recent years the studies carried out by official committees has produced much valuable work in the relationship between education and society, work supported by the empirical findings of both sociologists and psychologists. The work of Plowden was one example of the use made of sociologists and psychologists. The work of Plowden was one example of the use made of sociological techniques of a survey nature in the development of a more objective, empirical approach to the study of educational problems ("Plowden Report").

Another reason for the development of this area of interest was the increased importance of education in the identification and training of talent (Floud, p. 523). Changes in the occupational structure, the increase in demand for professional and managerial personnel, and the process of differential fertility, had contributed to the necessity of increasing educational opportunity and to the development of a closer link between schools and the occupational structure. This was reflected as far back as 1944 when the Education Act of that year initiated the development of education according to "age, aptitude, and ability", and made an important contribution to the development and training of talent in an attempt to provide a more highly skilled occupational community. (1)

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(1) This argument, although plausible and rational, would be difficult to prove or disprove and savours of economic determinacy. The Act was influenced by a number of social, educational and political factors as well as economic factors. Miller, in his study, "Values in the Comprehensive School", described many of these in detail.

These factors offer some justification for the scope of research in the sociology of education. They have made important contributions to the development of nation-wide statistics of the relationship between school systems and the structural features of society, and the findings may have been influential at national policy formation level. At school level they have provided few insights of a practical nature to the educational practitioner. Concentration upon educational problems of national significance has impaired the development of a closer understanding of the social structure and social context of the school to analyse how these enhance or retard educational performance. Recent work has devoted more attention to the organisational features of school (1) and community life (2), but no one has attempted to study empirically the sociology of the school in a comprehensive manner. Information regarding the internal structure and the social context of different types of schools is still relatively lacking in substance.

(i) Some reasons for the limited scope of the sociology of education

This brief review of the sociological interest in the field of education indicates that interest in social problems of national significance has deflected interest from educational problems at school level. However, there is evidence to suggest that this narrow field of interest is also due to the shortage of sociologists who are not professionally interested in the field of education as such. Lack of trained sociologists in organisational settings such as schools, colleges of education, and institutes of education, where it is assumed interest in the sociology of education is most likely to occur, has restricted the scope of research by sociologists. Two reasons may account for this. (a) In Great Britain this may be traced to the later development of sociology as a university discipline (Taylor, 1966, p. 179).

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(1) c.f., chapters two and three of this dissertation.
(2) c.f., chapter five of this dissertation.

(b) This may also be explained by the low prestige of sociology of education as a sub-field of sociology. Gross, reviewed the situation in America and suggested three factors which were related to the lack of prestige of the sociology of education, some of which may apply to this country. One related to the poor quality of research studies which were characterised by description rather than analysis, studies which did not meet the minimal methodological standards of sociological research. (1) These have yielded few hypotheses of sociological significance. Another related to the exhortative and normative nature of the studies which came under the heading "educational sociology" (2). These might have had their place in education but they were not acceptable as sociological studies. The third factor identified the low prestige of university education departments which ranked low in the academic hierarchy, and did not attract graduates in a subject whose parentage was still suspect (Gross, 1965, pp. 128-129).

These reasons, although valid, may conceal a more fundamental difference between sociology and education, a difference reflected in the criticism that the literature which comes under the rubric "educational sociology" is normative and exhortative, and does not meet the minimal methodological standards of sociological enquiry. Assuming that there are conceptual and methodological inadequacies in the present approach called educational sociology, is there any further basis for the distinction between educational sociology and the sociology of education? What are the differences between educational and sociological enquiries?

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(1) This criticism was supported by Banks who suggested that the techniques of educational sociology have remained at a primitive level, and that basic concepts and methodology have been ignored (Banks, p. 8.)

(2) The term "educational sociology" has its origin in the United States of America where it plays a part in the training of intending teachers. In this country where it is being included in colleges of education it is being adopted with the normative characteristics of the study in America (Taylor, 1966, p. 191).

Education and sociology - The basic difference between education and sociology relates to the difference between normative and empirical enquiry: That is the development of the theory of practical activities and the theory of science. Educational theory is related to practice and is knowledge pursued to determine practical activities. Sociology as a science is directed towards a "body of interconnected propositions (hypotheses, generalisations) concerned with a particular problem area and meant to account for the empirical facts in it" (Nadel, p. 1). The distinction between scientific theory and the theory of practical activities "is the traditional distinction between knowledge that is organised for the pursuit of knowledge and the understanding of our experience, and knowledge that is organised for determining some practical activity" (Hirst, p. 40). To conceive of educational theory as essentially scientific in nature is to misrepresent the function of each type of theory. They use different conceptual frameworks and have different forms of validation for their propositions.

The framework employed by the sociologist is abstract and selective. Sociologists in the "pure" sense test hypotheses related to sociological theory to build up knowledge and understanding of sociological phenomena. The propositions he tests are usually related to a limited number of variables which have been selected for their fruitfulness in testing propositions. Its justification rests upon its ability to produce generalisations about sociological phenomena which accounts for or predicts observations to be made.

Educational theory deals with concrete situations in which many variables must be taken into account which have relevance for educational practice. It takes note of the multidimensional factors which impinge upon educational practice, and consequently takes note of variables from a variety of associated fields including

sociology, psychology, philosophy and so on. Although each of these fields has its own unique criteria for the development of its particular body of knowledge, the incorporation of any group of findings from these associated fields will depend upon its relevance for the development of educational theory, or for the solving of educational problems. The educationist is less interested in the nature of empirical research than in its relevance for rationally defensible principles of practice (Hirst, p. 48). It logically relates bodies of knowledge from different fields of enquiry in order to justify its principles. These principles stand or fall on critical examination of the validity of the knowledge contributed by the different disciplines, and on the rationale for the incorporation of any group of findings. Educational theory is justified simply by producing reasons of an empirical, philosophical, or other logical kind.

But educational theory goes beyond merely determining the means that are available to achieve the development of principles of practice (Hirst, p. 52). Its principles state what ought to be done in educational practice. Educational theory depends upon making value judgements of what exactly is to be aimed at in educational practice. Sociology provides information of a sociological nature on which decisions of a practical nature are formulated, but these decisions are taken in recognition of the other non-sociological variables which have a bearing on the educational problem. It is spurious to believe that the theory of practical activities is based purely upon the findings of sociological research. The justification for the incorporation of the findings of sociology relate to its relevance for practical problems. These findings must stand the test of scientific research.

Assuming that this is a valid basis for the distinction between

education and sociology, that is the distinction between empirical and normative enquiry, (1), is there a further basis for the distinction between educational sociology and the sociology of education?

Educational sociology and the sociology of education - Both in America and Great Britain there is some disagreement and confusion over the nature of educational sociology and the sociology of education. Jensen noted the degree of divergence about what educational sociology is or should be. He reviewed the studies of both educationists and sociologists in this field and identified educational sociology from six different perspectives. Educational sociology as a means of achieving social progress, as a means of determining aims and objectives of education, as an aid to curriculum development, as a means of analysing the socialisation process, as a means of analysing the

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(1) The present writer does not accept the point of view that the contribution of sociology to the study of educational problems need involve the sociologist in value judgements. This is part of the basis of the criticism of the normative approach of the studies which carry the rubric educational sociology. One sociologist suggested that there was a need to join normative and empirical enquiry, but he was careful to differentiate between the sociologist and his responsibility as a scientist devoted to the detached pursuit of knowledge, and the sociologist in the role of educationist in which he was committed to the development of what should and what should not be done in educational practice. In this role he no longer estimated potential but worked for conditions to bring about its full use. As an educationist he was forced to face normative problems, to understand changes taking place around him, and to evaluate these changes and to act for or against them. He made a plea for the sociologist to be aware of these changes so that his contribution to the development of education would be enlivened by an awareness of changing social structures (Hansen, 1963). There is doubt that the sociologist will, in fact, be value free in the selection of the problems he considers important, for the mere selection indicates a scale of values. It is quite legitimate for the sociologist to make use of his specific approach to the study of society and to evaluate changes taking place, providing he makes explicit his own particular set of values, and does not allow these to intrude into his analysis.

relationship between the school and the community, and as the study of social interaction within the school (pp. 1-10).

Banks suggested that the two terms have been used interchangeably and that the dissatisfaction with the old approach and new developments were bringing the study of education back into departments of sociology. It had become customary to refer to the sociology of education rather than the "old suspect" term educational sociology (1968, p.8). She made no further distinction between the terms except by indicating that the sociology of education was no more or less than the application of sociological perspectives to the study of educational systems.

Taylor in keeping with the previous writer's analysis suggested that educationists and sociologists employed different perspectives. The sociologist was interested in education because it was one of the central institutions of society, and studied educational organisations, curricula, and teaching methods, to understand the structure and function of these organisations, and how young people were inducted into full membership of them. He indicated that the educationist was interested in the contribution of sociological studies to the practical business of educating. When the educator undertook sociological research it was usually with some useful purpose in mind (1966, p. 190).

Hansen offered a similar point of view and maintained that the sociologist was equipped to focus within education and termed this approach educational sociology. From another perspective, sociology could focus on education to understand educators and educational institutions within their social and cultural settings and this he termed the sociology of education (1963, p. 313).

Eminent sociologists, British and American, have also viewed educational systems as fertile fields in which to view comparative

social structures and dynamics. Floud and Halsey suggested that a group of sociologists had grown up since 1945 who had focussed upon education to view problems of a sociological nature and had broken away from the traditional problem-oriented approach of British sociology (p. 167). Gross maintained a similar viewpoint and suggested that educational systems constituted a fertile field for sociological research and provided "unique" laboratories in which to investigate central sociological problems, such as the structure and function of complex organisations, the process of socialisation, the study of small groups, and social stratification and social mobility (1959, p. 129-130).

This overview of some of the differences between education and sociology and educational sociology and the sociology of education indicates differences in perspectives between education and sociology. When the sociologist approaches the study of educational systems he must employ the value free orientation of the scientist and his investigation must conform to the methodological standards required of empirical research. (1)

(ii) Four categories of research in the sociology of education (2)

From the evidence suggested above research in the sociology of education can be divided into four categories:-

Pure basic research - Focussing on educational systems as fertile fields in which to investigate central sociological problems.

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(1) The present study follows the earlier comment of Banks that the sociological perspective is no more or no less than the application of the sociological persppctive to the study of educational systems. Educational sociology in its current use appears to indicate a normative approach to the study of education.

(2) These four categories were developed by Cherns in another context. He maintained that the difference between theoretical and practical activities was misconceived. This argument is sustained in this present study.

Basic objective research - Focussing within educational systems to understand educators and educational organisations within their social and cultural settings. This area of research attempts to identify structural features and functional processes of school systems without prescribing a solution to operational problems.

Operational Research - Focussing within educational systems to tackle on-going operational problems.

Action Research - This area of research is not covered by any of the previously mentioned sociologists, although it was discussed by Gross and Fishman in the "Management of Educational Systems" (p. 336). In Great Britain the present writer has no documentary evidence which describes on-going research which was constructed to facilitate action, that is, the introduction of planned change and the observation of its results. Consequently no information is available which deals with the educational consequences of proposed educational innovations, the effectiveness of different strategies to facilitate educational change, or the problems of collaborative relationships between sociologists and educationists involved in operational problems of schools. (1) (2)

In the absence of research carried out in the "action" category, the remainder of this section will concentrate upon the relevance of the other three in the development of the sociology of education.

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(1) This is not strictly true. At least one sociologist has indicated some of the problems of participant observation of a school class at work and the effect of his intrusion upon the class and the class teacher. However, the study was not constructed as a piece of "action" research even although it throws some interesting light on the problem of participant observation in school classrooms which are normally insulated from public view. C.F. Hargreaves "Social relations in a Secondary School" (his appendix 1).

(2) Perhaps sociologists of education see no place for action research. One investigator hoped that his project would provide objective information about schools. He indicated that action need not necessarily follow the research, and that "clearly educational decisions of this kind must be made within the teaching profession" (King, 1968b, p. 3).

It will be proposed that each category may have information of relevance to the others. Examples will be withdrawn to portray the reciprocity of results of sociological enquiries in educational systems. In addition it will be demonstrated that basic sociological theory or pure basic research can be developed concurrent with the investigation of basic objective research or operational research.

(a) The reciprocity of the results of research in the sociology of education

Pure basic research - This approach focusses upon educational systems as fertile fields in which to investigate central sociological questions. Two areas of pure basic research indicate that this knowledge will provide valuable information to operational research and to basic objective research.

Firstly, Gross who viewed education systems as unique laboratories in which to test problems of sociological significance, has made extensive exploration of role analysis in the school executive studies initiated by him at Harvard in 1952 (Gross, Mason, and McEachern 1958; Gross and Herriott, 1965; Herriott and St. John, 1966). These studies analysed a series of questions of interest to those involved in public education. Some of these related to the role pressures of school principals who occupied interstitial roles and were subject to conflicting expectations from different members of their role set including teachers, school board members, parents, and pupils. The results of these investigations are a fruitful source of information, both in bringing a greater understanding of the structural features of school systems, as well as identifying some of the educational problems which are generic to those who occupy mediatory roles in formal organisations.

Secondly, a study has been carried out by Etzioni to facilitate comparative analysis of social structures in which schools were

compared with other organisations. In his comparative analysis of "Complex Organisations", Etzioni explored compliance structures in different types of organisations, including schools, to develop a model of different organisational types. Although his work was not based upon empirical research, he provided some perceptive comparisons of schools and other types of organisations (1). However, educationists must recognise that to select one variable, compliance, and to compare compliance structures in different types of organisations is more of a sociological strategy than a statement of reality. This strategy may throw some light on the structural features of schools and even suggest the sources of some operational problems, but the selection of one variable ignores the importance of others which may be involved in the operational problems of schools. The limitation of sociological findings developed in this way must be realised.

Basic objective research - A number of studies have been carried out which focussed within educational systems to understand educators and educational organisations within their social and cultural settings. Chapter two will describe some of these in detail. None deal comprehensively with the empirical study of educational organisations. Most deal with the interaction between teachers and children or between children themselves. However, it may be possible to

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(1) Etzioni's theoretical scheme must not be confused with the type of theoretical development which is linked with the formulations, for example, of Parsons. They are speciously different. The former is developed from a close knowledge of empirical research upon which the theoretical development depends. The latter is constructed in terms of a general theory of social action, that is a theory which describes in a highly abstract form analytical features of society which lead to a partial description and interpretation of a number of actual occurrences. In fact, Parsons, presented a framework upon which existing research studies may be ordered, but from which it is not possible to construct hypotheses derivable from his theory. Etzioni, on the other hand, has developed a theory derivable from empirical observations which leads to predictive hypotheses.

interpret studies from this area of research to provide insights into the source of operational problems as well as to provide information of value to pure basic research. One study illustrates these two possibilities.

Firstly, Becker carried out a study which focussed upon "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School" which outlined structural features of schools which were the source of operational problems. He discovered that when dealing with internal matters, such as the content of teaching activities, teachers expected the headmaster to act as a professional equal and to offer advice on this basis. When it came to mediating between teachers and parents the headmaster was expected to use his official position of authority to protect teachers from interference from outside. Operational problems arose when the headmaster failed to use his official position to deal with discontented parents, or when he used his official position to determine teaching tasks in the school. Teachers clearly distinguished authority based upon expertise and authority based upon official position. Both interfered with their professional autonomy and produced operational problems.

Secondly, Becker's study brought to the attention of sociologists some structural features of schools which could facilitate comparative study and contribute to pure basic research. The incompatible features of the school system appear to be generic to other professional organisations in which authority based upon position may be confronted with authority based upon expertise. Blau and Scott suggested that organisations which employed social workers, librarians, nurses and accountants had experienced similar problems (p. 64).

Operational research - Studies which focus upon specific operational problems of schools is the most highly developed area of study in

in the study of education. Taylor indicated that these studies have been pursued with a normative rather than empirical orientation. However, where studies have conformed to the canons of scientific enquiry they have concentrated upon schools in poor neighbourhoods. The notion that the teachers of underprivileged children can "use" more sociological knowledge than their counterparts in other schools was challenged by Taylor. He suggested that this problem-centred approach diverted attention "from the structural contexts within which the genesis and nature of such problems can be appreciated and without some knowledge of which no rational understanding of social process can be achieved" (Taylor, 1966, p. 194). Taylor appeared to be making a plea for the development of basic objective research to facilitate a closer understanding of the structural features of school systems which may be the source of educational problems.

Nevertheless, studies which have focussed upon operational problems may provide useful information to basic objective research and to pure basic research. Two examples illustrate possible developments.

Firstly, the study carried out by Hargreaves has produced important information about one structural feature of a school which has contributed to the development of an understanding of operational problems in schools. The study was initiated to investigate "Social Relations in a Secondary School" and examined the attitudes and behaviour of boys with each other and their teachers. It was discovered that the streaming of classes had an effect upon patterns of sub-cultural differentiation which prevented the school from achieving its academic or social goals. Children in the lower streams developed negative steriotypes towards those in the higher streams and towards the teaching group. The problem of developing "satisfying and co-operative relationships" between streams became an

operational problem if the school was to satisfy its social goal. It was pointed out in this study that although streaming was by no means the only variable that affected social relations and produced operational problems, it was considered an important structural variable which produced operational problems. "Problem oriented" studies of this type may produce important information about the structural features of schools and contribute to basic objective research.

Secondly, evidence from Gross and Fishman (pp. 347-348) indicated that pure basic research may benefit from the unanticipated difficulties encountered in empirical research. They reported that on several occasions, concepts, theoretical notions, and research methods were of little use in investigating educational questions. This experience led to the modification, and in some cases the discarding, of theoretical ideas based upon assumptions they had held about social systems and social relationships. For instance it was found that existing theories of social change were of little value in the examination of the difficulties encountered in introducing new educational programmes into school systems, and that heuristic devices were necessary to deal with this problem.

(2) Concurrent developments in research in the sociology of education

It has been argued that information gathered from one area of empirical research may have relevance for the others. This is particularly important in the development of a closer understanding of the structural features of different types of schools, an area of research which has not attracted the interest of the sociologist. Reasons were offered to account for the lack of development in this area. Much of the empirical work which related to school social structure was not constructed to identify structural attributes of schools, although it has provided information of some relevance. There is evidence that this may be accomplished as a deliberate

research strategy, although the range of possibilities will depend upon the nature of the problem.

The school executive studies previously described were formulated both to examine areas of central interest to the sociologist in role analysis, and to analyse a series of questions of interest to those involved in public education. The study provided interesting observations regarding the usefulness of the role concept as an analytical tool, which Gross maintained produced few insights of any significance to sociological enquiry. Sociologically it led to the reformulation of role as a family of sub-concepts. Educationally the study provided a number of useful findings regarding role ambiguity and role conflict in the role of the school principal.

It would be misleading to suggest that this concurrent development could take place on every occasion. Merton suggested that there is "repeated testimony to the ease with which this relevance for practice and theory can get out of balance". He added that "once the objective consequences and the intent of an enquiry are distinguished, it becomes evident that the same question may have import for systematic knowledge and for practical use" (Merton, 1965, pp. xxi-xxii). The reverse may also hold. Questions formulated to increase an understanding of educators or educational organisations, or indeed to tackle an on-going operational problem may be formulated with the double rationale as a deliberate strategy. The possibility of this will depend upon the nature of the problem. For instance the analysis of the school as a complex organisation will provide information of use to the educator in providing him with some clues of the structure and functional processes of different types of school. It will also provide useful comparative material of different types of schools and direct attention to what is distinctive about schools as organisations. It may also facilitate

comparative analysis of schools with other types of organisations and the development of organisational theory. Whether sociological theory can be fruitfully developed as a deliberate strategy when practical operational problems are involved will depend upon the nature of the problem. In dealing with concrete situations the sociologists must take into account those variables which have relevance for his problem. It may not be possible to contribute to sociological theory as such, although the results of the study will be important contributions to the area of study termed the sociology of education.

b. Peripheral Research Findings and the Sociology of Education

So far it has been suggested that the intellectual resources of the sociology of education have been limited. Reasons were put forward to account for this. The focus of the sociological interest in education was delimited and indications were made of the potential use and relevance of findings carried out in each of the areas of research for the development of systematic knowledge and for practical use. Assuming the maximum use of these findings, many areas in the sociology of education have received scant attention. For instance, few studies of a sociological nature have been carried out which comprehensively analyse the structure and functional processes of schools. Those which have emerged have focussed on some narrow aspect of school life. (1) Knowledge of the organisational features of school systems is fragmentary and discontinuous (Bidwell, p. 972). This comment about the state of research in America is equally applicable to this country. However, the limited scope of research

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(1) Some of these studies are analysed in chapters two, three, four and five of this dissertation.

findings in the sociology of education may be supplemented from two peripheral areas of sociological enquiry. Firstly, sociological studies which have been carried out in other organisational spheres may be usefully employed to provide conceptual schemes and ideas which will aid the organisational analysis of school systems (1). Secondly, where these theoretical frameworks and ideas are poorly formulated in other organisational spheres, the sociologist may turn to the theoretical concepts and ideas which are the basis of all sociological enquiry (2).

The intellectual resources of the sociology of education come in three parts (3):-

(i) Central research findings which may be related to theoretical formulations.

(ii) (a) Peripheral research findings from other organisational spheres which may have relevance for educational systems.

(b) Theoretical ideas and concepts central to sociological enquiry.

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(1) Chapter Five makes use of a conceptual framework developed for the sociological study of the organisation of community life in an attempt to develop a comparative framework for the analysis of the community context of schools.

(2) In the absence of a suitable framework developed in the specific sociological approach to the study of organisations, chapter four explores the possibility of using general sociological theory to study the school as an organisation.

(3) Gross and Fishman (p. 311) from whom these ideas have been formulated suggested that the sociologists' intellectual package was in four parts. Firstly, the perspectives, theoretical ideas and concepts which were central to sociological enquiry; secondly, the empirical research findings some of which were related to theoretical formulations; thirdly, the research methods of sociology; and fourthly, the different research skills which different sociologists brought to the study of educational problems. These are accepted in this thesis with thefollowing modifications. Firstly, the perspective of sociology will be implicit in theoretical and empirical formulations and is not specifically included. Secondly, where there is an absence of empirical research findings which relate to school systems, it may be necessary to make judicious use of research findings from other organisational spheres. Thirdly, no specific mention is made of research method in the assumption that research must meet minimal methodological standards and that, although sociologists may favour one method rather than another, research method in sociology must comply with the canons of scientific investigation.

(iii) Empirical research based on (a) and (b).

2. THE ROLES OF SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

Having outlined the intellectual resources available to the sociologist of education, how can this knowledge be utilised in the design of educational systems especially with regard to the teaching role?

Swift, in a recent book, suggested that in Britain the sociologist had begun to play a part in educational systems as consultant, administrator, researcher, and teacher (Swift, 1969, p. 2). He did not offer evidence of the extent to which the sociologist was involved in each of these roles. However, Gross and Fishman (pp. 309-323) reviewed the situation in the United States of America and indicated that sociologists have been involved in each of these four roles to a varying extent.

Firstly, sociologists have served as consultants to educational establishments on specific operational problems such as how to improve teachers' morale, that is 'how to requests'. They have also been involved in information providing requests such as the estimation of the particular merits of a change in the school curriculum. These studies usually entailed empirical research.

Secondly, sociologists have served as general consultants in which they offered advice or suggested ideas to cope with long term educational problems. In contrast to the other consultancy role, empirical research was not involved.

Thirdly, they have served as full time specialists in educational systems. Sociologists have been involved in analysing system problems to identify the dysfunctional aspects of the organisational arrangements of school systems in an effort to make them more effective. These specialists have carried out empirical research.

Fourthly, sociologists have been involved as teachers in both pre and post training of educational administrators. This role did not typically entail empirical research, although teachers could carry out research which would benefit educational systems. Sociologists as teachers sensitised educators and educational administrators to the organisational and community facts of life to try to inculcate a closer understanding of the structural features of school systems.

In this thesis it is recognised that much valuable work may be carried out in the first three roles, especially in a period when educational systems are experiencing a number of planned changes, such as the movement towards comprehensive schooling. It will be argued that in the fourth role, teaching, the sociologists can make a valuable contribution in sensitising educators to organisational and community-linked sources of educational problems. No specific suggestions will be put forward to deal with the consequences of proposed educational innovations, with strategies to effect organisational change, or with specific operational problems which are generic to educational systems.

Sociologists or educationists involved in the pre-or post-training of teachers and administrators and who use the findings of sociological enquiry must do so with some knowledge of the complexity of the sociological enterprise. They must be aware of the potentialities and limitations of the logic and techniques of sociological enquiry. One sociologist of education has pointed out that the relevance of the particular findings of sociology "must be illuminated by a proper understanding and respect for the nature of the sociological contribution" and "by a willingness to take what is offered on its own terms, and to accept the limitations of the evidence that exists" (Taylor, p. 182).

The comment that there must be "a willingness to take what exists on its own terms" will depend on the extent of the intellectual resources available to the sociologist of education. This chapter has shown that these resources may come from central and peripheral areas of investigation. So far as the central area was concerned it was suggested that the central body of knowledge on which organisational design will be based may depend upon the incorporation of research findings which were not originally produced for this purpose. The absence of information regarding the structural features of school systems would necessitate the incorporation of theoretical ideas from peripheral sources. Information from other organisational spheres together with ideas which are central to all sociological enquiry, could provide insights into structural features of schools which may be the source of educational problems. However, the usefulness of these peripheral findings will depend upon some understanding of the original purposes of the studies.

The next chapter will review some of the studies which are classified as central research findings to find out to what extent they give clues to the structural attributes of schools.

C H A P T E R T W O

THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE SCHOOL

The development of interest in the sociology of the school as a relatively self-contained social system has not been undertaken in this or in any other country since the publication of Waller's "The Sociology of Teaching" in 1932. This study was critically assessed by Waller as dependent upon "systematic wondering rather than highly objective research" (p. 3). Although the school has not been studied comprehensively, a number of theoretical models have been suggested to study the school in the round, whilst a number of empirical investigations have adopted an organisational approach to study aspects of school life. This chapter reviews some of the studies which have been made of the school and particular attention is paid to those which have adopted an organisational approach.

A critical examination of the research carried out in the organisational analysis of the school reveals that there have been few significant advances in this central area of sociological research. Several reasons can be put forward to account for this lack of development, some of which have already been advanced to demonstrate the lack of research in education per se. Firstly, the different perspectives of sociologists and educationists each developing different types of theory and testing different types of propositions. This point was outlined in detail in the last chapter. Secondly, the nature of educational research characterised by description, exhortation, and prescription rather than objective research. Thirdly, the later development of sociology as a discipline which has affected the number of recruits to sociology. Fourthly, the problem-oriented approach of British sociologists interested in education who have tended to investigate social problems of national significance.

The first three reasons offer some evidence to account for the lack of interest of sociologists in education in general and in

schools in particular. It can be assumed that the development of a sociological interest in the school would be most likely to occur in schools, colleges of education or university departments, where there is a lack of trained personnel. However, this shortage does not fully account for the relative absence of research in this area. Perhaps the problem centered approach of educationists involved in problems of practice, and the sociologist'sinterest in education as it relates to social problems, have diverted attention to specific problems of teaching on the one hand, and problems of academic and social selection on the other. Although this does not negate the importance of this type of work, it does suggest that the heavy emphasis upon problems has directed attention away from the cultivation of a greater understanding of the structure and function of schools in which the genesis of these problems may be located.

1. SOME SOCIOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL STUDIES OF THE SCHOOL

Several sociological studies have been carried out which offer some useful insights into the place of public, grammar, and secondary schools in the social and educational system (Banks 1955, Hargreaves 1967, Mays 1965, Stevens & Taylor 1963, Wilkinson 1964). None conceptualised the school as a whole to analyse their structure and functional processes.

Educationists, on the other hand, have produced many perceptive interpretations of the dynamics of individual secondary schools, but these cannot be termed studies in the sociology of education as their results depended more upon impression and intuition than upon empirical research. (Partridge, Chetwynd). These studies though useful to the educational practitioner were normative rather than empirical, inspirational and hortatory rather than objective and impartial. Blyth, who reviewed studies carried out in primary schools in different types of geographically located communities,

suggested that many of the descriptions of primary schools had been written for purposes other than the detached analysis of the school. For instance, he sensed in the descriptions of rural primary schools "almost an indication that they were written for an urban market. They portray rural education in that slightly idyllic, yokellish tint which townsmen like" (Blyth, p. 83).

The reliability of these studies must remain suspect as it is difficult to determine whether they were carried out in a detached way, the investigator making explicit his own value dispositions, or whether their observations were consistent with a deeply entrenched set of ideas. This type of analysis is speciously different from the type of study undertaken within the confines of education by sociologists who are involved in the development of educational theory. Here the perspectives of sociology are utilised to analyse the relevant sociological variables and their bearing upon educational practice, the results depending upon objectivity and impartiality. Normative theory is then designed by educationists who may or may not incorporate the results of the empirical investigations in their educational prescriptions.

2. SOME THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE SCHOOL

Several approaches to the sociological study of the school have been advanced using the perspectives of sociology and the more specific approach of the sociological study of organisations. The following four studies have used the sociological perspective to study the school. The first two adopted a descriptive approach which leaves them open to criticism from sociologists, although discommendations must be tempered with the knowledge that they were written for an audience of educationists. The others employed a more analytical approach identifying structural attributes, functional processes, and functional problems of schools.

A. SHIPMAN, M.D., "SOCIOLOGY OF THE SCHOOL".

Shipman in his book, "Sociology of the school", offered a structural-functionalist model, a conflict model, and an organisational model on which to study the school. The structural-functionalist model described the culture of the school, the social structure of the school, and the processes of socialisation and social control. The conflict model conceived of schools as centres of conflict, whilst the organisational model described order and discipline, the authority of the teacher, classroom climate and style of teaching. These theoretical schemes were not linked in any systematic way.

Shipman emphasised the lack of empirical research by illustrating his models with hypothetical examples. This strategy might be of use to the educationist as it helps to identify sociologically relevant relationships. From the sociological point of view this approach spells out some dangers. Apart from the theoretical dangers which are associated with, and inherent in, the theoretical schemes of structural-functionalism and conflict theories, it is scientifically imprudent to make speculative observations which are in agreement with a theoretical framework, the validity of which has still to be demonstrated. (1)

B. MUSGRAVE, P.W. "THE SCHOOL AS AN ORGANISATION".

Musgrave in his book, "The School as an Organisation", presented a simple comparative analysis of Scottish and English schools using a framework from organisational theory. He analysed the goals of the British educational system, described how these affected the organisation of the school, and discussed how these organisational

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(1) Merton underlined this danger when he stated that "despite the many volumes dealing with the history of sociological theory .... sociologists may discuss the logical criteria of sociological laws without citing a single instance which fully satisfies these criteria" (Merton, 1968, p. 150). Theories are not laws and as such cannot offer a conceptual scheme in a one to one relationship with what is observed.

features influenced the roles of headmasters, teachers, and pupils. From the educationists point of view this goal model assumes a high degree of consensus over educational objectives, an opinion which one eminent American sociologist has met with some suspicion (Gross, 1965, p. 135). He suggested that there is some vagueness over the educational objectives of schools, and in an earlier report pointed out that often there was striking disagreement over these goals (Gross, 1959, p. 277). Sociologically the goal model has certain methodological weaknesses. It is misleading to compare the present state of an organisation with its posited, ideal state. Ideal state requires a value judgement on what the educational goals should be. Real goals may or may not be consistent with those stated (Etzioni, 1960, p. 259). In addition these real goals may not be the organisational goals, and it is conceivable that organisational members may pursue goals other than those they understand as the organisation's (Burns and Stalker, p. 97).

These two studies are useful to the educationist to identify sociologically relevant relationships within the social system of the school. They are highly descriptive and speculative accounts neither of which offers a comprehensive framework on which to study the patterned relationships amongst participants in school systems.

Hoyle and Bidwell, two other contributors, have both made valuable contributions to the development of a theoretical framework for the sociological study of the school. Hoyle's analysis outlined many of the problems, whilst Bidwell's offered a comprehensive framework on which to order existing research. Both indicated some of the structural features of school systems which may be the source of educational problems.

C. HOYLE, E. "ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION".

Hoyle (1965) in his paper "Organisational Analysis in the Field of Education" explored the possibilities of applying the sociological perspectives of organisational theory to the study of the school. He examined the following aspects of organisational analysis:-

Theoretical approaches to the study of the school. Three aspects were considered. (i) concepts; (ii) typologies; (iii) general theories of organisation. Hoyle reviewed a number of instances of each of these to develop hypotheses of educational significance. Some of his examples will be used to illustrate his theoretical formulations.

(i) The concept of authority developed by Weber suggested that the increase of size and complexity of schools would lead to the headmaster's role being characterised by elements of bureaucratisation rather than by traditional or charismatic elements.

(ii) The typology developed by Blau and Scott was utilised to classify the school in relation to other types of organisations. The classification was based upon "who benefits". Four types emerged: Mutual benefit associations, business concerns, service organisations, and commonwealth organisations. Hoyle placed schools in the service organisation category which was confronted with the problem of pupils (the prime beneficiaries) dictating what should be taught in schools. This was considered particularly problematic in schools in which attendance was not based upon compulsion.

(iii) Under the heading of general theories of organisation, Hoyle suggested that Etzioni's general theory which used "compliance" as the basis of organisational analysis was of value in yielding fruitful hypotheses. Compliance was concerned with "the nature of social control exercised within the organisation, and the reaction of the participants to the exercise of control"(Hoyle, p. 102). Major areas of interest would centre around structural problems, such as the effectiveness of normative as distinct from coercive or remunerative controls in different types of schools; and motivational problems which would indicate the relative effectiveness of instrumental, as distinct from expressive forms of socialisation in different types of school.

Empirical approaches to the study of the school. These were concerned principally with (i) administrative; (ii) cultural; and (iii) environmental influences upon the school. Each of these influences will be illustrated by one of Hoyle's examples.

(i) Walton's work demonstrated that school policy was formulated outside the school and that school operations were best viewed in the way in which these policy decisions were implemented.

(ii) Gordon's work illustrated how student subcultures affected academic performance in schools. Many children, whose peer group values were anti-academic, failed to achieve the academic standard expected by the teacher.

(iii) Several studies from American sources described the influence of the environment on the school. None of these was quoted in detail by Hoyle. He did mention the work of Hollingshead whose study indicated that "the social behaviour of adolescents is related functionally to the position their families occupy in the social structure of the community"(Hollingshead, p. 439). Whether this proposition is applicable to this country awaits empirical investigation.

The methodology of organisational analysis. Hoyle suggested that sociologists have a variety of techniques at their disposal. These included the analysis of documents, unstructured observation upon which future structured hypotheses would be based, interviews, questionnaires, and historical study.

Four problems in the study of organisations.

(i) The difficulty of observing a number of schools to discover what they had in common whilst directing attention to what was distinctive in any one. Hoyle suggested that the most appropriate studies would be concerned with the single school.

(ii) The difficulties of delimiting the boundaries of the school.

(iii) The need for criteria on which school effectiveness could be judged.

(iv) The need for a distinctive theoretical approach to educational institutions, even schools.

The last problem conceived by Hoyle and relevant to this present study is of major concern in the development of a closer understanding of the structural features of the school conceived as a whole. This is important for two reasons. Firstly, it will provide a framework on which to order existing research in an orderly and systematic manner. Secondly, comprehensive knowledge of the structural features of school systems will give some indication of organisational problems whose origin can be traced to incompatible features of school systems. These will give clues to possible strategies to minimize organisational disturbances if they were found to influence the effectiveness of the school, and to the possible effects of planned change on the organisational structure of the school.

Hoyle's analysis provided a valuable piece of exploratory research and his use of the sociological perspective was a fruitful source of hypotheses of interest to the educationist. Unfortunately he did not offer a comprehensive framework on which to conceptualise the school as a whole. He did indicate the interplay of teaching and administrative structures and the environmental influence upon these, but failed to offer a sociological framework which inter-related these in a systematic way. Although he did not negate the use of general theories of social action described in the work of Parsons, he suggested that it would be more valuable to develop a special theory of the school. The present writer does not accept this point of view and chapter four will explore the usefulness of Parsons' theory of organisations in studying the school.

D. BIDWELL, C.E., "THE SCHOOL AS AN ORGANISATION".

One writer in America has gone some way to developing a framework for the comprehensive study of the school as an organisation. Bidwell in his paper, "The School as an Organisation", has reviewed the greater proportion of the research literature from American sources which related to the organisational nature of state elementary and secondary schools. The findings were incorporated in a framework which described the organisational attributes, functional processes, and functional problems of schools.

Organisational attributes. Bidwell identified four. The first two related to the conditions under which people entered the school - pupils compulsorily, teachers contractually. Pupils in America, as in this country, are legally obligated to attend school until the statutory leaving age. Teachers on the other hand have professiona competence and are bound to the school by contract. The third was structural and depicted the distinctive combination of bureaucracy and structural looseness. The fourth specified the responsibility of school officials to their clientele and to the public constituency.

Within this framework certain characteristics of schools were assumed. The primary function of the school was the technical and moral socialisation of children. This was a complex task which required long and continuous confrontation between teachers and children. This permitted teachers to assess subtle variations in behaviour and adjust teaching procedures accordingly. Functionally it was necessary to accord teachers a high degree of discretion in carrying out their teaching tasks. This was reinforced by the normative structure of teaching which pressed for a high degree of discretion in determing what was to be taught and how it was to be taught (structural looseness). Yet the public constituency expected the school to achieve a minimal level of educational performance, a

process which required some control over what went on in schools and in the classroom in schools. This was ensured by rational procedures to facilitate the sequential co-ordination of school activities (Bureaucracy).

Functional problems and functional processes. Two major organisational problems emerged: (i) the problem of co-ordinating teaching activities to maximise the articulation of these activities and insure a minimal level of educational attainment; (ii) the problem of maintaining sufficient freedom from outside control to make decisions which were in the best interests of the children and the local and national community, and to adopt educational and organisational procedures which best served these ends. Procedures became necessary to minimise organisational disruptions.

(i) The first problem has two distinct aspects.

(a) The need to ensure that children's educational performance would closely conform to their abilities.

(b) The need to ensure the sequential co-ordination of classroom activities amongst teachers who pressed for a high degree of discretion over their teaching situation.

So far as the first aspect was concerned evidence from a number of studies indicated that since the membership of the school was compulsory, the youth society of the pupils catchment area must penetrate the school organised around the immediate interests and values of the peer group. These values were anti-academic. This posed problems for the teacher. Bidwell suggested that two organisational processes emerged to counteract this problem. One was to penetrate the peer group culture which was organised around extra-curricular activities, a process which might lead to a re-definition of the teacher role and a loss of authority. Another was the short run attempts of teachers to use teaching grades to

disrupt student role structure, but it was shown that pupils learned how to manipulate teachers to ensure good grades.

(b) The second aspect related to the need to maintain the sequential co-ordination of classroom activities amongst teachers who pressed for a high degree of discretion over teaching activities. Where professional judgement held sway, co-ordination became difficult, where standard procedures were emphasised the advantages of expertness in dealing with variability of performance could be lost. Bidwell quoted a study of twenty graduate students in education who had been teachers. They thought of themselves as professionals who had the right to enjoy a high degree of discretion over teaching tasks, but found themselves continually hampered by administrators who laid down both goals and rules of procedure (p. 1004). Bidwell suggested that to minimise this disruptive aspect of internal functioning, control with communication became central organisational processes. It would seem likely that headmasters would use their common professional status as teachers to attempt to generate staff consensus over teaching tasks and teaching procedures. Representative policy making, through staff meetings and teacher committees would be central organisational processes to facilitate communication and prevent conflict.

(ii) The second problem related to maintaining freedom from outside control. This enabled the school to make decisions which were in the best interests of the child and the community, and to adopt procedures which best served these ends. This problem may be considered greater in the United States of America where school policy is vulnerable to control from local community sources who directly control the school. However, two organisational processes were apparent which prevented intervention from outside.

Firstly, the diffuseness of educational goals allowed the school

a fair amount of latitude to determine what was taught in schools whilst retaining legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

Secondly school administrators made use of community power groups to countervail pressures from the school board.

These theoretical approaches to the study of the school, especially those carried out by Hoyle and Bidwell, have made valuable contributions to the development of a comprehensive approach to the study of the school. Hoyle's work, in particular, indicated many of the problems of the development of the all round study of the school. He reviewed a large amount of literature which described the organisational characteristics of school systems. Unfortunately he did not offer a comprehensive framework on which these could be systematically ordered. Bidwell, on the other hand, offered comprehensive framework on which to order existing research, but he did not indicate the theoretical basis of his analysis. Both investigators demonstrated the need to understand the interplay of environmental, administrative, and teaching structures.

Bidwell, in particular, related systematically the influence of the environment upon the administrative structure of the school, and the relationship of the administrative structure to teaching activities. He appeared to have drawn largely from the work of Parsons in the development of his framework, although he did not describe the rationale behind his selection of the organisational variables which he considered important. Bidwell, in keeping with Parsons, viewed the school as a social system composed of various sub-systems (teaching groups, pupil groups, departments) embedded within the wider social system (the community and society). In schools there were three levels of sub-systems within the hierarchical structure, the technical which described teaching activities, the administrative which controlled the internal affairs of the school,

and the community from which the school gained its support. Bidwell recognised that to ensure the successful outcome of the socialisation process of the school each level had a contribution to make which was qualitatively different from the others. Problems arose where one level attempted to interfere with the functional autonomy of the other. Bidwell in keeping with Parsons forsaw boundary problems at each of the levels. At the community-administrative level the problem related to freedom from outside control, and at the administrative-technical level the problem of co-ordinating teaching activities. However, the functional approach on which Bidwell's analysis was based suffered from a number of theoretical weaknesses which will become more apparent when the Parsonian framework is analysed in detail in chapter four of this dissertation. In particular this framework failed to give weight to different educational technologies employed in schools. This is also a major failing of the Parsonian approach.

3. SOME EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE SCHOOL

A number of studies have been carried out, or are in the early stages of empirical analysis. All throw some light upon structural features of school systems. One of these, "Social Relations in a Secondary School", will be analysed in detail in the next chapter. The other three have been selected for two reasons. Firstly, to show that no person has yet empirically studied the school in a comprehensive manner, so that knowledge of the organisational features of the school is still fragmented. Secondly, to demonstrate that the development of a valid body of knowledge will depend upon a close understanding of the complexities of the sociological enterprise.

A. LAMBERT, R., "THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS: A SOCIOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION".

Lambert, in his introduction to Kalton's, "The Public Schools",

introduced a model for the analysis of some aspects of the public school as an organisation. Unfortunately he gave no indication if this was the model he utilised in his exploratory study of the boarding school life of boys and girls reported in his book "The Hothouse Society", although he did indicate that he was not using the introduction to Kalton's book to present the results of his own study. It is not possible at this stage to analyse the usefulness of this model, or of the model he utilised in his own book, until the report of the sociological theory and method is published in the companion volume "Boarding School: A Sociological Study".

Lambert viewed the school as a complex organisation and examined the social setting of the school, the goals, the formal structure, informal patterns of interaction, and the values which emerged in the schools which might or might not conform with the official goals of the school. He used this model as a sensitising framework in which to fit the facts of Kalton's quantitative study. He admitted that the model was "bound to be selective and piecemeal" (p. xiii), and that in an introduction of 6,000 words it was not possible to deal systematically with all the elements of the social system of the school. However, it can be inferred that he was making use of a systems model similar to that offered by Parsons. The school was conceived as an open system embedded within a larger social system and composed of a series of sub-systems, the goals of which were instrumental, expressive, and organisational. These were legitimated in terms of their function for the superordinate system. The goals of the school described the generalised value system of the superordinate system. The goals and functional processes of the public school were a reflection of the values which directed the organisational life of the school.

There was a high degree of consensus amongst teachers, pupils,

and parents over the goals of the school which were "consciously apprehended, accepted, and deeply internalised" (p. xxix). Lambert remarked that the public schools contrasted sharply with the state schools where the values would be fundamentally opposed between groups in superficially similar schools (p. xxix).

The success of this type of school in directing its pupils towards its goals produced problems of social control. The degree of control depended upon the school's ability to defend its boundaries. (1) This was an organisational problem. Lambert's analysis can be conveniently analysed under two headings suggested by Corwin (pp. 200-203), which relate to primary and secondary boundaries. Primary boundaries describe the membership of the school and the control of the school in selecting its pupils. Secondary boundaries to criteria of (i) containment and (ii) permeability. Lambert only discussed the secondary boundaries in his paper.

(i) Containment resolved itself into two elements.

(a) cohesiveness and (b) pervasiveness.

(a) Cohesiveness referred to the rate of person-oriented and task-oriented interaction of teachers and pupils. In public schools this aspect of interaction was governed by the extensive range of curricular and extra-curricular activities in which teachers and pupils were involved.

(b) Pervasiveness related to the scope of the activities which were controlled. Public schools controlled more than the academic process. They regulated dress, language, and personal conduct. This was reinforced by a well established system of norms which were symbolised in the ritual elements of speeches, games, traditions,

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(1) This is one of the organisational features of the Parsonian framework described in chapter four of this dissertation.

and other school rituals, as well as by other forms of bureaucratic and personalised controls.

(ii) Permeability resolved itself into two components, (a) extensiveness and (b) external influence.

(a) Extensiveness referred to the number of non members participating in the school. In public schools little contact was made with the outside world during term time.

(b) External influence was the ability of the school to control other organisations relative to their control over it. In public schools this was not likely to be problematic for two reasons. Firstly, those groups who were likely to interfere held values similar to those of the school. For example parents, especially those who had attended the school themselves were less likely to come into conflict with the school. Secondly, the life of the school was insulated from their view except at specially arranged school functions.

Lambert's study highlighted two important structural features of the school: Its goals, and its processes of social control. The first indicated the high degree of consensus amongst parents, teachers, and pupils over the values of the school, a feature which has been considered problematic in state schools. The second showed not only how the school reinforced the dominant values, but also described the basic processes of social control which ensured a high degree of success.

B. KING, R., "THE FORMAL ORGANISATION OF THE SCHOOL AND PUPIL INVOLVEMENT". (1)

Modes of social control is one of the focal points of a study being carried out by King into "The Social Organisation of the School2.

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(1) The description of this study is based on two papers written by King. They are "The Formal Organisation of the School and Pupil Involvement" and "The Social Organisation of the School".

At this time no results are available, (1) but the study should provide some objective information about schools which will be important in the educational design of school systems. King's study will not attempt to judge the schools or the pupils, nor will it propose strategies to change the organisation of schools.

The purpose of the study is to investigate the relationship of the formal organisation of day secondary schools and the involvement of pupils in these schools. Particular attention is given to the three important modes of social control which regulate the activities of the school: Bureaucratic control, such as school rules and school procedures; ritual control, such as school assembly and school uniform; personalised control, such as the response of teachers to children and vice versa. These create organisational patterns based upon age stratification, ability stratification, and sex differentiation. Within this framework the pupils' response and attitude will be investigated under the concept of involvement. "Involvement refers to the pupil's acceptance of the school, his commitment towards it, and his conformity to its expectations"..... and "the pupils' disposition towards the school" (King, 1968b, p. 2). In school, formal involvement relates to activities such as passing e examinations; semi-formal to activities such as debating societies; informal to activities participated in by the peer group.

These aspects of involvement will be objectively measured in different types of schools, both selective and unselective drawn from rural and urban areas. Organisational profiles will be developed for each of these schools so that involvement as a structural feature of the school can be related to both external and internal contextual

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(1) In December 1969, empirical work had been carried out and was in the process of being analysed.

variables. Internal contextual variables relate to age, ability, sex, and social composition. External variables describe the social characteristics of the area, the local occupational structure, and the local education structure.

The first stage of the project will construct instruments to measure these organisational features and pupil involvement. The second will systematically survey the formal organisation of the schools and will include schools in rural and urban areas. The third stage will establish any relationship between the pupils' school experience in terms of degree and type of involvement, and the formal organisation of the school.

C. TURNER, C.M., "AN ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS OF A SECONDARY MODERN SCHOOL".

Turner (1969) has recently made an "Organisational Analysis of a Secondary School" in which he incorporated his knowledge of the school within the framework of organisational analysis. In his conceptual scheme he cited the work of Parsons on role and organisational theory, Etzioni on compliance structures, Blau and Scott on administrative and organisational demands, and Simon on decision making. No justification was given for the incorporation of these particular theoretical ideas in his conceptual scheme so that the results of the study form no coherent pattern. For instance, Turner suggested that the "school social structure was modified by social systems which impinged upon it". This related to pressure from governors of the school, from the middle-class norms and values of the parents in the neighbourhood, from the pioneering achievements of other secondary modern schools, and from the occupational community. These affected the role definition of members of staff and produced role conflict. The study also described the organisation of subject departments, professional standards, professionalism in

teaching, the power of the headmaster, comprehensive education, types of organisation, decision making, communication problems, informal leadership, social values, teacher union affiliation, and basic problems of the school.

No doubt there was a rationale underlying the study but this is not conveyed to the reader. Turner failed to offer any justification for the use of his conceptual scheme, did not describe whether his study was exploratory or hypothesis testing, and failed to indicate his techniques of investigation. Consequently, it is impossible to interpret whether the school was being used as a fertile setting in which to test some sociological theory or the usefulness of a particular conceptual model to explain some aspects of the social system of the school, or whether, in fact, he was testing the model itself. If, however, the author has used a series of models unrelated to each other to introduce some order into a series of findings which were gathered by impression, one would not expect the results to be logically related. Neither could the study be called "An Organisational Study of a Secondary School".

These empirical studies are a valuable source of information regarding some aspects of the social life of school systems. However, they are of limited value in alerting educators to organisational features of schools. Two reasons account for this. Firstly, none of the studies offered extensive information about the structural features of school systems; and secondly, none indicated the possible consequences of planned educational change upon the social structure of the school.

The lack of extensive research is illustrated by the work of King and Lambert. Both focussed upon pupil sub-cultures in relation to control structures in schools. Neither studied the school comprehensively to offer information relative to other school

participants, for instance teachers. This does not deny the value of their work but indicates the narrow front on which empirical research has developed. Operational problems may not be peculiar to pupil sub-cultures. Knowledge of the structural features of schools may bring to light some of the sources of organisational problems which affect other organisational sub-groups.

The second weakness of these studies relates to planned change and its effect upon the structure of social relations in the school. This was not considered relevant in any of the studies. King suggested that his study was non-evaluative and did not aim to promote changes in the organisation of schools. He added that "not only would it be foolish to try to change a school whilst trying to observe and measure it, but it would also be unprofessional". Action was not intended to follow this research and King indicated that educational decisions "of this kind" must be made within the teaching profession (1968b, pp. 2-3). However, sociologists may be involved in evaluative studies the results of which may influence educational decisions. For instance investigations may be designed to observe the effectiveness of proposed strategies for increasing positive attitudes of teachers to planned changes in schools. The transition of school systems from the tripartite system to the comprehensive system of education would prove a fruitful laboratory in which to test the utility of different proposed strategies to bring about changes with the minimum of disruption. The adoption of any particular strategy, of course, would be the prerogative of the educationist, not the sociologist.

Finally, the study by Turner indicated that those who were involved in sociological enquiry should do so with some knowledge of the complexity of the sociological enterprise.

This examination of the theoretical and empirical approaches to

the sociological study of the school has two important consequences for the body of knowledge which sensittles educators to the structural features of school systems. Firstly, the limited scope of empirical research makes it difficult to identify some of the organisational-linked sources of operational problems. Secondly, this lack of research on the structural features of schools hinders the development of a closer understanding of the problems which will be most likely to occur with the introduction of planned educational change.

The absence of a comprehensive empirical study of the school suggests the need to develop a comprehensive framework on which to order the existing fragmentary studies of aspects of school systems. This will give some clues to the structural features of school systems which may be the source of organisational problems. Admittedly Bidwell went some way in developing a comprehensive theoretical framework, but he did not offer any justification for the selection of the variables he considered critical to his analysis. This could affect the utility of his framework.

Before turning to this problem the next chapter will examine one of the most comprehensive empirical studies carried out in a school.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

A SECONDARY SCHOOL

1. "Social Relations in a Secondary School".

One sociologist, D.H. Hargreaves, has recently conducted an investigation into the interplay of the formal structure of a Secondary Modern School and the development of sub-cultural differentiation amongst the pupils. His study, "Social Relations in a Secondary School", is one of the most detailed carried out in this country which combines the skills of the sociologist with the perspective of the educationist. Although the study was not originally intended to identify organisational-linked sources of educational problems and to suggest possible circumstances or strategies which demand consideration when dealing with organisational problems, it contributes valuable information to this area of study.

A. The School

Hargreaves initially entered the school intend upon examining the attitude and behaviour of boys to each other and to their teachers, although the study might be reconstructed as the analysis of the effect of streaming upon the structure of social relationships within the school. This investigation was carried out in Lumley Secondary School which is set in the north of England in an area in which manual workers are over-represented in terms of the national average. The school was less than ten years old at the time of the investigation and it drew its population from the district of Lumley. Originally the school contained 600 children which the process of migration had reduced to 450 boys at the time of the study in the school session 1964-65. On entry to the school, and on the results of the eleven plus examination, the boys were allocated to five streams A to E, the E stream being considered backward. This study was confined mostly to the 100 boys in streams A to D who were in their final year of school, and who were selected upon the assumption that they "represent the crystallisation of the values inculcated by the school

and an end product of the educative process" (p. x).

D. Methods of Investigation.

The investigator entered the school as a participant observer being present for the whole day for two terms of the full year he spent at the school. Data was gathered by participant observation of the boys in classes conducted by all teachers, by administering questionnaires, by conducted interviews, and by informal discussion. In the study Hargreaves recognised that many sociological factors had received scant attention and that differences in individual psychology had not been considered. He did not attempt to test specific hypotheses derived from current theories, but attempted to provide some insights into the unintended and deleterous consequences of streaming on the pupil sub-structure, and upon the development of informal groups. His technique, which was exploratory and relatively unstructured, was recognised by the author as "fraught with difficulties and dangers" especially with regard to the reliability and validity of material gathered by participant observation. He attempted to validate this process by the construction of a series of objective measures which were offered as independent support of his observations.

The four streams which were included for study were identified as separate sub-groups of the fourth year, membership of each sub-group being clearly defined by the official system of streaming. On evidence collected by sociometric techniques, friendship choices were found to conform to the pattern of streaming (1), over half the boys having selected friends from their own stream or form. Within each form three further measures were used to identify group structure: Friendship choice, informal status, and academic status. These were subsequently employed to identify the content of the norms of each group, the informal status hierarchies, and the processes by which

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(1) These were actual not preferred friends.

conformity to and deviation from group norms was produced.

C. Group Norms

From the analysis of group norms which were related to attitudes to school, to newcomers to the form, to physical aggression, to out of school activities, to dress, and to school attendance, it was found that generally the higher the stream the greater the commitment to norms defined in terms of school expectations, the norms of the lower streams being increasingly non-conformist. For instance, in relation to physical aggression, fighting in no way enhanced a boy's prestige in the higher streams, whereas in the lower streams aggression was regarded favourably (p. 17). Pressure to conform to the norms of the group was enforced, and examples set by the leader of the group which held the highest informal status within the class. (1)

This differential commitment to the school was checked by a series of objective indicators of commitment to the norms of the school and it was found that the lower streams participated less in school activities, contributed less to school funds, but scored equally well on school points (Ch. 4). Further indications of differential commitment to school norms were elicited by questionnaires completed by teachers to assess the standards of dress and behaviour of the boys, and higher standards were assigned to boys from the higher streams. It was noted that individual teachers were by no means convinced that behaviour and dress was stream bound (p. 56). Additional evidence was collected by means of an "Orientation Test" which was completed by the boys and designed to test further the normative differentiation between streams. Again it was found that the higher the stream the greater the pupil commitment to the school in terms of academic achievement, appearance, and general commitment to the school (2).

Analyses of this test found that within streams

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(1) Within each class there were cliques which were arranged in an hierarchy.

(2) See table p. 60/61 (Hargreaves).

the higher the stream the greater the tendency for high status to be associated with attitudes, behaviour, and values expected by the school, whereas in the low streams high status was associated with norms of an anti-school nature.

D. Relationships between Pupils

Hargreaves discovered that the segregation of pupils into different streams and the development of divergent group norms reduced interaction between forms. This process was accompanied by inter-group hostility, especially towards those at the extreme ends of the continuum. Negative stereotypes developed which prevented interaction between forms although this was less marked amongst boys who became involved in school activities which required co-operation. For instance, school games provided one of the few bases on which boys from the upper and lower streams could show approval of each other (p. 78). Whether co-operative activity of this type became based upon normative consensus, or whether the base of co-operation was a common interest in the game, is difficult to decide. However, a comment by one of Hargreaves' 4D respondents indicated the latter. He said, "when we got on the team and got to see how one another played, they passed it about. They thought we were not as good as them, but they don't think that now". (p. 78).

Further differentiation was found between streams in terms of delinquent behaviour which was defined in terms of having committed and been convicted of petty thieving. Evidence showed that fifty per cent of the D stream had appeared in court and had admitted stealing whereas only one boy in 4A had a court conviction. Hargreaves suggested that, although home background or personality factors may be a strong source of anti-social actions, peer group norms and peer group pressure to conform to these norms may also be associated with delinquency (p. 111). The norms of the higher school

streams proscribed delinquent behaviour and the norms of the group advocated and enforced conformity to socially acceptable patterns of behaviour. Where the group norms did not exclude delinquent behaviour, and where the background of the children did not define what was socially acceptable Hargreaves suggested that the peer group could become the strongest influence upon attitudes and conduct (p. 132).

E. Relationships between Pupils and Teachers

Relations with teachers was found to differ between streams and the higher streams perceived the teachers more favourably. These higher streams of pupils approved of teachers who had good discipline and control and insisted upon hard work. The lower streams regarded teachers with less approval, perceived their relationships less favourably, and in practice undermined classroom order and control (p. 103). This observation was reinforced by the tendency of teachers to reward the actions of those boys who behaved in a manner consistent with their expectations. Consequently the higher stream boys expected a higher standard of competence from their teachers, were more likely to be academically successful, and had adopted standards of behaviour acceptable to the school. The lower streams conformed less to the expectations of the teachers both in terms of approved behaviour and in their desire for academic success. This process was further reinforced by the policy of the school which allocated the less competent, less experienced teachers to the lower forms (p. 104). Teachers in the higher streams found fewer problems and could deal with their teaching situation more effectively, whilst those in the lower streams were exposed to greater problems of discipline. This resulted in a deterioration of the teacher-pupil relationship which at the best extended to tolerance and at the worst to open hostility (p. 104). This strengthened the dominant trends of the pupils' peer group. The higher group were positively

orientated towards the school and the lower developed a negative steriotype which resulted in a set of values which were opposed to those of the school.

F. Out of School

Hargreaves accepted that the formation of attitudes and values was the consequence of a variety of factors which occurred both in and out of school, although he concentrated upon the processes of sub-cultural differentiation which took place within the school. He also studied some aspects of life outside the school which might reflect the processes within. From his analyses he discovered that boys in the higher streams came from smaller families and that their parents' attitude to future employment and to academic success was supportive of the school. These groups of boys spent more time at home, spent more time on homework and on reading, were more disposed to joining organised clubs but had less preference for pop groups, were less interested in the cinema but watched television more often than those groups of boys from the lower streams (p. 158).

G. The Process of Sub-Cultural Differentiation

From the preceding evidence Hargreaves constructed an ideal type model of two opposing pupil sub-cultures in the school, one academic in which the boys were positively orientated to the values of the school, the other a delinquescent sub-culture in which the pupils rejected the values of the school and substituted an alternative set which were opposed to those of the school. This sub-cultural differentiation was a process which took place over time and could be accounted for by a number of mutually reinforcing variables which included the home background of the pupils, the streaming system of the school, peer group pressures, attitudes of teachers, and the allocation of teachers to classes. From this evidence and from an overview of relevant theoretical and empirical literature, Hargreaves withdrew a number

of inter-related propositions which outlined in a more general way, the process of sub-cultural differentiation (ch. 8).

The home background of the boys in the higher streams was supportive of a set of values which were similar to those of the school. The academic sub-culture was thus composed of boys who accepted these values and peer group pressure enforced conformity to these values. The organisation within the school ensured that high status was conferred upon those academically successful boys who were members of high streams and they were granted privileges and responsibilities which reflected this status. The peer group accepted this system, its values being consistent with those of the school. The lower streams were considered failures both by their lack of ability and by their lack of achievement motivation. The school accentuated this sense of failure by allocating these boys to the lower streams. They suffered from status frustration which could seriously affect their future lives especially with regard to occupational aspirations. This distinction was intensified by the attitude of teachers and by the policy of the school to allocate the less competent teachers to the lower streams. This further reinforced the pressure on the boys not to achieve academic success, a situation made worse by the fact that the lower stream pupils were not entered for external exams. Over the years those with positive values towards the school tended to become concentrated in the higher streams and those with negative values in the lower. Promotion and demotion accentuated this concentration of the sub-cultures. Promotion to a higher stream necessitated deviation from the antiacademic values of the lower stream. This process of sub-cultural differentiation, which reduced interaction of boys from different streams, was reinforced by the organisation of the school where the upper and lower streams were time-tabled in their own class to

participate in activities which were non-examinable. Reduced interaction and the convergence of boys with similar values in upper and lower streams encouraged the development of hostile attitudes between the two groups of boys. Teachers who rewarded the conforming behaviour of the higher streams confirmed the dominant values of the boys. Their failure to recognise the divergence of teacher pupil values in the lower streams, accentuated the differences in value structures. Consequently the teacher was able to exert considerable nomative control over pupils in the higher streams, but little control over the lower except in those cases where power was based upon coercion. High status in the lower streams was associated with anti-school behaviour which Hargreaves contended was a substitute for their status deprivation in terms of the values of the school. The rejection of the school defined pupil role led such boys to aspire to roles defined as not legitimate by the school. This rejection led to the premature adoption of selected aspects of adult roles which symbolised adult status. These included indulging in smoking and drinking. Hargreaves maintained that in a real sense the system of differentiation which was incorporated in the streaming system, although influenced by many other factors which have been described, was a potent factor in the generation of delinquent behaviour. (1)

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(1) Hargreaves was aware that sub-cultural differentiation was a process which developed over time, and his present study only considered the final year of the four year school course. He considered the possibility that the process of sub-cultural differentiation may have taken place in one or all of the previous years which he did not study. However, data gathered from an investigation of second year boys produced no evidence of normative or sub-cultural differentiation between streams in the second year. This supported his contention that the process of differentiation took place during the four years at school, especially in the third and fourth years.

2. Implications for Educationists

This study has important implications for the educational practitioner and for the educational policymaker. Hargreaves had little hesitation in making evaluative judgements in his role as an educationist, and emphasised the importance of his work in describing both the basic processes at work in the school and their implications for the realisation of educational goals. In his role as a sociologist he recognised that many sociological variables received scant attention and that it was outside his scope to include differences in individual psychology. As an educationist he showed no unwillingness to offer prescriptions based upon the limited evidence. Nevertheless he acknowledged the dangers of over-generalisation, over-simplification, and speculation. Many value judgements appeared in the text but where he deviated from the objective task of analysis and indulged in evaluation and speculation, he constantly reminded the reader of his change of emphasis. In his conclusion he made these value judgements explicit.

It was not Hargreaves' purpose to suggest specific strategies to improve the effectiveness of Lumley Secondary school. His study intended to examine the effect of streaming upon social relations within the school. However, he indicated a number of circumstances which might be the source of organisational problems in the school. He was aware of the mutually reinforcing factors which affected the pattern of sub-cultural differentiation, but there was no doubt about the fundamental influence of streaming on this process. This was an organisational feature often underestimated or ignored by teachers at Lumley. It had a fundamental effect upon the educative process and prevented the attainment of both the academic and social goals of the school. From this evidence Hargreaves tentatively offered some implications for Lumley school, and for other schools with

similar problems.

From the central findings of the study Hargreaves suggested a number of strategies to deal with the problem of sub-cultural differentiation which would facilitate the achievement of the academic and social goals of the school. The first strategy would eliminate the process of sub-cultural differentiation and would permit the achievement of both academic and social goals of the school. As this strategy required the abolition of streaming completely, Hargreaves offered alternative strategies to insure separately the attainment of the academic and the social goals of the school within the present organisational framework.

A. The first strategy would be to abolish streaming which would eliminate sub-cultural differentiation, but the vast majority of the teachers at Lumley opposed its abolition on the grounds that it would reduce the general level of academic achievement (p. 189).

Although this action seemed the most obvious way of eliminating this process, it ignored the possibility of alternative forms of sub-cultural differentiation. For instance Eggleston's work in Leicestershire pointed out that local conditions, together with the organisation of the school system, would influence both the structure of the peer groups and the degree to which the school could influence the behaviour of pupils. In comprehensive schools in communities where there was not strong support for education, and in which the total intake of pupils was drawn from the immediate neighbourhood, decisions to stay on at school were significantly influenced by the peer group. Eggleston suggested that comprehensive schools, which favoured non-streaming, could inadvertently reinforce this pattern by encouraging the solidarity of the peer group which under different circumstances might be fragmented into different schools, or into different classes according to ability (Eggleston, 1967, p. 106).

Hargreaves attached more importance to sub-cultural differentiation as a consequence of the formal process of streaming and suggested that a single neighbourhood school would not solve many educational problems (1). He demonstrated that the formation of peer groups was not a simple function of the social class composition of the school, and that the process of streaming would be an important factor often ignored. Yet the work of Eggleston indicated that the policy of non-streaming could result in a pattern of sub-cultural differentiation which had its basis in peer group relations developed in other social circumstances.

The opposition of the school to the general strategy of the abolition of streaming led Hargreaves to explore more specifically some ways in which the academic and social goals of the school could be effected within the schools' present organisational framework.

B. Hargreaves' second set of strategies related to the academic goals of the school. The academic goal that "all" the pupils are educated to the full extent of their potentialities" was not achieved (p. 184). Neither the teachers nor the boys of the low stream was motivated to work hard because neither group was under pressure to work for academic success. Hargreaves suggested that so far as the teachers were concerned this situation could be alleviated by allocating all teachers to all streams for some part of their timetable (p. 186). To increase the motivation of the boys in the lower streams, it was suggested that the school should be less intent upon achieving a high percentage of examination successes and should endeavour to enter a larger proportion of the lower streams for external examinations.

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(1) The problem which Hargreaves advanced was that of the comprehensive school which selected by social class in its academic and social life. In working-class schools this sub-cultural differentiation could still take place as a consequence of the streaming system.

C. Hargreaves' third set of strategies related to the other goal of education, the social goal which was not achieved. The school system failed "to provide opportunities for and stimulate motives conducive to the development of satisfying and co-operative relationships between pupils and teachers and between pupils in different streams" (p. 184). Teachers of low streams viewed the pupils less favourably and tended to evaluate their performance upon a set of standards quite opposed to those of the peer group, a process which hindered the development of more co-operative relationships. Hargreaves suggested that more progress would be made if teachers identified themselves with the informal leaders as a means of entry into the peer group. Favourable response from the leaders could lead to a favourable response from other group members over whom the leader exercised a strong influence. However, another investigation indicated that the adoption of a more personal approach could lead to teachers becoming vulnerable to the demands of the children. This could end in the manipulation of teachers, the opposite consequence to that anticipated. The result might be the redefinition of the authority of the teacher and the reduction of teacher effectiveness (1).

Hargreaves also suggested that relations between streams could be improved if the boys were given greater opportunity to interact in co-operative activities which lended themselves to be organised across streams. This could be supplemented in extra-curricular time when members from all streams could be encouraged to participate in all aspects of the social life of the school. This would necessitate a change of approach from teachers who tended to favour the upper stream pupils in the selection of pupils for representative

(1) This comment was made by Gordon in "The Social System of the High School", a study which offers interesting comparisons with Hargreaves. Gordon identified a process of sub-cultural differentiation based upon success in extra-curricular activities.

school activities.

It would be necessary to adopt this strategy with some caution if Gordon's study can be accepted for comparison. Gordon emphasised the importance of extra-curricular activities in the prestige system of the predominant pupil sub-culture which was antiacademic. Prestige was dependent upon success in extra-curricular activities. He also stressed that, although student sub-cultural differentiation was partly associated with the grading system, the primary determinant of student social status was success in extra-curricular activities. Success in the peer group was associated with extra-school success, not with academic success. By encouraging the development of an all embracing approach to extra-curricular activities it could be speculated that sub-cultural differentiation would still take place, and that encouragement of participation in these activities would aid the development of a single pupil sub-culture. Pupils would no longer identify themselves with either the academic or the delinquescent sub-culture and could become bound together in an antiacademic sub-culture. This is speculation and only refers to the study of Lumley. Sub-cultural differentiation may be affected by different conditions and different circumstances in other types of schools.

3. Some Assumptions of the Study

The important contribution of this study was to indicate that the structure of peer group reltions may inadvertantly aid the development of an anti-school sub-group which in turn would be reflected in the ineffectiveness of the school in achieving its goals. However, information from other sources has tentatively suggested that the strategies offered by Hargreaves to eliminate this process of sub-cultural differentiation may result in a number of unanticipated

consequences. This indicates that the investigation incorporated a number of assumptions which have affected the results of the study and its implication for educators. These assumptions relate to (a) the resolution of conflict and to (b) the formulation of the goals of education.

(a) The resolution of conflict. In his study Hargreaves assumed that it should be possible to develop satisfying and co-operative relationships between teachers and pupils and between pupils in different streams. Co-operation was not defined but if it is interpreted in this present analysis as "a deliberate and voluntary effort to facilitate the performance of tasks by others in return for similar services" it will entail, in its extreme forms, "a high degree of commitment to norms, and usually to moral values" (Cohen, pp. 146-147). However, the strategies offered by Hargreaves may ensure conformity to the norms of the school without the development of a high degree of co-operation. The success of the strategies will depend upon at least three conditions (1).

(i) A high degree of compatibility of norms between the different social sectors of the school.

(ii) Conformity to norms which was based upon common interests.

(iii) Conformity to norms which was not based upon the fear of the consequences of non-conformity.

(i) With regard to a high degree of compatibility between the different social sectors, it was suggested that the elimination of streaming would offer greater opportunities for children to interact in all aspects of the social life of the school. This strategy would facilitate the development of co-operative relationships. Yet

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(1) These conditions are based upon the theoretical notions of Cohen in his book "Modern Social Theory", Chapter 6, especially pp. 138-143).

children were also members of social systems which impinged upon the school including their peer group which existed outside the school and their family, each of which could provide the normative basis of pupil sub-cultures. Hargreaves was aware of these factors but assumed that streaming was an important factor often ignored. However, the removal of one source of sub-cultural differentiation ignored the strength of others. Two empirical studies highlighted this possibility. Eggleston's indicated that local conditions, together with the organisation of the school system, would influence both the structure of the peer group and the degree to which the school could influence the behaviour of the pupil. The policy of non-streaming in schools in homogeneous catchment areas inadvertently reinforced the peer group sub-culture which was based upon life outside the school. The other study by Gordon indicated that extra-curricular activities could provide a setting in which pupil sub-cultures could develop. The encouragement of participation in these activities might aid the development of a single anti-school sub-culture (1). The development of co-operation between different sub-sets of the school will depend upon the degree of compatibility of their interests, the next condition to be discussed.

(ii) Conformity to norms which is based upon common interests may not be possible to achieve with pupils who attend school compulsorily. It is feasible that the central activities of Lumley school were not directly relevant to the immediate interests of a large group of

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(1) This of course is sheer speculation. In fact, evidence from another source suggested that the content of extra-curricular activities in the United States of America was more elaborate than those of schools in this country. The absence of activities which appealed to the youth culture, for instance a "glee club", indicated that a large proportion of children with strong out of school affiliations, would not be attracted to take part in extra-curricular activities. (Sugarman, B., (1967), Youth Culture, Academic Achievement and Conformity).

children. In fact many of the interests of the children were opposite to those expected by the school. Although conflict, rather than co-operation, was often apparent especially between the lower streams and the teachers, much behaviour was governed by a set of teacher norms which the pupils may have accepted in terms of their own interests. It is possible that groups of pupils accepted the norms of the teacher as a necessary condition for the achievement of their own goals. For instance, Gordon's study indicated that where teachers adopted a personal approach to students in extra-curricular activities, they became vulnerable to demands from students who had learned how to manipulate teachers to ensure good grades in the classroom. The personal approach advocated by Hargreaves could lead to a more favourable response from the class who might accept the expectations of the teacher. However, conformity to these norms need not entail a moral attitude to them. Co-operation might not be the outcome of the teacher/pupil relationship although the school might still contain a considerable degree of harmony.

(iii) Conformity to norms might be based upon the fear of the consequences of non-conformity. Hargreaves quoted the situation of an experienced teacher who had little difficulty in dealing with "awkward" low stream boys. The secret of his success was twofold. On taking the form for the first term he asserted his dominative authority and made it clear that he would stand for no nonsense. At a later stage, when his position was established, he would set about identifying and befriending the informal leaders in the class who in turn influenced the lower status boys to accept their example. However, the manipulation of the informal status hierarchy may lead to the acceptance of the teacher's expectations but it does not guarantee co-operation. In fact, the teacher could be inadvertantly legitimising the informal leadership role and increasing the power of

the group leader. This could leave the teacher open to manipulation in other circumstances.

From these suggestions it can be argued that by encouraging a high degree of co-operation between teachers and pupils a school may become less effective in achieving its goals. It must be recognised that some pupils enter school with a set of interests and values which are quite different from those expected by the school. Attempts to manipulate may leave the teacher open to reciprocal manipulation from the pupils. Schools will be governed by some form of structured conflict in which behaviour will be constrained by a set of norms which children will accept in terms of their own interests and convenience. The following section will argue that these conditions must be recognised when assessing the effectiveness of the school in achieving its goals.

(b) <u>The goals of the school</u>. Hargreaves concluded in his study that the school was not successful in achieving its academic and social goals. This conclusion is dependent upon the logic of the goal model as a tool for the analysis of organisational effectiveness. Etzioni suggested that many studies have been made which show that the organisation did not achieve its goals effectively, and that the findings of these studies had depended upon the model's assumptions (1960, p. 258). Four assumptions which are related to the goals of the school are open to question.

Firstly, it was assumed in Hargreaves' study that the goals of the school, which he stated, were the actual goals of the school. There is a difference between what the goals should be and what they actually are. The academic and social goals formulated by Hargreaves were ideal entities. Yet schools are social systems not ideal entities. Etzioni argued that it was a mistake tb compare two objects that were not at the same level of analysis. In these

terms it is not surprising that the school was not effective in achieving its academic and social goals. In fact Hargreaves study indicated that one of the actual goals of the school was to encourage academic success in external examinations. This conflicted with the ideal goal which was to educate all pupils to the full extent of their potentialities. This exemplified the difference between actual and ideal goals. Goals of the school can only be formulated with some knowledge of the conditions and circumstances under which schools operate (1).

Secondly, the goal model assumed that the goals of the organisation were the only goals, and that any pattern of behaviour which deviated from the attainment of these was "unintended and deleterous" (p. x). Even assuming the legitimacy of these goals it is conceivable that staff as well as pupils will pursue goals other than those they recognise as the school's. For instance the pupils in the lower streams of Lumley Secondary school were orientated to interests outside the school. Boys in the lower streams aspired to adult roles. The anticipation of adulthood expressed itself in exaggerated forms of adult behaviour such as smoking and drinking (p. 173).

Thirdly, it cannot be assumed that all the resources of the school will be devoted to the official goals. Etzioni suggested that some of the resources of organisations would be devoted to non-goal activities (1960, p. 259). Minor administrative duties, such as collecting of dinner money or marking school registers would come into this category in any type of school. In Lumley, Hargreaves described the time consuming attempts of teachers of lower forms to

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(1) In a study being currently carried out in America, E. Gross has identified 47 goals in his investigation of the goals of 80 universities. He indicated that this list may be far from comprehensive.

try to ensure a minimal level of social control which was a necessary feature of the learning process. Much time and effort was devoted to persuading the less able to work for academic achievement (p. 103).

Fourthly, it is doubtful whether Lumley school could achieve each of its goals equally effectively. Certainly streaming which facilitated the development of the academic goal opposed the development of "satisfying and co-operative relationships", the social goal. Hargreaves was aware of this process and produced evidence that destreaming need not necessarily result in the lowering of academic standards. In fact sub-cultural differentiation which opposed social integration or the social goal of the school, was to some extent the product of the streaming system.

This evidence suggests that the methodological procedure of assessing the effectiveness of a school according to its stated goals may lead to a conclusion that no school will be effective in achieving its goals. Effectiveness can only be judged upon a close understanding of the conditions and circumstances under which a school operates.

The sociological perspective employed by Hargreaves in his study of Lumley secondary school has produced three important findings for the organisational design of school systems.

(i) It offers an objective assessment of the conditions and circumstances under which the school operates and provides a sense of realism about the types of problems which confront teachers in secondary modern schools of this type. It alerts educators to at least one organisational feature, streaming, which may be the source of problems within schools.

(ii) The sociological perspective which was not employed by Hargreaves as an aid to the formulation of the goals of the school,

challenges the practicality of assigning goals without some consideration of the school's organisational and community circumstances. Of course the sociological perspective only describes one set of variables on which the goals of the school will be formulated. Others will include educational philosophy, psychology, economics and so on. Nevertheless goals of schools can only be formulated in the knowledge of the actual conditions of the school in order to assess to what extent the goals can be achieved. This will lead to a more realistic assessment of the effectiveness of the school and even to the reformulation of the goals themselves.

(iii) Although the study did not deal specifically with the development of strategies to increase the effectiveness of the school in dealing with educational problems, two points emerge. One, it demonstrates that strategies are only valuable to educators if it is possible to manipulate the variables which are the source of educational problems. Hargreaves' study described the multidimensinal forces which had some influence over the educational outcome of the school. By focussing upon the organisational structure of the school, he indicated the types of variables over which the school had some control and influence. Second, attention is drawn to the fact that the utility of strategies will depend upon their acceptability by the teaching group in the school. Destreaming might have been the most obvious way of eliminating sub-cultural differentiation, but it was unacceptable to the teaching staff of Lumley.

C H A P T E R F O U R

THE SCHOOL AS AN ORGANISATION

In chapter two suggestions were put forward to account for the organisational structure of the school, and although many observations were made regarding the most important variables on which to base this analysis, it was difficult to decide which would serve as the most relevant. Only Bidwell offered a comprehensive framework for the analysis of the school in the round, but he did not offer any rationale for the variables he considered strategic.

Maintz (p. 101) suggests that the system theoretical approach may offer an answer to the problem of selection and provide a guide to the variables which are both general and significant. In this way it should be possible to develop a model which, although a historical and abstract, highlights a number of problem areas which justify the selection of the variables.

One social theorist, Parsons, has applied the system theoretical approach to the more specific study of organisations. His work was neither exhaustive nor systematic and was based upon a limited knowledge of empirical research in organisations in general, and schools in particular. However, he offered some perceptive insights into the structural features of organisations some of which are important in developing a closer understanding of schools.

The first part of this chapter analyses Parsons' conceptual scheme, his system problems and his pattern variables which are related to the three levels of organisational structure. The second part describes the comprehensiveness of this framework and the contribution it makes to the study of the school as an organisation.

PART 1

THE SYSTEM THEORETICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE SCHOOL

1. Parsons' Social System

Parsons' systems approach views social systems as a series of interlocking systems from individuals, groups, and departments, straight through to societies, each of which is implicated in social systems external to the school. Teachers are members of subject departments in schools as well as members of families outside schools. The logic of Parsons' analysis is that although there is a relative interdependence between each of these social systems, there is also relative independence. Each exists to solve different types of problems. For instance in schools the necessity of co-ordinating classroom activities requires a degree of co-operation between departments and between each department and the central administration of the school, but problems arise within each department which cannot be satisfactorily dealt with at any other level. Some of these problems will be outlined later in this chapter.

Some analytical distinctions in Parsons' scheme. Parsons distinguishes schools as formal organisations from other types of organisations, such as the family, by the observation that schools as organisations give primacy to the attainment of a specific goal, the type of goal distinguishing schools from other types of organisations. The goal of the school is legitimised in terms of its functional contribution to the larger social system, a factor which enables the school to assert the primacy of its goal over any other (Parsons, 1956a, p. 64). Schools, therefore, are functionally differentiated sub-systems of the larger social system, the goal of which is the technical and moral socialisation of the children (Parsons, 1961, p. 434).

The social structure of the school in Parsonian terms can be analysed from two points of view, the cultural institutional and the role:-

The cultural-institutional defines the goal of the school, and the structural arrangements by which the functional requirements of the school are met within the more specific requirements of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency (pattern maintenance and tension management).

The role describes the manner in which the functional requirements are solved. This process sets limits upon the range of norms which can exist in the school, which, in turn, prescribes the role relationships of those implicated in the organisation (Parsons, 1956a, pp. 67-69).

Within the school, Parsons identifies a set of differences of control and responsibility which arise at the three levels of the organisation (1958, pp. 41-45). Each contributes to the solving of the four functional requirements or problems outlined above. The three levels, the technical, the managerial, and the institutional (community), are most clearly marked in terms of their external reference and to the next higher in the hierarchy. They are:-

The technical which refers to the actual process of teaching.

The managerial which relates to the administration of the school and its mediation with the social context of the school as well as with its technical sub-system.

The institutional which refers to the link between the technical-managerial and the larger society.

In keeping with the logic of the analysis Parsons indicates that the "institutional organisation, as well as the managerial and the technical, will necessarily have connections and interchanges 'upward' as well as laterally and 'downward'. These 'upward' connections fall above all in the area of legitimation and support" (1958, p. 69). It follows from Parsons' analysis that, although there is relative interdependence and interpenetration between levels, there is also

relative independence between them. Properties at the higher level cannot be reduced to the level below or above.

Before embarking upon a detailed analysis of the hierarchical levels of organisational behaviour, it is necessary to appreciate the theoretical basis of Parsons' two basic sets of concepts which are employed to analyse the structure of organisations, and to show how these relate to the three hierarchical levels. This is particularly important for two reasons. Firstly, to understand the conceptual schemes and their relationships; and secondly, to try to clarify some of the ambiguity and confusion which has been caused by the unsystematic way the system problems have been formulated in relation to the study of organisations in general. This is a prerequisite to a clear understanding of how the system problems are solved at different organisational levels.

2. The Structure of Organisations

Parsons suggests that the structure of organisations can be analysed from two points of view, the cultural-institutional and the role, each of which is necessary for the complete understanding of the organisation.

A. The cultural-institutional

The main point for analysing the structure of any social system is its value pattern (Parsons, 1956a, p. 67). These values describe the function of the organisation and the main institutional patterns which define these values in the more concrete functional contexts of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency. The value system of an organisation will be a sub-value system of a higher order one, since the organisation is defined as a sub-system of the superordinate system from which it gains its legitimation and support.

At societal level organisations vary according to the type of goal or function they perform for society. These functions are

legitimised by the value system of society. They are of four types: Organisations orientated to economic production (adaptive function); Organisations orientated to political functions (Goal attainment function); Organisations orientated to the adjustment of conflict and the fulfilment of institutional expectations (Integrative organisations); Organisations dealing primarily with cultural, educational, and expressive functions (pattern maintenance) (Parsons, 1956b, pp. 228-230). Each primary type of organisation supports a number of sub-system organisations to which it gives its legitimation and support.

Schools come into the category of "pattern maintenance" organisations, their function, socialisation, being legitimised in terms of its pattern maintenance function for the more comprehensive social system. More specifically the values of the superordinate system legitimise the functional patterns of operation which are necessary to implement societal values. At organisational level these are a series of processes or problems which must be solved if the function of the school is to be achieved. They are problems of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency (Parsons, 1956a, pp. 67-69).

(i) Adaptation is principally concerned with the procurement of human and material resources which are necessary conditions for the attainment of the goal of the school.

(ii) Goal attainment deals with the mobilisation of the resources made available by the adaptation process, and the arrangements by which these resources can be utilised in the actual process of goal implementation in the changing situation. There are two aspects to this situation. Firstly, the set of relations with the external situation, that is the market for the product of the organisation (1).

(1) Parsons argues that the educational process of the school will produce "both character, knowledge, and skills of individuals, and generalised performance capacity at the societal level" (Parsons, 1958, p. 65).

Secondly, the control of these resources within the organisation to ensure the attainment of the goal. These processes are governed by the operational code of the organisation which has its basis in societal values. In this way, the organisation is assured of the resources it requires which authorises the organisational procedures necessary to ensure the attainment of the goal of the organisation. The focus of these procedures is on decision making. They include policy decisions, allocative decisions, and motivational decisions. Policy decisions relate to the broad technical task. Allocative decisions describe the apportionment of responsibility amongst personnel, that is, the placement of personnel in specific jobs, the allotment of money to specific tasks, and the allocation of facilities with which to carry out organisational tasks. Motivational decisions are concerned with assuring the co-operation of personnel. (1) Measures to ensure co-operation take the form of one or the combination of three types: Coercion, inducement, or therapy (Parsons, 1956A, p. 79).

(iii) Integration relates to the fact that organisational members are involved in a multiplicity of roles of which the organisational role is only one. Teachers, for instance, may be members of professional organisations or of families, as well as employees of schools. This will mean the fulfilment of role obligations outside the school. The focus of integration is on organisational members' loyalty to the organisation and the way in which this loyalty balances with other extraorganisational commitments (Parsons, 1956A, p. 81). (2)

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(1) Parsons seems to have moved to another dimension of organisational process in discussing motivational problems under the heading of goal attainment. This logically should come under the heading of pattern maintenance and tension management (latency). Parsons accepts motivation under his heading of goal attainment, although he describes this as an integrative problem (Parsons, 1956A, p. 79).

(2) It has previously been noted that Parsons placed intraorganisational problems under his goal attainment section. Under the heading of "integration" he suggests that this can be generalised to interorganisational integration (Parsons, 1956A, p. 81). Also under the heading of integration he describes the "mechanisms by which the organisation is integrated with other organisations, and other types of collectivities in the total social system". (1956A, p. 80). Apart from causing confusion over the problem of integration he has moved capriciously from the organisational to the role level of analysis.

Three mechanisms regulate the possibility of conflict, assuring some measure of organisational control and commitment of personnel. Firstly, contract which defines the terms of agreement on which the occupational role is based.(1)Secondly, the institutionalisation of authority which regulates the authority of one actor over another. Over-exposure to authority is usually limited by the norm that occupational groups are free to leave their posts when breaches of contract become apparent. Thirdly, there is a set of rules uniformly defined for society which state that organisational practices must conform to the norms of "good conduct" in society. Contract and authority describe rules which transcend any organisation. They define obligations which are particularistic to organisations. "Good conduct" defines universal patterns of behaviour which apply to all levels of society (Parsons, 1956A, pp. 81-85).

(iv) Latency is not dealt with specifically in Parsons' work on organisations. In fact, neither integration nor latency has received systematic treatment. However, the work of Morse suggests that "Latency is an interlude between successive goal attainment processes. It is not a period of inactivity; but the activities, whatever they may be, consist of restoring, maintaining, or creating the energies, motives, and values of the co-operating units" (Morse, p. 114). Following Morse, it is accepted that the twin problems of pattern maintenance and tension management which come under the heading of latency, focus on the units of the system, not the system itself (2) (p. 119). Pattern maintenance "is the problem of stabilising a set

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(1) This will be true where personnel, such as teachers in school, actually sign a specific contract. It is doubtful if this applies to a large number of unskilled labourers.

(2) Morse makes this interpretation from Parsons' study of "Economy and Society". This clears up some of the confusion surrounding Parsons' comments in his 1956 papers.

of (latent) commitments to a set of goals that have been legitimised by the cultural value pattern of the system".

Tension management "is that of eliminating the residual tensions that occur within member units as the result of the fact that no goal attainment process carried out by any action system is likely to gratify every participating member unit completely" (1) (Morse, p. 119).

Goal attainment and adaptation processes relate to the task orientation of instrumental activity, whilst integration and latency identify the expressive or socio-emotional area of activity (2). This is illustrated when teachers from different subject departments meet to co-operate in the problem of gathering and digesting information (adaptation), prior to coming to a decision which will affect the policy of the school (goal attainment), they may strain relations with each other (integration), and may be prevented from fulfilling other needs and obligations (latency).

D. The Role Aspect of Organisations

The other set of basic concepts which Parsons uses to define organisations are his five bi-polar pairs of pattern variables which describe the role structure of the organisation. They relate simultaneously to the actor's orientation to the situation, to his interaction with others, and to the product of this social action and interaction (Parsons, 1951, pp. 58-67).

The pattern alternatives of value orientation.

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(1) Pattern maintenance and tension management in the 1956 papers come under the heading of "integration" and "goal attainment" respectively.

(2) It is important to note that the problems which face organisations such as schools are similar to those experienced by other social systems conceptualised in Parsonian terms. Landsberger indicates that any theory of organisation will show "(a) how individually motivated units of such systems can attain their private ends while (b) simultaneously furthering the collective (i.e., the system's) end, (c) maintaining stable relationships with other units, and (d) remaining integrated both within themselves and with higher and lower units" (Landsberger, p. 216). Organisations face both instrumental and expressive problems.

(i) Affectivity-affective neutrality defines whether to use the role relationship for immediate gratification or to adopt a neutral, non-affective stance.

(ii) Universalism-particularism defines whether one actor should treat another in terms of a set of rules which apply to everyone, or whether to consider the other's unique characteristics.

(iii) Achievement-ascription defines whether one actor should judge another according to his success in performing certain tasks, or to judge a person upon his ascribed status, that is "who he is" rather than "what he can do".

(iv) Specificity-diffuseness defines whether to contain the relationship to a clearly defined specific content, or to meet the other over a widely undefined area.

(v) Self-orientation-collectivity-orientation. This pattern is analytically different from the other four. This variable represents a measure of whether the unit acts on behalf of itself, or on behalf of the superordinate system. It describes the pursuit of private interests rather than those of the group. Some private interests may be defined as legitimate providing they do not conflict with those recognised as the group's.

The first four pattern variables describe the different kinds of relationships which occur during the four problem solving phases. During the instrumental phase (adaptation and goal attainment) actors are expected to treat each other impersonally (neutrality), judge each other according to fixed rules of procedure (universalism), ensuring that these judgements are made on a careful assessment of performance (achievement), and making sure that only those aspects which are relevant to the task at hand are considered (specificity). During the expressive phase, the opposite role expectations prevail, namely affectivity, particularism, ascription, and diffuseness.

It was previously noted that both the cultural-institutional and the role aspects were necessary prerequisites to the complete understanding of an organisation. It was also indicated that the manner in which the four functional problems were solved sets limits upon the range of norms which could exist in the school and would prescribe the role reltionships of those involved in the system. Wilson in his paper "The Teacher's Role" has explored the usefulness of the pattern variables to describe the role conflict of teachers in schools. His study indicated that the school as an organisation was expected to ensure a minimal level of educational achievement, a process which was dominated by a system of formal examinations usually conducted across classes or years, and later in some form of public examination. To ensure parity of opportunity, the role relationship of teachers with pupils was prescribed by a set of norms which entailed affective neutrality, achievement, universalism, and specificity. Yet these role prescriptions were polar opposite to those required to motivate the child to accept the standards required if the child was to develop his full potential. Mouzelis (pp. 216-217) suggested that this dilemma could be met by two forms of differentiation, one temporal the other structural. During the temporal phase the school deals with one set of problems at a time. At one point in the day, month, or year, effort is concentrated in the task area of school work, for example, working towards examinations. In another sequence the effort is devoted to the motivational problem of encouraging scholarship. Alternatively, the school sets up separate sub-systems to deal with each type of problem. Expressive problems are dealt with by certain teachers who concentrate upon this type of problem. Counsellors, tutors, and housemasters come into this category.

This interpretation of Mouzelis's ideas on temporal and

structural differentiation poses a number of problems. Firstly, it is doubtful whether teachers confronted with large groups of children could treat them in a highly impersonal manner. Alternatively, children would be unlikely to understand the significance of a teacher who acts impersonally in one situation and is friendly in another, and might perceive inconsistency in his behaviour which might adversely modify the teacher's effectiveness. Secondly, it might be proposed that separate sub-systems would devote their attention to one problem rather than another. For instance it might be assumed that physical education classes could be used to solve expressive or socio-emotional problems by offering a range of activities devised to develop co-operative relationships. This would cut across clique structures which had emerged during the instrumental phase of academic classroom activities. Yet the development of a wide range of physical activities may be related to their post-school benefits, a process which brings their development into the instrumental phase of school life (1).

The temporal dimension throws up an interesting speculation regarding the rhythm of school life. If the process of formal examination is considered an important function of the school it might be organisationally effective to devote all the organisational energy of the school towards the achievement of this sub-goal for a period of time, ignoring all other non-examinable school activities. After examinations, time and energy could be devoted to other aspects of school life which would include other instrumental and expressive activities. Sports tournaments, school outings,

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(1) It would be unwise to expect that physical activities could solve integrative problems of schools. In fact many of these activities may prove positively disruptive of school life.

school competitions and so on would come into this category (1). For instance, if Hargreaves had used the Parsonian framework he might have recognised that the social goal of the school might have been more effectively achieved by rearranging the temporal sequence of school events, a strategy which would not have interferred with the attainment of the school's academic goal.

Parsons' conceptual framework for analysing the structure of organisations highlights some ways in which the school attains its goal of socialisation within the more specific concrete contexts of adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and tension management. The way in which these problems are solved means different structural arrangements by which different types of organisations cope with their environment and with their internal processes. School systems were used by Parsons to analyse the structural arrangements by which schools cope with their problems. These arrangements related to a set of differences of control and responsibility which arose at the three levels of organisation, the technical, the managerial and the institutional. In the particular paper devoted to the analysis of school systems, Parsons was more intent upon describing the hierarchical structure of the school than in indicating the way in which schools dealt with their functional problems. It is possible to analyse this aspect of his work from his text although it was not considered specifically by Parsons.

3. Parsons' Analysis of the Organisational Structure of the School (2)

Parsons' analysis of school systems was not based upon the results

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(1) The present writer has knowledge of a secondary modern school in Derbyshire which employed this strategy. It was reported by the headmaster that the temporal sequencing of the school life worked with more than a modicum of success.

(2) The following section is principally withdrawn from Parsons, T., (1958), "Some Ingredients of a General Theory of Formal Organisation".

of empirical research carried out in schools. The analysis was largely dependent upon his own theoretical framework supplemented by his knowledge of the educational system of the United States of America. These systems differ in some respects from the contemporary educational scene in this country, and the present writer has attempted to "fit" the British scene to the organisational framework described in Parsons' paper. No attempt is made to incorporate empirical research into this description. This is attempted in the critical analysis of the framework later in the chapter.

A. The three levels of analysis

(i) The Technical

The technical level delineates the actual process of teaching which Parsons describes as the production of "both character, knowledge, and skills of individuals, and generalised performance capacity at societal level"(Parsons, 1958, p. 65). More specifically this is described in an earlier paper as the process of socialisation and allocation which functions to "internalise in its pupils both the commitments and capacities for successful performance of their future adult roles..... and to allocate these human resources within the role structure of the adult society" (Parsons, 1961, p. 434).

(ii) The Managerial

The outcome of the technical process cannot be left to the individual discretion of teachers. A higher authority is required to make decisions regarding the broad technical task of the school. These relate to the allocation of responsibilities to subject departments and to individual members of staff, and to the allocation of classrooms and finance to groups and individual teachers within the school (Parsons' goal attainment problem). These decisions are legitimised in terms of the goal of the school, decisions being made by the headmaster who has institutionalised authority to make

judgements regarding the outcome of the educational process of the school. Parsons makes no mention of the control mechanisms which are used to motivate teachers to accept the decision making process. It is assumed from his earlier writing that this could take the form of coercion, inducement, or therapy. Coercive measures may take the form of the allocation of undisciplined classes to the recalcitrant teacher; inducement, the manipulation of graded posts which bring greater financial rewards; and therapy, the appeal to teachers that headmasters and teachers as professional educators have a normative commitment to accept decisions which are made in the interests of the children.

(iii) The Institutional

Although the headmaster, in managerial terms, may exercise a high degree of autonomy in running the internal affairs of the school, it also follows that no school is entirely independent. It operates within a larger social environment from which it gains its legitimation and support, a necessary prerequisite for the achievement of the school's goal. The administration of the school is serviced and controlled by a higher level organisation which Parsons calls the institutional. The institutional structure or the "agencies of the community" take the responsibility of ensuring that the school achieves a standard of educational attainment in keeping with the generalised norms of society. Control of school activities is of three types. (These constitute Parsons integrative problem.) Firstly, the operation of the school is regulated by the generalised norms of society which vary from rules formally codified in the law, to standards of "good practice". Secondly, schools come within the jurisdiction of public authority, nationally under the control of the Department of Education and Science, and locally under the Local Education Authority which includes the local education officer

and his administrative staff. Thirdly, schools in this country are governed by a fudiciary board variously called school governors or school directors. This group is usually made up of representatives of the immediate community of the school, together with representatives of the local education committee. It functions as an intermediary between the school and the more diffuse local community interests. Although these groups have official control of the school they do not exhaust the other interested groups with whom the headmaster interacts.

B. Points of articulation of the three levels

So far the three levels of organisation have been described. At each of the two points of articulation there are qualitative breaks in the line authority. In school systems personnel at one level do not merely tell those lower down what to do. At each level people exercise types of competence and responsibility which cannot merely be delegated. Functions are qualitatively different.

(i) The technical-managerial.

In schools the technical operations are carried out by teachers who normally have reached a full level of professional competence, and have been officially certificated by the employing authority. As professionals they are responsible for planning and evaluating the day to day running of the classroom, a process which is necessary when dealing with large groups of children who show varying degrees of differences in age, aptitude, and ability. Decisions regarding the management of children cannot merely be delegated by the headmaster for two reasons. Firstly it is doubtful whether the headmaster is competent in every technical field. Secondly, the complexity of the task of teaching requires a level of contact with the children which is beyond the scope of a headmaster in schools which are engaged in teaching large groups of children. In addition, as professionals,

teachers are ultimately held responsible for their own judgement and must take their share of the responsibility for the consequences of their day to day decisions. Within this framework teachers will participate in technically crucial decisions which affect the educational outcome of the classroom situation. (1)

Teachers may also be involved in the administrative structure of the school system. Heads of subject departments will be responsible to the headmaster for the management and organisation of subject departments in accordance with the directives of the headmaster, who is ultimately responsible for the co-ordination and control of activities of each subject department. This may cause some problems for heads of departments who may accept the heed for system wide control of school activities, but may view this control as violating the autonomy of their department. Organisational strain may also become apparent at teacher level especially when teachers are expected to undertake duties of a non-professional nature, such as the handling of dinner money, or the supervision of meals.

Membership of the administrative structure and of the technical staff does not exhaust the affiliations of teachers. No one school employs all teachers. The reference group to which teachers look in terms of professional standards may be their professional organisation, not the school in which they teach. Organisational loyalty (Parsons' integrative problem) becomes an important issue in schools, and although it is not discussed in Parsons' (1958) paper it is assumed that the mechanisms of contract, authority, and universal rules will act as integrating agencies between organisational and extra-organisational loyalties (Parsons, 1956A, pp. 80-85).

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(1) The concept of professional authority is defined by Parsons in the footnote on pp. 58-60 of Weber, M., (1964) The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, New York: Free Press.

(ii) The managerial-institutional

Similar considerations apply at this point of articulation. Official groups at the institutional level who have control and responsibility for school activities are not in a position merely to delegate tasks to the headmaster. Parsons suggests that the function of the institutional level is to ensure legitimation and support for the school. To attempt to perform this function and to act in the management of the school will erode its primary function of acting as a mediating force between the school and the community, both local and national. In this country, institutional support seems less of a problem than in the United States of America, especially with regard to finance. In Britain it is the task of the education committee advised by the education officer to bargain for finance in competition with other community agencies. Financial support will depend upon the compatibility of these demands with other community requirements (Parsons' integration problem at trans-organisational level). In America, the delegation of the necessary finance is the responsibility of the local community which expects some authority to decide how it is spent. This money is gained wholly from local taxation not, as in this country, from local and national taxation. This may expose the headmaster to some pressure from the local community and affect the organisational and management decisions required to implement the goals of the school. In this country, the autonomy of the headmaster is protected in at least two ways. Firstly, decisions relating to schools are not made at local community level. This insulates the schools from immediate community pressure. Secondly, education officers employed by local authorities will most likely have undergone professional training and have taught in schools. They will be more sensitive to the norms of teaching which prescribe the broad discretionary jurisdiction of the headmaster over both

policy making and the management of the school.

C. Disposal and procurement functions (Parsons' adaptation and goal attainment problems). (1)

Although schools are clearly marked in terms of the three hierarchical levels of organisation, they also operate within an external environment from which they gain the necessary resources to ensure the effective running of the school. They are also responsible for the disposal of a product. (2)

It is assumed that schools are client serving agencies and that they must be assured of a steady supply of clientele. (Parsons' adaptation problem). In Britain this is not problematic as young persons up to the age of fifteen are compelled by law to attend a school, although the type of school they go to will depend upon the presence or absence of selection procedures. Some may attend neighbourhood comprehensive schools, others selective grammar, technical, or modern schools. However, pupils enter schools under certain important conditions. The process of socialisation requires "a long-continuing and in some sense intimate" relationship between teachers and taught, a relationship which will affect both the structure of the pupil's personality and his future position in the community. Pupils are taken into a special type of membership of schools which requires an important degree of integration. The process of teaching requires the co-operation of the children. This cannot be taken for granted, it must be motivated. Parsons considers

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(1) Parsons only makes specific reference to the instrumental processes of the school in his 1958 paper. This may be partly explained by the observation that he was more interested in boundary maintaining processes than in the actual processes within the organisation in which integrative problems were more apparent.

(2) In Parsons' earlier paper (1956A, p. 74) part of the disposal function is dealt with under the goal attainment problem when he describes the use made of resources in the implementation of the day to day decisions regarding the operation of the school. In this paper the disposal function is only concerned with the external problem of the disposal of the product of the school.

that coercion is not adequate and that some form of inducement must be offered to ensure adequate co-operation. This must be provided in the terms on which the co-operation was offered in the first place. Unless pupils and parents are aware of the rewards of schooling Parsons suggests that the co-operation of parents cannot be assured and the education process will be put in jeopardy.

At management level the school is responsible for two types of output which affect its external relations. The first relates to the change in the character, skills, and knowledge of individual pupils; the second to the contribution to the "general performance capacity of the Community" (Parsons, 1958, p. 55). To get valued things done in the community requires more than the education of individual pupils. Decisions what to teach what category of pupil influences the pool of talent in the community (Parsons' goal attainment problem). These decisions are partly the result of the demand for trained personnel, and partly the product of the ideas and plans of educational authorities and individual headmasters. Locally the educational outcome may depend to a great extent upon the educational level of the community, especially amongst those groups who are orientated to educational goals. The educational level of parents and the occupational structure of the community may be two important elements.

To carry out the technical function of teaching, the school depends upon the mobilisation of resources, the most important of which are labour and finance (Parsons' adaptation problem). The employment of teachers is the responsibility of the local education authority who are governed by regulations regarding the numbers to employ, salaries, and so on. Finance is made available through local taxation and government grants. The latter is not automatically designated for education and it is the task of the local education

committees, in consultation with its administrative staff, to bargain for the necessary capital to ensure an adequate level of educational provision (Parsons' adaptation problem). This may involve education authorities in the struggle for power to gain support for education. In the United States of America, finance is made available completely by local taxation. This produces problems where the local education authority, who supply the necessary finance, demand the right to decide the way in which this money is spent in individual schools. The authority may demand to be consulted in matters relating to educational decisions and school procedures, matters which are the functional responsibility of the headmaster.

PART II

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE USEFULNESS OF THE PARSONIAN FRAMEWORK

Although Parsons' framework is neither systematic not exhaustive and its conceptual vagueness often leads to confusion, there is no doubt about its comprehensiveness so far as schools are concerned. The value of the scheme is twofold:-

1. Two Advantages of the Framework

A. It enables a comparison to be made between schools and other types of organisations so that organisational literature which is not directly concerned with schools can be interpreted in a more insightful way. Parsons' defines five differences between organisations (Parsons', 1958, pp. 70-72):-

(i) The specific function the organisation serves for society;

(ii) The same societal function may not adequately define the different operational functions of the sub-system. The functions of a teacher in the classroom are not similar to those of the administrator in the Department of Education and Science, even although both come under the generic term "education".

(iii) The organisational structure of the school will be different from the organisational structure of other organisations. A good organisation for the processing of goods or services, may not be appropriate for the school which deals with children.

(iv) Differences occur in relation to the exigencies of disposal and procurement. The function of the school necessitates a special type of relationship between teachers and children which affects the conditions under which children enter schools.

(v) By highlighting qualitative breaks in the hierarchical structure of the organisation, Parsons indicates a wide range of possibilities of different types of articulation at the junction

of these levels. This explains why military personnel are supervised in quite different ways from teachers in schools.

. This approach offers a comprehensive theoretical approach to the study of the school, an approach which has not been evident in other work to date. Admittedly Parsons' theory of organisation is not based upon empirical investigation and cannot be substantiated by body of empirically verifiable knowledge. This affects its usefulness in the development of empirically testable hypotheses (1). Nevertheless it offers a useful framework on which to order existing empirical research. It has the merit of raising questions which, if not directly deducible from his theory, are useful interpretations of occurrences which may take place in schools.

B. About its comprehensiveness there is general agreement. Lansberger suggests that Parsons' writings have brought together approaches to organisations which should never have been separated (p. 234). In three areas in particular this is evident: (i) the formal and informal aspects of organisational behaviour, (ii) the influence of the environment on the organisation, and (iii) the nature of the goal of the organisation.

(i) Formal and informal aspects

In the past most studies of schools have devoted attention to the interpersonal aspects of organisational behaviour, especially in

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(1) The failure to develop predictive hypotheses deducible from his scheme conceals the possibility that the function of schools, socialisation, cannot be tested empirically. This function cannot be proved or disproved. It might be argued that schools arise in the need to socialise children but this need may only be inferred from the existence of schools. But the proliferation of schools need not result in socialisation, and so the hypothesis is difficult to refute.

the way informal organisation has helped or hindered formal organisation. This has principally related to relationships between children and staff and amongst children themselves (1), and occasionally between staff and headmasters and between headmasters and the community (2) (3). No study to the knowledge of the writer has been carried out which focuses upon relationships between staff members. At organisational level little attention has been given to studying the formal organisation of the school itself, to the relationship between administrative and teaching structures in such areas as policy formulation, allocation of human and material resources, and the problem of the co-ordination of school activities amongst teachers who press for a high degree of functional autonomy. At least one writer (Becker, 1962) has discussed the manipulation of rewards to ensure the co-operation of teachers. Others have remained silent about the formal aspects of school life.

(ii) The influence of the environment on the organisation

Parsons framework indicates that schools as organisations are involved in social and administrative environments which may affect their organisational structure. The need for the organisational structure to conform to environmental values has been studied by Mays who indicated the culture conflict between children and teachers, and the need for greater adjustment of staff to the values of the children (Mays, 1965). Another study by Douglas found that teachers allowed their judgements of children to be influenced by the social background of the child, a result of which was that children from middle-class homes were more likely to be allocated to the higher

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(1) For example Hargreaves.
(2) For example, Becker, H., (1962).
(3) For example, Gross, N., et al. (1958).

streams of the school, even where measured ability was similar. A study carried out in the United States of America reported by Corwin described the adaptive responses of schools to unselected, undisciplined children. The school policy was to segregate them into special classes to minimise their disruptive affect upon the organisation of the school. Those who proved too difficult to control were sent to special schools. (Corwin, 1967, p.191). In addition, environmental influences may affect staff loyalty to schools and pose integrative problems. In a study carried out by Gouldner (1957/58) this problem was demonstrated in relation to the staff in a liberal arts college. One group of staff members were more heavily committed to teaching as a career and to the development of their professional teaching skills, and had a low loyalty to the college (cosmopolitans). Another group (locals) were less interested in their career outside the college, placed less emphasis on teaching skill, and had a high loyalty to the college.

These studies indicate that environmental influences may be potent factors in co-ordinative, policy, and integrative problems of schools.

(iii) <u>The influence of the environment on the nature of the goal of the school</u>

One study which described this aspect of organisational structure was carried out by Clark. He studied a junior college in California which was originally set up to provide a number of vocational courses, and a limited number of courses which would lead to transfer to university. However, owing to pressures from students, who quite unexpectedly demanded places in the university transfer course, the college was forced to service this new demand. This resulted not only in the adaptation of organisational structure of the college, but the displacement of the original goal.

2. Three Disadvantages of the Framework

A. Parsons' analysis selects organisations according to their function for society and in so doing obscures the possibility of differences between organisations which are grouped under the same generic term. Parsons goes some way to develop the characteristics of schools in relation to other types of organisations, but assumes no differences between schools. He does point out that the task of the school differentiates it from other types of organisation, but fails to recognise that different schools may be influenced by different technological exigencies. Landsberger indicated that this aspect was not covered adequately in Parsons' work "despite repeated references to the fact that among the adaptive problems of organisations were requirements to adapt to 'technological exigencies' and despite repeated references to the effect on the organisation of the nature of its goal"..... and ....."the influence of technological 'exigencies' on organisational relationships" (p. 238). The technological aspect has been developed by Perrow. It is defined as "the actions that an individual performs upon an object, with or without the aid of tools or mechanical devices to make some change in that object". He indicated that "the object, or raw material, may be a living being or an inanimate object" (p. 195). Perrow argued that it was unwarranted to assume that the major variable was being held constant when comparing several schools unless the technologies of each of the schools is considered. His observations suggest that the technologies employed by different schools will affect the structure of relationships in quite different ways (1).

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(1) See appendix for a detailed analysis of the technological aspect.

B. Parsons' appears to have placed an inordinate emphasis on values and their institutionalisation in different organisational spheres. Consequently he has been less interested in linking his conceptual scheme with organisational data, than with prescribing conditions necessary for the survival of the organisational (Landsberger, pp. 232-233). His assertion that the values of the total social system legitimise and regulate the internal processes of the school is logically justifiable, if the origin and nature of these values can be ascertained. This has not been done. Consequently in the text of his 1958 paper he assumed normative consensus over a number of issues which are empirically problematic. The following are examples of this prescriptive element which is apparent in his discussion of (i) structural attributes, (ii) functional processes, and (iii) goals of the school.

(i) Parsons assumes that teachers are professionals who have a high degree of technical competence which necessitates a large measure of autonomy in their task of teaching children. Apart from the argument that the professionalisation of teachers is by no means secure, Parsons does not indicate how much autonomy is required to produce an effective outcome.

(ii) Parsons assumes that the education process cannot be effectively achieved without the co-operation of the children involved. He suggests that this must be induced, coercion being inadequate. Again this may be a matter of degree for although in ideal terms co-operation will be a necessary feature of compatible relationships, it is doubtful if full co-operation is ever fully accomplished (1). Some form of structured conflict may be the norm in actual school situations.

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(1) This point is argued in the examination of Hargreaves' study on page 64 of this thesis.

(iii) Parsons assumes consensus over the goals of the school. Two points emerge which reject this assumption in schools, the first is empirical, the second methodological. Firstly, evidence from Gross and Fishman (p. 319) indicated that the goals of schools are subject to varying interpretation amongst administrators, teachers, and the community. Within the school it is possible for participants to follow goals other than those they understand as the organisation's (Burns and Stalker, p. 97). For instance, teachers may not equally share in the financial rewards of a particular school and may look to other schools as avenues of occupational mobility and higher salaries. Children, on the other hand, may not appreciate the relevance of what is expected of them in school and may pursue purposes, in some cases opposite purposes, to those expected by the school. Secondly, the normative orientation of Parsons' work is reflected in his analysis of the goals of the school. To compare the goals of the school in terms of what they should be, as distinct from what they actually are, commits the methodological error of comparing two objects at different levels of analysis. It is illogical to compare the ideal state of the school with the real state, as if the ideal were also real. The goal of the school in Parsonian terms is a cultural entity based upon societal values, but the school which it describes is a social system. Had Parsons' framework been constructed from knowledge of schools in action, the divergence between ideal and real states would have become apparent. Additionally, where divergence was found between ideal and real states of organisational functioning, the overemphasis on a high degree of consensus over organisational values would have become obvious. (1) In schools this knowledge could question the source and validity of the construction of organisational goals.

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(1) This point was discussed in detail in chapter 3, pp. 67-70.

C. The assumption behind Parsons' social system approach to the study of organisations asserts that organisations are typically integrated by stabilised interaction patterns based upon the internalisation of a commonly accepted system of norms and values, overlooks the occurrence of behaviour which is not regulated in this way. Gouldner challenges this view of functional interdependence and argues that different parts of the system may be functionally related, but that the relationship may not be symetrical, and that each party may not be involved in mutual interchanges (1967), p. 151). To state that there is functional interdependence is less significant than to indicate that the degree of interdependence may vary in different social systems. Compliance may not depend upon an internalisation of values. However, this approach does not deny that some form of functional reciprocity may exist or that where a breakdown occurs some form of compensatory mechanism may develop to compensate for a lack of reciprocity. So far as the first point is concerned it is feasible that power arrangements in schools may insure the compliance of children without the children and teachers sharing a common set of values. Compulsory attendance at school ensures a steady flow of clientele whose interests may be alien to those of the school. Yet children may accept the normative structure of the school because it is in their own interests to conform to the expectations of teachers. Acceptance of restraints may be based upon fear of the consequences of non-conformity or upon the knowledge that the acceptance of the authority of the teacher in certain circumstances is a necessary condition for the attainment of personal goals in others.

(1)

(1) Parsons is aware of the possibility of behaviour which is not normatively regulated. However, he appears to be more interested in the mobilisation of this power than in its distribution. In one of his papers (Parsons, 1956B), he identifies power as the central phenomena of the organisation which ensures the necessary facilities for the attainment of the organisational goals.

This brings out the point that the Parsonian approach neglects the possibility of the development of antagonisms between organisational sub-groups in schools. To ignore the possibility of conflict of interests gives an almost deceptive picture of harmony to a basically conflictual situation.

Breakdown in social relationships may be compensated by certain cultural and social mechanisms which develop or are present in schools. For instance children may benefit from the services of teachers without being grateful or showing appreciation for the services rendered. This lack of reciprocity may be accompanied by the withdrawal symptoms characteristic of the lower form teachers at Lumley Secondary school described in the previous chapter. However, it is possible that a number of teachers accept a culturally shared prescription which advocates that teachers should not expect children to show gratitude for the teaching efforts expended upon their behalf. On the other hand, children may conform to the expectations of teachers and show interest in the tasks of the school, not because they want reward from teachers for conforming to their expectations, but because parents insist upon and reward compliant behaviour. Schools may be guarded against defaults based upon a lack of reciprocity, by the intervention of a third party, parents, who perform a "policing function" (Gouldner, 1967, p. 152).

From this analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of the Parsonian scheme it has become apparent that the social system approach can only be used as a highly partial descriptive interpretation of a variety of actual occurrences (Landsberger, p. 232). It makes two principal contributions to the understanding of school systems on which organisational design will be based. Firstly, it describes a comprehensive framework on which existing research can be ordered. Secondly, it indicates some of the structural

features of school systems which may be the source of operational problems. However, in some ways it only offers half the organisational picture by failing to account for the organisation's power structure. This limitation must be recognised in the analysis of the organisational structure of schools. For instance, conflict between staff and some boys at Lumley Secondary school was an organisational process which emerged out of their mutually opposed set of values. Teachers as representatives of the school's authority structure continually collided with groups of pupils who refused to accept, and on many occasions flouted, school rules. This was an open challenge to the authority of the school. This aspect of organisational structure was neglected by Parsons.

C H A P T E R F I V E

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE SCHOOL

In the previous chapter one of the suggestions put forward was that, although the school as an organisation might exercise a large amount of autonomy in running its internal affairs, it operated within a larger social environment from which it gained its legitimation and support. Schools as organisations in this country are part of both national and local educational administrative structures which regulate the educational outcome. This outcome is also influenced by other more discrete local, environmental factors such as the educational level of the community especially from those groups orientated to educational goals. Both the educational level and aspirations of parents and the support they give to the school were conceived as important factors in the successful attainment of the goals of the school. Yet the social environment of the school may be conceived as more than the socio-economic background of individual pupils, and a distinctive set of values and beliefs may develop in modern communities which will affect the educational values of the community as a whole.

In Great Britain, little attention has been given to try to develop a model of the social environment or the social context of the school although many studies, both national and local, have been carried out which give some insights into the social factors which affect educability.

Part I of this chapter will describe some of the national, regional, and local community studies which have been carried out mainly in this country. Part II will suggest two important sociological dimensions which will aid the clarification of differences between communities, differences which are reflected in values attached to education.

PART I

NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND LOCAL STUDIES OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SCHOOLS

1. National and Regional Studies

At national level studies which relate to schools in this country have principally accounted for social class inequalities in education, and have surveyed the relationship between educational opportunity and patterns of social stratification and social mobility (Glass, 1954), and differential educational opportunity and patterns of social selection and social differentiation (Floud, Halsey and Martin, 1956). These studies have consistently shown that even where children were of similar abilities, working class children performed consistently less well than their middle class counterparts. This was accounted for in the differences in beliefs and values associated with different groups in society, these beliefs and values being described by social class differences in educational performances. Banks (1968, ch. 4) reviewed the work carried out in this country and suggested that the parental value systems of the lower classes placed less emphasis on formal education in terms of staying on at school, or to any form of further education. They were also less ambitious for their children, and tended to have lower aspirations than middle-class parents.

Swift (1967, pp. 178-184), however, suggested that although evidence pointed to social class differences in taking advantage of educational opportunity, there were many exceptions. In the working-class there were many children who aspired to success and their social background was supportive of this aspiration. He indicated that the educational ambitions were rooted in the family and within the working-class there were several mechanisms which influenced the educational ambitions of the children and the value placed upon

education. These included: Firstly, the 'sunken middle-class' mother who had married into the working-class but who had previously held a middle-class occupation, the experience of which had influenced the educational aspirations of her children. This was particularly strong where mothers had greater contact with the children. Secondly, the working experience of the father which might extend his social horizons especially where occupational experience entailed contact with those above in the occupational hierarchy. This brought knowledge of opportunities which affected the educational aspirations of the children. Where contact was limited social horizons could also be limited. Thirdly, where there was a shift from the occupational to the consumption sphere, educational aspirations would be heightened although education would be seen in a different light from the other two. Education would be viewed as a means to achieve a higher standard of living. Fourthly, support was given by those parents whose careers were blocked. They were frustrated and blamed their lack of success on inadequate education.

Swift's argument places a large emphasis on the effect of both the past and present occupational experience on educational ambitions. It emphasises that the values and aspirations which relate to education may be rooted in the specific group context of the family. Although these families are termed working class, this description of class may not highlight differences in values and aspirations which relate to sub-cultural differences within the social class being described. These sub-cultural differences appear to be related to the occupational experience of the husband and wife, so that class defined purely in terms of an occupational category might not define differences in industrial life-chances and experiences within each class which, in turn, will influence educational values.

National studies carried out in this country to identify social

class differences in educational attainment have used education, occupation, and income as objective indices. These have been useful to indicate broad differences in educational performance at national and regional level, but are difficult to interpret locally to describe educational differences which may be affected by other more discrete factors than occupation, income, or education, or whatever index is used to define social class. These have been used with some justification. For example, in the study "Social Mobility in Britain", Moser and Hall (pp. 29-30) justified the use of occupation from two points of view. Firstly, from the need to select criteria on which accurate data could be gathered which lended itself to measurement. Secondly, where the characteristics of social status were highly interrelated, occupation was a useful link between economic status and educational background. They assumed in their study that the community was stratified in some form of hierarchy which was defined according to variations of social status. They recognised that "to assign social status, both objective and subjective criteria were relevant: Income, occupation, education and material possessions, self assumed status, participation in certain social activities and relationships, and status judgements, being some of the criteria". (pp. 29-30). They assumed for these reasons that occupation was the best operational measure of this criteria.

In another study of "Social Class and the Urban School", carried out in 490 schools in 41 cities in the U.S.A. by Herriott and St. John, education, occupation, and income were used as criteria of social-economic status. The authors upheld the point of view that stratification took the form of a continuum which was composed of power and prestige dimensions each of which was capable of sub-division. They indicated that "Systems of social status are more

highly developed in small communities where residents are known to each other and form status groups, but the features of these systems are general from community to community. Moreover, the economic hierarchy is not community-bound, since it is made up of aggregates of people of similar economic position, and therefore of similar opportunities, values, and sub-culture. It is thus realistic to speak of a national stratification system, especially with regard to large urban communities" (p. 16). They added that a few used the term social class in the economic sense described by Weber, whilst others used the term to refer to all dimensions of social stratification. They preferred to use the more operational one, socio-economic status, which represented whatever was measured by the indices used.

This valuation may hold true at national level in which "the economic hierarchy is not community bound since it is made up of people of similar opportunities, values, and sub-culture" (Herriott and St. John, p. 16). At local community level it makes the study difficult to interpret for local communities have highly differentiated status systems based upon characteristics over and above those of economic position. This was recognised by Herriott and St. John, although the assumption that these features were general from community to community assumes similarities between communities which have not been empirically justified. At local community level, economic position and status position may be interrelated but it is doubtful if one is determined by the other (1).

2. <u>The Local Community Context of Schools - Some Studies</u>

Few studies have been carried out which relate specifically to the immediate social context of the school. In the United States of America, Hollingshead found that the social behaviour of adolescent

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(1) Section 4 of Part I of this chapter explores this viewpoint.

pupils was functionally related to the position of their parents in the local social structure. This was defined in terms of criteria such as place of residence, income and material possessions, participation in community affairs, family background, and reputation and prestige.

In Great Britain no empirical study has specifically focussed upon the social context of the school, although some have described the community social structure. For instance Mays in his study of the Crown Street area of Liverpool divided the whole district into eight sub-areas on the basis of his research workers' impressions of distinctive social or physical characteristics. This strategy was found to have high validity when socio-economic data collected during the survey was "seen to confirm the more observable characteristics on the basis of which the sub-areas were chosen" (Mays, 1961, p. 12). In his follow up study of schools in the Crown Street area, Mays described the social context of individual schools by a number of indices including the mobility of the population of the catchment area, home conditions, and parental attitude to schooling, information gathered from personal observations, and the remarks of the teachers, headmasters, social workers and so on. He described one school parish of 10,000 which provided a representative sample of the Crown Street area drawing its pupils from both the rough and the respectable localities. Within this area three distinct orientations to education were discovered. Area one was typified by a high rate of disorganisation and a high mobility rate where many of the inhabitants "roomed". This area was highest in delinquency and child neglect, and least favourably disposed to educational attainment. Area two served a more stable and rooted community with higher educational attainment and greater parental support. The schools in this area stood on the fringe of better residential districts. Area three

stood socially between the other two "embracing both the social problem rooming house area, and part of the working class region up the hill" (Mays, 1965, p. 62). Many lived in corporation flats and had moved recently to the area. The children were rougher, less able, but more amenable to discipline than the sub-area one, but there was a limited degree of parental interest in the school.

A more recent study carried out by Hargreaves on the formation of attitudes and values within the social structure of the school, recognised that these patterns of behaviour would be influenced by a variety of factors which occurred out of school. Those with more positive attitudes to school and who accepted the academic values of the school came from smaller families, and had parents whose attitudes towards future employment and academic success were supportive of the school. These groups of boys spent more time at home, spent more time on home-work and reading, were more disposed to joining clubs, were less interested in pop groups and in the cinema, but watched television more often than their counterparts whose values were in conflict with those of the school.

These studies are examples of investigations carried out which help to throw some light on the social context of the school. However, with regard to the development of a framework for the description of the social context two limitations are apparent, one methodological, the other relating to the absence of studies of certain groups of schools.

Firstly, the studies were carried out for purposes other than the description of the social context of the school, and only the study by Hollingshead purported to describe the social context of the school in a rigorous fashion. Consequently the social context in his study was not arbitrarily defined by an objective measure such as parents' occupation which is relatively easy to operationalise,

but by the process of evaluating the comments of local judges who it was assumed would use local values to define the local systems of social stratification. In this way the local social structure was stratified into five classes according to socio-cultural criteria. This approach varies with those adopted by the other two investigations. Mays sub-divided the area of his study into three sub-areas in which he described the values held of education, information which he gathered from interviews and visits to households, and from impressionistic material gained from pupils, parents and the children, as well as from the selective perceptions of teachers and headmasters regarding the neighbourhood of the school. Hargreaves, on the other hand, used objective ratings of the social class position of different groups in the school such as father occupation and the physical attributes of the home, as well as the subjective perception of the boys regarding their parents' attitude to education.

From these studies it is obvious that procedures for describing the sociological dimensions of community life have been formulated in quite diverse ways. They indicate that there is no commonly accepted methodological tool which can accurately describe stratification patterns at local community level. A similar comment was made by Hollingshead in his study in 1949, and his observation seems equally appropriate to-day.

Secondly, there is almost a complete absence of studies which describe the social context of schools in middle-class areas. One important contribution was made by Floud, Halsey, and Martin on "Social Class and Educational Opportunity", part of which was conducted in South West Hertfordshire which was predominantly a preserve of the middle-class. It was found that the home background of the children in the sample was supportive of education, so that the utilization of ability was an educational problem which was unhampered

by adverse social conditions (pp. 144-145). However, the study did not report the way in which the social context combined with individual schools to enhance or retard educational performance. Nevertheless the absence of studies of middle-class areas suggests that in practical terms there is "the implicit notion that the teacher of socially underprivileged children in a poor neighbourhood can use more sociological understanding than his colleagues in other types of schools" (Taylor, 1966, p. 194). Certainly the tradition of British sociologists of education have favoured the "social problem" approach and focussed on schools in neighbourhoods variously described as 'twilight' or 'slum' (Eggleston, 1967, chapter 2). This has diverted attention from different social processes at work in other types of schools within different social contexts, and has impaired a closer understanding of the structural attributes and functional problems of these schools. It can also be added that the problem centred approach which has focussed principally upon operational problems of schools may have ignored "the structural contexts within which the genesis and nature of such problems and concerns can be appreciated and without some knowledge of which no rational understanding of social process can be achieved" (Taylor, 1966, p. 194).

It is apparent from this cursory overview of national and local studies which relate to the social environment of the school, that national studies are inadequate to describe the subtle sub-cultural differences at local level. On the other hand, studies at local level offer fragmentary, often discontinuous evidence to account for these differences. In the absence of a conceptual framework on which to base a comparative analysis of the social context of different types of schools, it is impossible to construct a framework which permits the analysis of different types of communities. However, it may be possible to develop a framework which accurately describes sub-cultural differences between communities without highlighting sub-cultural differences in relation

to education.

3. The Local Community Context of Schools and Educational Values

It is an assumption that educational values are influenced by community values, and that these values are accurately measured by whatever indice is used to describe the community. Eggleston (1967, p. 34) recognised this difficulty in his study of decisions to stay on at schools in several catchment areas in Leicestershire. In his investigation, he explored the differences between manual and non-manual workers in relation to the community in which they lived. He found that, although in all areas the percentage of children of non-manual workers who decided to stay on at school was greater than the percentage of children of manual workers, the percentage of children of manual workers who lived in middle-class areas who decided to stay on was greater than those who lived in working-class areas. In addition, a slightly smaller proportion of the non-manual workers who resided in working-class areas were reported to have decided to stay on compared with their counterparts who lived in middle-class areas. The investigator did point out that the area of residence might only be a sign of more 'fundamental differences' which related to both the individual children and their families. In this case membership of manual or non-manual families was used as the index of community make-up, but we are warned by Eggleston that where there was a positive relationship between educational decisions to stay on at school, and the occupational make-up of the community, factors other than those reported may have accounted for fundamental differences between and within social classes.

Two difficulties seem quite apparent from the study outlined above. Firstly, there is a complex of social factors which make-up the local community context of the school, but little is known how these factors inter-relate to affect educational values and

performance. Secondly, even although these factors can be located, it is difficult to translate them into operational terms.

Frankenberg (chapter II) provides evidence of the first when he defined communities on a rural/urban continuum according to twenty-five different dimensions. The second was apparent in the work of both Blyth and Rogoff. Blyth (chapters 3 and 4), in his comprehensive study of the primary school, recognised the difficulty of defining the sub-cultural differences between communities, and identified these according to geographical location. This classification included villages, small towns, rural-urban fringe areas, and large towns and cities. Rogoff investigated the thesis that various classes were not randomly distributed amongst different types of communities, and that the local community context would affect the "normative climate or model level of social aspiration" (p. 242-243) of all members of the community to some extent. He chose population size and relationship to metropolitan areas as the important measures of community, a strategy based upon the knowledge that size was "one of the few environmental properties used frequently enough and over a long enough period of time to warrant a systematic empirical test" (p. 247). In the relative absence of empirical studies of the social context of the school there is some evidence of identifiable sub-cultural differences between communities which may affect educational values.

3. <u>The Local Community Context - Geographical and Occupational Mobility Patterns</u>

Eggleston put forward an interesting thesis which was supported by an empirical study carried out in the United States of America (Herriott and St. John). He indicated that "In modern Britain the incidence of social class and urbanisation has led to geographical groupings which are by no means randomly ordered. We find local

areas of housing where inhabitants have much in common in their way of life. The geographical mobility which is associated with the occupational mobility of industrial societies leads not to dispersion, but to greater concentrations of 'similar' people" (Eggleston, 1967, p. 13) (1). With the introduction of secondary education along comprehensive lines it is likely that the school population will be drawn from the immediate neighbourhood which will become more homogeneous. This will lead to a closer social as well as geographical relationship between the school and the neighbourhood which is less obvious under the tripartite system.

The suggestion that geographical mobility, which is associated with occupational mobility, will lead to the development of communities in which the inhabitants have similar ways of life, has some independent support from the studies of Wilensky in the U.S.A. His focus of investigation was not at community level, but upon the connection of work role, career patterns, and style of life. (Wilensky, 1964, p.312). His concept of style of life was used to designate consumption patterns, community participation, and media exposure, each of which was examined for its status significance as sources of integration within the community. He indicated that various types of social relations, consumption habits, and media exposure had a differential effect in linking persons to larger communal ends, and he suggested that these patterns of behaviour would be shaped to some degree by work situation and career. He suggested that two clusters of variables were suggested by the work situation which would predict much behaviour in the middle-mass of society, behaviour which cross-cut several socio-economic strata, as described by traditional indices of social class, i.e. present income and occupational category. They were firstly, specific variations in the work situation (tasks, social relations, dimensions of career,

(1) A number of studies which illustrate this concentration of similar people are described in Part II of this chapter.

and career contingencies); and secondly, social mobility experience, expectations and aspirations. (Wilensky, 1964, p. 313).

The results of his other study "Orderly Careers and Social Participation" (Wilensky, 1961) indicated that those workers who spend their lives in a career that is in functionally related, hierarchically ordered jobs, had stronger attachments to work, to formal associations, and to the community. These careers gave continuity to experience and held out prospects of continuous, predictable rewards and involved a willingness to train to achieve, and to defer gratification for longer term goals. Data on the other hand for those who had experienced chaotic work conditions (less than 20 per cent on steady employment) indicated that they gained less satisfaction from work, were more home centred, and had tenuous connections with the community. The importance of this study indicated that work experience would have a distinctive affect upon style of life. Whether it affects aspirations relating to education is problematic. The study was limited by the assumption that style of life was wholly determined by economic considerations. In fact, Wilensky, suggested that one fifth to one sixth of the American work population constituted the classic "alienated" worker "being employed in dirty, heavy and despised work situations --- unskilled and punctuated with periods of unemployment and insecurity". (1964, p. 312). This failed to account for the situation where the worker may not be "alienated" from his work situation and may view the rewards of work in purely instrumental terms (1). Although patterns of social life may be "individuated and home centred" it is

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(1) Goldthorpe suggested that "the starting point is not with the assembly line technology, but rather with the ordering of wants and expectations relative to work, and with the meaning they give to work". Goldthorpe, 1966, p. 240). Orientation to work may be the crucial independent variable. Investigation of other non-work areas will be necessary to understand the meaning invested in the work situation.

a tenuous assumption to describe the worker as alienated when he is merely adapting to new social and economic circumstances.

The suggestion that "the geographical mobility, which is associated with the occupational mobility of industrial society, leads not to dispersion, but to concentration of 'similar' people", although indicative of the structure of some types of communities in this country, does not describe communities which have not experienced these changes. Some qualifications must be added. Several features of community life are not included in this model.

A. Although demographic changes of population take place as a result of occupational mobility, there is also an incidence of people in established communities who have neither experienced social nor residential mobility (1).

B. Groups of people may exist in both established and new communities who have moved house for reasons other than change of job. These moves may have been enforced by urban redevelopment or voluntarily chosen (2).

C. The value system of communities may only be indirectly related to the occupational structure and value systems may be accounted for in a series of sub-cultural differences whose origin is in the non-work situation (3).

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(1) Most of the studies of communities which are reviewed in this chapter provide statistics of the proportion of the population who were born in the community.

(2) This may be enforced by urban redevelopment. For instance the movement of families from Bethnall Green to Greenleigh (Young and Wilmott). Moves may also be made to other school catchment areas within a county to ensure what parents consider a higher standard of education (Eggleston, 1967, p. 5).

(3) For instance Pahl suggested that professional workers who were employed in the city and who lived in rural areas did so on account of the distinctive pattern of social relationships which they found in rural areas. This accorded with their distinctive style of life, putting down local roots. This choice was not determined by their occupation. However, this localism did not extend to education and children were not sent to the local school (Pahl, pp. 263-297).

D. In established communities some groups of people may adhere to a local set of norms and values even although they have experienced occupational and social mobility, and many groups of people indigenous to the area may embrace a set of norms and values different to those accepted as local (1).

E. Groups of people may move to new communities in which there is no concensus over norms and values, may have neither the facility nor the facilities to develop a communal set of norms and values, and may develop a distinctive style of life based more upon the home than upon the community (2). These groups include those who have been forced to move home or those who have chosen to move from their existing community, either to seek alternative employment, or from dissatisfaction with their previous home circumstances.

These factors should be tempered with the realisation that the future of comprehensive education in this country is not assured, and in many areas it is still problematic whether the change will take place. As a result the number of neighbourhood schools with homogeneous populations is difficult to ascertain.

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(1) C.f., Stacey.
(2) This point is made by Lockwood in "Sources of Variation in Working-Class Images of Society" (p. 258).

PART II

A SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SCHOOLS

The argument so far indicates that the occupational experience of members of communities will be a potent factor in the determination of sub-cultural differences in beliefs and values, but that these beliefs and values may be accounted for in a series of differences whose origin is in the non-work situation. This argument can be further advanced to indicate that there are substantial differences between manual and non-manual workers in terms of their beliefs and values, differences which correspond to the popular meaning attached to the words working-class and middle-class. Yet this single dimension is inadequate to describe behavioural patterns at community level. Evidence from Stacey in her study of Banbury indicated that, within each class there were differences in ways of life which could not be fully accounted for in these terms. In fact, within the town studied, she found differences between incomers to the town (non-traditionalists), and those who had lived most of their lives in the town (traditionalists). Both dimensions were considered important indices of behavioural patterns in Banbury which "is cut down the middle by the line which divides the traditional from the non-traditional" and "across the middle by the line which divides the middle-class from the working-class". (Stacey, p. 173). These two dimensions can be justified on both rational and empirical grounds.

1. Two Sociological Dimensions of the Community

A. Social Class

Stacey's study offered evidence that the middle-class Banburians rarely met working-class Banburians. "They go to different pubs or to different parts of the same pub, while one group plays squash

the other plays table tennis. There are special bowls and cricket clubs for each status group, different types of houses in different areas, different types of work, hours of work, and methods of payment, rules of behaviour of what is 'right and proper', are sufficiently different for middle-class and working-class people not to be comfortable together in informal social circumstances" (Stacey, p. 171). She indicated that there was an occupational status barrier between middle-class and working-class which was reflected in their way of life, values, and attitudes. It was not possible to construct for Banbury an N-fold class system (p. 144). The total population could not be placed in a series of horizontal groupings, or on one status scale based upon commonly agreed social characteristics. There were broad differences in beliefs and value systems.

Evidence from Lockwood suggested that these differences may be located in the individuals' primary social experiences. This notion that social consciousness is influenced by the immediate social context was reinforced by the work of Bott who indicated in her study that "people do have experience of power and prestige in their place of work, among their colleagues, in schools, and in their relationship with friends, neighbours, and relations;" (Bott, p. 163). Lockwood maintained that "when an individual talks about class he is trying to say something, in a symbolic form, about his experiences of power and prestige in his actual membership groups and social relationships both past and present"(Lockwood, p. 249). Although Lockwood was mainly concerned with "Sources of Variation in Working-Class Images of Society", it is assumed in the present argument that similar criteria will pertain to the middle-class group.

Lockwood supported the idea that people could be differentiated

according to broadly correlated differences in economic circumstances. He also indicated that "the industrial and community milieux of industrial workers exhibit a very considerable diversity", and it would be strange if distinctive patterns of social consciousness were not generated by different work community relationships (p. 250). Patterns of social stratification may, therefore, be defined in terms of different work/community relationships that is the "overall differentiation of the population in terms of both 'life-chances' and 'life-styles', i.e., to a system of broadly correlated socio-economic inequalities and sub-cultural differences". (1) Social class is referred to in these terms for the remainder of this chapter.

B. Traditional and Non-traditional (2)

Within each of the two classes described in this chapter there is evidence that there may be some variation in the system of beliefs and values which is related to experience of occupational and/or

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(1) In an earlier paper by Goldthorpe and Lockwood it was suggested that the broadly correlated socio-economic inequalities and sub-cultural differences corresponded to the popular meaning which is attached to the word 'social class'. This is, in fact, a fusion of two distinct concepts social class and social status.
Social class refers to "not only the opportunities to gain sustenance and income through the possession of property and skill in different economic circumstances (primarily those in which the market is highly developed), but also the life experiences arising from the way in which such opportunities are organised".
Social status refers to "not only the chances of certain social groups receiving positive or negative social honour, but also those life chances "including opportunities to own certain types of property and to pursue certain types of occupation that result from the status prerogatives of such groups." (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1963, p. 158).

(2) Traditional - those who adhere to the local system of values. It includes those who have lived in the community for most of their life (Stacey from seven years) or those who have experienced residential mobility, either enforced or otherwise, who accept the local system of values. It is assumed that the blocked careerist would come into this category.
Non-traditional - those who do not subscribe to the local system of values. It includes immigrants into the community as well as those who have lived all or most of their lives in the community, who do not adhere to the local system of values. Within this grouping two further sub-groupings may be distinguished. Firstly, those who have experienced imposed or voluntary residential mobility, but not occupational mobility. Secondly, those who are both occupationally and residentially mobile.

residential mobility. Stacey suggested that, although manual and non-manual workers follow different ways of life, within each group, there were those who did not adhere to the local system of values. In Banbury there were "those who are part of the traditional social structure and who live by the traditional values and customs of old Banbury. There are others, the non-transitionals, who do not belong to the traditional social structure and do not accept its values and customs; they do not share any common social system or system of values and customs for they are composed of many different and sometimes opposed groups, they include those who have come in with other systems of values and customs and those who are developing new ways to meet changed circumstances of their life and work" (Stacey, p. 14). She added that not all born Banburians were traditionalists and that all newcomers were not non-traditionalists.

There is some independent evidence from an educational source which supports the selection of the traditional/non-traditional dimension. Bidwell described a study carried out by Alford in California into the attempts of educational authorities to amalgamate two school districts of two small communities, one of which was opposed to change. This policy was resisted by the locals (old-timers) and supported by the cosmopolitans (newcomers) who favoured integration. The former viewed the school as an important centre of associational life in which many community roles were carried out, whereas the latter, whose interests were less community bound, were not opposed to the planned change. In this small economically and ethnically homogeneous community, where the population was largely composed of locals, the influence of the cosmopolitans was of little consequence in the implementation of the new policy (Bidwell, p. 1009).

This evidence suggests that communities may be described by this additional dimension which Pahl has described as a more important

dimension than social class (1). (Pahl, p. 279).

Communities may be analysed according to two dimensions, which although inter-dependent can be analytically separated, and produce four types of community. Within the working-class two traditional and one non-traditional group are identified whereas the middle-class is represented by two, one traditional, one non-traditional (2) (Table 1)

COMMUNITY SOCIAL STRUCTURE

	TRADITIONAL	NON-TRADITIONAL
WORKING-CLASS	TRADITIONAL WORKING-CLASS	NON-TRADITIONAL WORKING-CLASS
MIDDLE-CLASS	TRADITIONAL MIDDLE-CLASS	NON-TRADITIONAL MIDDLE-CLASS

This table is adapted from Stacey p. 173.

TABLE 1

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(1) Pahl (p. 13) fails to offer a definition of this term and it is inferred from his text that class refers to position in the economic hierarchy.

(2) These categories are drawn largely from the work of Lockwood (1968), who described two types of traditional worker and one type of non-traditional worker. The middle-class group was not specifically studied, but suggestions in the notes to Lockwood's paper and knowledge gathered from other studies (Birch, Jackson and Marsden, Littlejohn, Stacey, Watson, Williams), suggest that there is a vertical division between salaried professional workers and the local independent professionals and entrepreneurs. Salaried professionals are conceived as working in large scale enterprises through which they move in a reasonably predictable manner, and accept residential mobility in exchange for upward occupational mobility. Lockwood gave this factor of occupational mobility low value in the discussion of working-class groups where it was assumed that occupational mobility was less in evidence (p. 265, note 24). However, residential mobility will not always be the outcome of upward occupational mobility and it is included in the analysis of the working-class in the present study. On the other hand, occupational mobility, which relates to chances and expectations of upward mobility, is included in the analysis of the middle-class professionals as it is assumed that this will influence their model of social consciousness. The following quotation from Jackson and Marsden indicates the vertical division within the middle-class. "Huddersfield has its prosperous middle-class, or rather it has two middle-classes. The first is national, metropolitan in interest, mobile privately educated. Such as the senior civil servants, doctors, executives, who stay for a while and pass through the city; but 'belong' elsewhere too. And there is that other middle-class, very local and rooted, of the self-made business man, work officials, schoolmasters clinging to their home town".

From this framework analysis can be made of different types of communities to find out to what extent social class and traditional/ non-traditional dimensions describe sub-cultural differences which are reflected in values relating to education (1). (Table 2A and 2B).

WORK COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

WORK SITUATION

TRADITIONALS	Involvement in Job.	Interaction and Identification with Workmates.	Interaction and Identification with Employers.
Working-Class Proletarian.	High	High	Low
Working-Class Deferential.	High	Low	High
Middle-Class.	High	Variable	Variable
NON-TRADITIONALS			
Working-Class Privatized.	Low	Low	Low
Middle-Class.	High	High	High

TABLE 2A

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE

TRADITIONALS	Interactional Status System.	Occupational Community.	Occupational Differentiation.
Working-Class Proletarian.	High	High	Low
Working-Class Deferential.	High	Low	High
Middle-Class.	High	High	Variable
NON-TRADITIONALS			
Working-Class Privatized.	Low	Low	Low
Middle-Class.	High	High	Variable

TABLE 2B

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(1) Following Lockwood (1968) it is assumed that beliefs and values will be influenced by the work and the community situation. At work specific attention is given to involvement in job, interaction and identification with workmates, interaction and identification with employers. In the community to whether status is based on interactional or attributional status system, whether the community is occupationally homogeneous or occupationally differentiated.

These tables were constructed by Lockwood in his "Sources of Variation of Working-Class Images of Society", (pp. 259-260). They have been modified to include the middle-class traditional/ non-traditional dimension.

2. Traditional and Non-Traditional Groups

Table 3 gives the focus of the empirical studies on which the remainder of this chapter depends for examples of sub-cultural differences in relation to education.

FOCUS OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON TRADITIONAL/NON-TRADITIONAL WORKING-CLASS MIDDLE-CLASS DIMENSIONS

RESEARCH AREA	EXAMPLES
TRADITIONALS	
Working-Class Proletarian	Mays, Willmott, Kerr, Spinley, Paneth, Young and Willmott.
Working-Class Deferential	Stacey, Littlejohn.
Middle-Class	Stacey, Birch.
NON-TRADITIONALS	
Working-Class Privatized.	Willmott and Young, Musgrove, Mitchell and Lupton, Stacey, Willmott, Mays.
Middle-Class	Watson, Willmott and Young, Musgrove, Birch, Stacey.

TABLE 3

A. Traditional Groups

(i) Traditional working-class

Lockwood defines two types of worker in this category. Firstly, the traditional worker of the 'proletarian' category whose image of society takes the form of a power model; and secondly, the 'deferential' worker whose social consciousness is one of status hierarchy.

(a) The 'proletarian' worker is usually found in communities comparatively isolated from the wider society in such industries as mining, shipbuilding, and docking. In their work role workers have a high degree of involvement in their jobs, strong attachments to their work mates, and a high degree of autonomy from supervisory constraints. This carried over to their community life which Lockwood calls "occupational communities". Work associations carry over to leisure activities. The mark of the community is the closeknit friendship pattern of neighbours, relatives, and workmates. The reinforcing sentiment is that of "belongingness to a work dominated community". This is based upon a reinforcing system of interpersonal influence. The community is predominantly one class with low rates of geographical or occupational mobility (Lockwood, p. 251).

Most of the studies from educational sources come into this category of community. Almost without exception the conclusion from these studies was that, not only have the communities been indifferent to the educational welfare of their children, but that there was a conflict in values between the school and the community. Mays found that the Crown Street area was opposed to the values of the school, although there were some differences amongst the three sub-areas described. In the study of Bethnal Green reported in 1958, it seemed that a small proportion of parents

were keen, not just to secure a better job for their children, but to secure a job which required better schooling. Schooling was seen as a means to an end and around half of those interviewed wished grammar or technical education for their children. Further research carried out and reported in 1966 did not suggest any greater interest by parents in their children's education. Some were encouraging, some indifferent, and some actively discouraging. The author suggested that the neighbourhood values were not in line with those of the school, a situation which led to early drop out and early leaving (Willmott, 1966, p. 88). A study carried out in a miner's community came to a similar conclusion regarding education. Many families placed high value on education on the belief that it was a means to occupational success. However, they were unaware of the demands education made and were unable to give the kind of support which was required for academic success (Dennis, et al, p. 234-236). A negative attitude towards scholarship was reflected in the comment from one respondent in Kerr's "Ship Street". The lady concerned remarked that she was "glad Ellen did not get it (scholarship to a grammar school). She had seen too many children spoilt. It goes to their head and they no longer know the children who were their friends and with whom they used to play" (p. 110). In Ship Street it was the norm for children to leave school as soon as possible to get a job (p. 68). In another working-class area, Spinley observed the incongruence between the values of the child and the school, and the lack of scholistic attainment. Boys were not pushed to the same extent as girls and, in fact, Spinley could not find one boy in his sample who had been to a grammar school (p. 54). Paneth suggested that the demands imposed in schools or by any other authority were meaningless to the community. The behaviour expected of children was alien to the standards which governed their behaviour in other

aspects of their life. For instance, respect for rules was not internalised and it was difficult for the children to respect or interpret the rules laid down by the school (pp. 46-52). This "culture conflict" was evident in the work of Mays who suggested that the values of the school and the community were antithetical and provoked negative responses from each group (1965, Ch. 9)

(b) The 'deferential worker' is found in small towns and rural areas although he is not absent in urban areas. This category of workers includes those in service occupations, craft jobs, small scale family enterprises, and agricultural employment. Their work brings them in direct association with their employer or other white collar personnel, a process which prevents the development of a strong association with fellow workers. Job involvement is high and work ties with the employer are personal and particularistic. This strong feeling of hierarchy is sharpened by features of community life which is made up of a number of overlapping status groups arranged hierarchically. Membership is determined by a complex pattern of social acceptance based upon sub-cultural differences. Members are judged upon their membership of those various groups, criteria of membership being associated with, but not wholly determined by, occupational status (Lockwood, p. 253).

A number of community studies have been carried out in which the characteristics of the deferential worker are displayed (1). Few deal explicitly with the value placed on education. In Banbury the implications of a grammar school education was clearly understood by both traditional and non-traditional working-class. (Stacey, p. 140). However, only one instance is examined for its importance

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(1) For example Emmett, I. A North Wales village; Elias, N., and Scotson, J.L.P. The Established and the Outsider; and Williams, W.M. The Sociology of an English Village.

to differentiate traditionals from non-traditionals. One traditional worker was not troubled when his son failed to get a grammar school place, whereas a non-traditional worker was anxious that his son should get a place and was delighted when he did. In another study carried out in a rural area in the south of Scotland, by Littlejohn, the working class had no special regard for education but held that their children should have the same opportunities as any other group. On the other hand, the property owners (farmers) were indignant that the working class should expect any schooling after thirteen, hoding that this experience makes them reject rural life, and leads to rural depopulation. Local professionals agreed to this in part but held that those children with ability should be given some chance to attend the secondary school (p. 108).

(ii) Traditional Middle-Class

The traditional middle-class group incorporate the independent professionals and entrpreneurs and to some extent the 'blocked' or 'satisfied' white collar professional worker. They are community bound to the extent that, although they are involved in their occupation, they are unlikely to move from the town and consequently support the local value system. They are also most likely to make business connections through their positions in local affairs. Business and leisure may be difficult to differentiate. They are involved in an interactional system which is closely related to their work community relationship. They are most likely to live in mixed occupational communities but unlike the non-traditional middle-class will view these as opportunities to advance business and other interests (1).

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(1) In Banbury there were so many cross-threads in personal reltionships that business, social, political, religious and family life were intimately connected. To a great extent the same people met in every case or the amount of overlapping was sufficient for behaviour in one field to be known in the other. (Stacey, p. 168).

In the community system they are likely to hold the important positions of responsibility and leadership, a situation which is ensured by the local status system which allocates responsibilities according to 'who you are'. This description embraces Banbury and Glossop.

The middle-class educational pattern of Banbury is traditional (Stacey, p. 140-142). Children are sent to the day private primary school and then to a small public or boarding school, if they are unable to get a place in the state grammar school. In the upper middle-class no case was found of parents taking advantage of state education. They sent their children to a pre-preparatory school and later to board at a public school. In Glossop no indication was given of the preference of this group of people for a particular type of school. The study suggested that middle-class children, as an undifferentiated group, are proportionately more likely to attend a grammar school, than their working class counterparts.

B. Non-Traditional Groups

It will be realised from the earlier analysis of the affect of occupational mobility upon the social structure of the community that both the non-traditional working-class and the non-traditional middle-class had experienced residential mobility. However, it was more likely that the middle-class group had experienced occupational mobility, a feature which would affect their model of society. Lockwood suggested that the middle-class model of society would be hierarchical, but would differ in many respects from the hierarchical model held by the deferential worker (Lockwood, p. 265, note 24). The present argument maintains that there will also be differences between the models held by the non-traditional and traditional middle-class.

(i) Non-traditional working-class

The non-traditional working-class is usually found in low cost

housing estates, in property rented privately, or in local authorities housing estates. Attachments to work are instrumental and community relations privatised. The work role describes minimal involvement in the job, and attachments to workmates or to the workplace are small. Work is seen as a means to an end, not as a "central life interest". Work is performed for its financial rewards. The technology of the work shop isolates the worker from his workmates and cohesive work groups are not formed. Workers are not involved in occupational communities and community relations are not sustained by longstanding work relationships. Lack of facilities which encourage participation in common activities, and the workers inability to create patterns of sociability, leads to a home-centred life. This favours the development of a status system based upon conspicuous consumption, a person being judged by what he owns rather than by the evaluation of his personal characteristics as described by his membership of various overlapping status groups. "Face to face" relationships have been superseded by "window to window" relationships (Lockwood, p. 257).

In Greenleigh, a community which fits into this category, the proportion of parents who wanted to send their children to a grammar school was no different from that of Bethnal Green, the community of origin of the families studied (Young and Willmott, p. 178). This contrasted with Woodford, a new community on the outskirts of London, where the working-class parents were as keen as the middle-class that their children should do well at school (Willmott and Young, p. 114). This adds weight to Eggleston's thesis that manual workers who lived in predominantly middle-class communities, were more likely to adopt a middle-class orientation to education (Eggleston, 1967, pp. 34-35). Musgrove and Taylor who made a detailed study of two schools, one in a municipal housing estate,

the other in a privately owned housing estate, found that only slightly more than half of the working-class group from the municipal housing estate expressed preference for a grammar school education for their children. They did, however, express the wish that the school should train desirable patterns of behaviour such as obedience, respect for elders, honesty, steadiness, truthfulness, respectability, and the curbing of bad language (1969, Ch. 3). In Mitchell and Lupton's study of housing estates no comment was forthcoming about education, although there was conflict between the "roughs" and the "respectables", the former preventing the latter from bringing up their children as they wanted (p. 59). In Banbury no difference was made between traditionals and non-traditionals except in the case of two workers. The traditional worker showed indifference towards grammar school education, whereas the non-traditional worker was most anxious that his son should attend a grammar school, although the boy left before he was sixteen. An interesting feature about the non-traditional worker was that he was a strong trade-unionist who was convinced that his son was victimised by his headmaster for political reasons. Perhaps the group of non-traditional workers with strong trade-union affiliations will adopt a proletarian model rather than an hierarchical model of society.

Willmott's study of Dagenham is of some interest as it investigated the second generation of a municipal housing estate. In contrast to the first generation housing estates such as Greenleigh, where behavioural patterns followed the non-traditional patterns outlined earlier, the second generation of Dagenham had re-emerged with a set of norms and values similar to those which described the traditional proletarian worker. This study suggested that the adaptation to changed social and economic

circumstances, which encouraged the development of an attributional status system, may give way in the second generation to one based upon interaction, especially where the population remained relatively unchanged. When one compares family life in Greenleigh and Dagenham it is found that the former adopted a home centred, individuated style of life with family responsibilities being shared by husband and wife. In the latter the husband and wife led separate existencies. In Dagenham, the husband's social life extended beyond the home to his peer group whilst the wife's was centred upon friends, neighbours, and above all the daughter (Willmott, p. 111). This pattern is similar to that described as traditional. So far as education is concerned the mother may assume sole responsibility for bringing up the children being the important home figure in the development of the child's educational aspirations.

Finally, some urban areas may be partly composed of a mobile population who reside in the area for a limited period of time during which large numbers are unemployed. Part of Mays' Crown Street area would come into this category. It is significant that this group were most indifferent to their children's schooling. Schools in the less stable and less rooted areas gained fewer examination successes and parents showed less interest in the work of the school (Mays, 1965, p. 186-187). In Merton's terms this group may constitute the true aliens in society. (Merton, 1968, p. 207). As a drifting population they are in the society but not of it. Their reaction to society is more likely to be reflected in indifference than in conflict.

(ii) Non-traditional middle-class

This group includes the managerial, professional, and administrative group of workers whose careers for the most part are

provided by large scale enterprises which ensure opportunities for advancement through the hierarchical structure of the organisation, promotion often being accompanied by residential mobility (1). This combination of occupational and residential mobility is called "spiralism", and Watson, who coined the term, suggested that "this mobility in career and residence common to many professional people has significant social consequences, for it affects both the organisation for which they work and the communities in which they live" (Watson, p. 147). This group differ from the privatised workers by the fact that residential mobility is most likely to be determined by their careers.

Lockwood suggests that this group are likely to find their work intrinsically rewarding and to identify with both their colleagues and their occupational milieux. They are involved in interactional status systems and although they live in occupationally mixed communities, they tend to make friends amongst their occupational group. They differ from their traditional middle-class counterparts in that their interactional status system is based upon the criteria of achievement in occupational life rather than upon acceptance in social life. Status is based upon the possession of a number of sub-cultural characteristics some of which are based on achievement, others upon ascription (2).

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(1) No distinction is made between the lower paid white collar and the professional and managerial groups. This is due to the suggestion put forward by Goldthorpe and Lockwood that this group may earn smaller incomes than the manual group of workers, but in interactional and relational terms their style of life will resemble the higher paid white collar group (Goldthorpe et al, 1967, p. 22). C.f. Goldthorpe and Lockwood, 1962, for the defining characteristics of class membership.

(2) In Banbury the non-traditionalist was less concerned with local social acceptance than the traditionalist. Friendship patterns were narrower and membership of formal organisations were entered into as a means of developing or testing skills, rather than for the purpose of meeting people. Witness the conflict at the tennis club between traditionalists and non-traditionalists. Traditionalists were opposed to competitive tennis. Unlike the non-traditionalist they viewed the game, not as an exercise of physical prowess, but as a means of consolidating longstanding friendships (Stacey, p. 18).

In Woodford (Willmott and Young, p. 113) the middle-class group valued education for its own sake - to make the best use of the children's ability. This compares favourably with the middle-class group in Musgrove and Taylor's study (1969, Ch. 3), where ninety per cent favoured a grammar school education, but stressed education according to the child's interests and ability. In Woodford education according to ability was tempered with the realisation that gaining entrance to a grammar school opened the way to university and the professions (1). In Banbury the non-traditionalists followed the middle-class traditionalists' pattern by sending their children to private schools, a process which they envisaged would pass on their achieved status, freeing their children from the limitations of status from which the parents had risen. This would give the children more chance of upward mobility than they could hope for themselves. Middle-class traditionalists who had worked their way up in business held a similar view (Stacey, p. 141). In Glossop, no distinction was made between the traditional and non-traditional in terms of education. Distinction was made between working-class and middle-class children to show that the children of middle-class parents have proportionately better chances of attending a grammar school than their working-class counterparts.

3. The Social Context of the School and Educational Values

This analysis of the social context of the school in relation to educational values has proved a useful sociological device to highlight two dimensions of community social structure which aid the clarification of sociological differences between different types of community. This sociological analysis indicates the need to question the validity of demographic and geographic indices of the community context of schools which may not point to sub-cultural differences in orientation to education. Evidence from this

(1) This was especially true amongst the lower paid white collar workers. C.f. Willmott and Young, p. 113.

chapter suggests that patterns of social relationships and sub-cultural differences cannot be tied to specific geographical contexts and that the form these differences take will be influenced by home and work situations. It is not suggested that the community conceived in these terms is the causal factor which explains differences in values relating to education at school level. It is argued that the community conceived in sociological terms will provide a more illuminating indication of community expectations than those described in geographical or demographical terms. The use of the two dimensions is more of a sociological strategy than an assertion of reality. Further enquiries may reveal other factors at local level which will affect educational values.

However, the evidence from this chapter indicates that the changing occupational structure with its concomitant effect on social and occupational mobility may significantly influence patterns of social integration and social control. This process may have some bearing upon educational values. For instance in the style of life personified in the privatised worker, the mode of social integration will move from the situation where social control is mediated through a common system of beliefs and values which produces detailed regulation of conduct in traditional working class communities, to one in which the immediate family will be more responsible for the behavioural responses of their children (1). Where these responses are indeterminate or weak, children may turn to their peer group as a source of values and beliefs, including those related to education. (Hargreaves, p. 149, Eggleston, 1967, p. 106). This may be true of both traditional and non-traditional

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(1) For a discussion of the concept "style of life" see Burns, T., (1967) "a meaning in everyday life", New Society, 25th May, 1967. For an empirical example of its use see Ginzberg, E. (1966) The Life-Styles of Educated Women, New York: Columbia University Press.

communities, although in non-traditional communities in the absence of a commonly accepted system of values, the peer group influence may become the primary determining factor in modifying or reinforcing educational values.

So far as the middle-class group is concerned the detailed conduct of children will be constrained by a normative climate which places high value on education. This may be particularly evident amongst the professional and managerial group whether occupationally mobile, occupationally blocked, or occupationally rooted in one community who have no established businesses to pass on to their children. However, local entrepreneurs may view the development of skills and knowledge as important features in the continued survival of their business enterprises. The schooling of children may be significantly related to this factor.

Finally, this chapter indicates that the effective study of the school depends upon placing it in its social environment. This factor was recognised by both Parsons and Perrow, although neither offered specific methodological strategies for assessing educational values. This chapter offers some information of the conditions and circumstances which might influence those values.

CONCLUSION

This study has concentrated upon the role of sociology in the organisational design of school systems and one of the avenues, teaching, through which this knowledge is diffused to those involved in school systems of education. It was assumed that the sociological perspective would alert educators to some of the sociological factors which would be the source of organisational-linked educational problems. It did not deal with the sociologist in the role of consultant or adviser to school systems, with the use of specific strategies to effect educational change, nor with the problem of collaborative relationships between sociologists and educationists.

The overview of the organisational and community features of school systems indicated that the intellectual basis of this work was restricted by the limited scope of sociological research into the organisational structure of the school. The discontinuous nature of this research signified the need to develop a comprehensive framework on which to order existing research, one which identified the structural features of school systems which might be the source of organisational problems. This would offer clues to problems which were generic to school systems, and to some of the consequences which would be most likely to occur with the introduction of planned educational change. It was found that the judicious use of theoretical concepts, ideas, and research findings from other areas of sociological research provided a fruitful additional source of information which highlighted some of the structural features of school systems.

The study demonstrates that the informed use of sociological findings contributes to all phases of school life from goal setting to goal implementation. No strategies were specifically offered to deal with educational problems, but some indication was given of the conditions and circumstances which should be considered when

diagnosing educational problems and implementing educational goals.

The sociological perspective challenged two aspects of goal formulation. Firstly, the work of Gross, N. and others challenged the assumption that teachers, pupils, parents, and others who are involved in school systems held similar views about educational goals. In state schools it was asserted that there was not a high degree of consensus over the goals of the school; whereas in public schools Lambert maintained that members of the organisation set shared similar views in relation to the objectives of schools. However, disagreement or agreement over organisational goals is still relatively unexplored in schools in this country. Secondly, the theoretical orientation put forward by Etzioni (1960) questioned the validity of the arbitrary definition of goals. Educationists overlooked the organisational and community variables which influenced the attainment of organisational goals. The recognition and understanding of the complex set of factors which influenced the functioning of schools, provided an objective basis on which to formulate the goals of the school. This would be supplemented by the educator's knowledge of non-sociological variables which would have some influence upon school functioning.

If the sociological perspective made a contribution to goal formulation it also indicated a number of conditions which could influence the implementation of these goals. The distinction between external and internal-directed problems was fairly clear cut. The fact that the school existed within an administrative as well as social environment exposed the school to a number of problems which affected its functioning. Problems were likely to arise when members of the community, whether educational administrators or other interested persons, attempted to interfere with the decision making processes of the school. It was demonstrated by Parsons and Bidwell

that the school required a measure of autonomy to make decisions which were in the best interests of the children as well as the public constituency. Chapter 5, "The Social Context of the School", also suggested that the implementation of educational goals would be influenced by the social composition of the school's catchment area. Schools in middle-class areas were more likely to be supportive of the educational goals of the school, whilst those in working-class areas were more likely to place low value upon education. There was evidence to suggest that this held true in both traditional and non-traditional communities although the locus of these values was likely to differ in each. For instance, traditional working-class communities were governed by complex and inflexible systems of norms and values which produced detailed regulation of conduct. These values placed a low premium on education.

Internally, two problem areas arose, the first at administrator-teacher level, the second at teacher-pupil level. Firstly, both Parsons and Bidwell maintained that schools were expected to achieve a minimal level of educational attainment, a process which required some control over what went on in the classroom. This was ensured by rational procedures to facilitate the sequential co-ordination of classroom activities. Teachers, on the other hand, were confronted with children who showed marked differences in aptitude and ability. It was necessary to assess subtle variations in behaviour and adjust teaching techniques accordingly. This entailed a measure of functional autonomy over what was taught in classrooms, and made the control and co-ordination of classroom activities problematic.

Secondly, both Hargreaves and Gordon indicated that children enter school compulsorily, and it was likely that the youth culture of the school would be organised around the immediate interests of the children. Where children's values were opposed to the school,

teachers were exposed to the problems of ensuring that the children's educational level would conform to their abilities.

The study also indicated that the functional approach employed, in particular by Parsons, under-rated the effect of change, both planned and unplanned, upon the structure of social relations in schools and upon the goals of schools. Unplanned change related to social processes over which the school had no control but which affected the functioning of the school. Planned change related to contrived schemes to improve educational practice. These plans often met with unanticipated consequences. The distinction between external and internal problems was again fairly clear cut.

Analysis from a number of community studies indicated that the composition of the catchment areas of schools may be changing due to the process of residential and occupational mobility. It was hypothesised that these changes would have an effect upon the non-traditional working-class and their values relating to education. This group, who predominantly lived in low cost private houses or in local authority housing estates, had no commonly accepted system of norms and values, in contrast to their traditional working-class counterparts. In these communities the immediate family became more responsible for the behavioural responses of the children including values relating to education. Where the home background of children was indifferent to the values of the school it was likely that the peer group would become the important source of beliefs and values including these relating to education. Where secondary education was reorganised along comprehensive lines and the catchment areas of schools became more homogeneous, Eggleston suggested that it was conceivable that the peer group could become the most important source of decisions relating to education, especially where home background was indifferent to schooling.

The presence of unselected clients may have a crucial effect upon the successful attainment of the goals of the school. It also may lead to their modification or transformation. Schools as organisations are ensured of a steady flow of clientele and normally their existence is assured. Where the school has no control over its intake the work of Gouldner suggested that it may develop adaptive mechanisms to deal with those pupils whose values are opposed to those of the school. The present writer has knowledge of a school in Leicestershire which employed a system of segregation to minimise disruptions. Boys, in the fourth form who were in their last term of school continually violated the rules of good conduct in schools and adversely affected the functioning of the school. They were segregated into a single form for all school activities and supervised principally by one teacher who had few control difficulties. In other circumstances these boys may be placed in the lower streams of the school. For some groups of children circumstances enforce the modification of the school goals.

Pressure of environmental restraints was also apparent in the study carried out in a junior college in America by Clark, a process which led to the transformation of the original organisational goal. Vocational training was the original objective of the college. Pressure from students who wanted to follow a curriculum course which led to university transfer forced the college to emphasise curriculum over vocational courses. This diverted the college from its original goal.

Within schools planned changes are taking place which effect the task structure as well as the non-task related social structure. For instance, the movement to team teaching has important consequences for personnel in the school. The approach of Perrow and Bernstein indicated that it could have a far reaching effect upon

the co-ordination and control of teaching activities. Co-ordination of teaching activities would require co-operative efforts from teachers from different subjects, a process which might undermine both individual and departmental patterns of autonomy. However, it was demonstrated that the loss of individual power would be replaced by a greater measure of collective power of teachers in determining major decisions relating to teaching tasks. This could provide problems in the co-ordination of these activities by the administrative staff. In some schools this problem was overcome by the appointment of a senior member of staff whose specific job was to co-ordinate the teaching activities of the members of the teaching team.

Knowledge of both planned and unplanned changes are useful to anticipate some of the difficulties which schools are likely to encounter in the contemporary education scene. However, the recognition of community and organisational-linked sources of educational problems is only valuable if the school is in a position to manipulate or influence those variables considered important. The study by Hargreaves of Lumley Secondary School illustrated these points although it was not specifically formulated as an evaluative study of the organisational effectiveness of the school. He recognised that the school was influenced by a number of organisational and community forces which affected the outcome of the educational process. He focussed upon one organisational feature over which the school had some control, streaming. It was the source of operational problems at Lumley. Streaming was responsible for the process of sub-cultural differentiation in the school, and it had a fundamental affect upon the educative process and prevented the attainment of both the academic and social goals of the school. In the section of his study which dealt with "Implications for Education",

he offered a number of suggestions to overcome the problems experienced in the school. It was conceived that these suggestions or strategies, if adopted, would lead to the school's greater effectiveness in achieving its goals. It was not the purpose of the study to evaluate the effect of streaming upon the social processes of the school, and to suggest strategies to minimise organisational disruptions, so that there was little information regarding the staff's receptiveness to Hargreaves' suggestions for preventing or minimising organisational problems which accompanied the process of streaming. However, the lack of receptivity to one piece of advice to minimise organisational disruption indicated another important problem in organisational design, the gap between research findings, advice for action, and action itself.

Hargreaves' one piece of unequovical advice to prevent sub-cultural differentiation was to abandon the system of streaming. This strategy was unacceptable to the staff of Lumley. Alternative strategies were put forward which might be acceptable to the school without too much disruption of the present organisational framework, but no report was made of the way these were received by the staff.

The negative response of the staff to the abandonment of streaming touched upon a sensitive area of educational pedagogy. It would have been interesting to know whether strategies which touched upon less central aspects of the educational process, such as the re-organisation of extra-curricular activities to ensure co-operative relationships, would have aroused such opposition.

The implications of this study for organisational design are extremely important. If a sociologist carries out a study of the effectiveness of the school and suggests strategies which are not practical, unanticipated, or controversial, he may leave the

educational system not only with the original problem, but with the additional problem of what to do with the additional information.

Clearly when the sociologist moves out of the security of the lecture room and into the world of empirical research into organisational design, he may encounter a number of problems in translating his research findings into lines of action which are acceptable to the educational system. In this country, sociologists of education may have anticipated a number of these difficulties, and decided to concentrate upon less controversial areas of organisational analysis. Certainly King indicated that it was unethical for sociologists to become involved in evaluative studies of schools. He maintained that educational decision-making was the prerogative of the educationist. This limited the utility of sociology in the organisational design of school systems. It is possible, without incurring unusual problems of value ambivalence, for sociologists to carry out evaluative studies of schools and contribute to greater organisational effectiveness. They have been undertaken in other organisational fields. Hargreaves' study offered a beginning. Even although it was not conceived to solve organisational problems it would be interesting to find out the relative utility of his proposed strategies to effect organisational change. This would prove invaluable to the development of lines of action for schools which experienced similar problems.

To sum up. Increasingly sociologists are being used in colleges and universities in the assumption that their skills and knowledge will materially improve the training of teachers and educational administrators. Unfortunately there has been a lack of curiosity amongst sociologists of education to go beyond their scholarly endeavours to bring their competences to bear upon specific educational problems of school systems. Admittedly, a number have

carried out empirical studies of schools and offered a more objective assessment of the interpersonal factors which affect the functioning of schools. Few have become involved in deliberations and decisions relating to the development of educational policy. This is a sensitive area of organisational design and sociologists must not create expectations which they cannot fulfil. Nevertheless, sociologists have the opportunity to show that their theoretical ideas and research findings can penetrate beyond a superficial level and have direct application for problems of practice. Developments in this direction would counter the often raised criticism that sociology is an academic discipline with no direct application to practical situations. This is not an argument for compulsive involvement neglecting other areas of sociological endeavour.

This study has outlined some of the resources available to those involved in the teaching role to indicate some of the organisational and community-linked sources of educational problems. Others might turn profitably to the empirical study of organisational effectiveness to offer specific strategies to alleviate organisational disturbances in schools. This will involve them in collaborative relationships with educationists, an intellectual encounter which may be the source of further problems. Knowledge of these may prove vital to the successful utilisation of the findings of sociology.

APPENDIX

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL AS AN ORGANISATION (1)

Perrow argued that it was unwarranted to assume that the major variable was being held constant when comparing several schools, unless the singular technologies of each of the schools was considered. His observations suggested that the technologies employed by schools will affect the task structures, the social structure, and the goals of schools.

Technology

Perrow indicated that, although a number of aspects of technology were important in some contexts, for his purpose he was only concerned with two which were directly relevant to organisational structure. Firstly, the number of exceptional cases encountered in the work, and secondly, the search process which took place when exceptions occurred. This is an inadequate basis for comparing the educational technologies of different types of schools. The absence of empirical investigations makes the interpretation of these aspects of technology impossible to formulate. However, there is some evidence, mostly of an ideological nature, which differentiates schools according to their routine or non-routine character, differences which can be described in terms of the type of educational technology employed.

To illustrate these differences a hypothetical comparison will be made between two "types" of comprehensive school, one utilising a routine, the other a non-routine technology (2). Both schools will be non-selective, drawing their pupils from similar socio-economic status catchment areas. This will control differences in intellectual abilities assuming that the schools draw from a normally

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(1) Based upon the paper by Perrow, C., (1967), "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organisations", American Sociological Review, Vol. 32.

(2) See accompanying model of the "Parts" of routine and non-routine schools at the end of this appendix.

distributed population, and for divergences in receptiveness to schooling which may be affected by differences in social class backgrounds.

1. Educational Technology

Basic to the analysis of educational technology is the assumption that the teaching situation must allow persistent interaction between teacher and child. This will permit teachers to assess subtle variations in behaviour and adjust teaching techniques accordingly (Bidwell, p. 975). However, the principles underlying the pedagogical approach to teaching may vary. Bernstein in his penetrating paper "Open schools, Open Society" suggested that these principles might be changing, although they existed at an ideological rather than a substantive level. The change was evident in some schools, or with different age groups within schools. The changing pedagogy emphasised the teacher as a problem poser where knowledge was created in the context of self discovery. This contrasted with the pedagogy which was concerned with the learning of standard operations in specific contexts (p. 352). The former, in this section, will be denoted by the term "non-routine", the latter by the term "routine". In routine schools the organisation of teaching will be based upon ability groupings each class or group being taught by a different teacher for each subject. In non-routine schools there will be some integration between subjects the focus being on interdisciplinary enquiry in which some form of team teaching will be employed. Although there are many interpretations of team teaching, in this discussion it will be confined to the selection of a set number of teachers for a prescribed number of children. The teaching group will offer a wide range of professional skills. The pupil group will be undifferentiated in terms of ability.

2. Environment of routine and non-routine technologies

In routine schools pupils will be fixed in sets or classes according to ability, each set or class having a fixed number of pupils. A single teacher will be assigned to each group for a specific period of time. There will be fixed classrooms for each subject and pupils will move to different classrooms for each subject. In non-routine schools pupils will be placed in heterogeneous ability groups, and the number in each group, and the time spent with each group, will depend upon the nature of the task set. Teaching space will not be confined to specific classrooms and will be adapted to the requirements of the teaching task.

Within this context it can be expected that teachers will encounter a number of exceptions in both routine and non-routine schools, but these will be greater in the non-routine. In routine schools, with timetables and teaching tasks geared to some form of examination and pupils streamed according to ability, exceptional circumstances will be less likely to be encountered. Search processes in this highly structured situation will depend upon the insights and experience of individual teachers and will be related to the narrowly prescribed curficulum. In non-routine schools where pupils will be grouped according to their individual needs which will be determined by the nature of the teaching tasks and the aptitudes of individual children, exceptional circumstances will be more likely to occur. In turn the search process will be more complex in determining the educational needs of each individual child. Teachers will be unlikely to work in isolation and some form of co-operative effort will be required to diagnose the type of programme to offer to children, and the strategies to be employed to ensure educational improvement. Programmed learning machines may be employed to ensure some predictability of outcome.

3. Task Structure

Task structure, according to Perrow, was defined in terms of differences in control and co-ordination. Control was broken up into two components; the degree of discretion an individual or group possessed; and the power of an individual or group to mobilise scarce resources and to control definitions of various situations. Discretion involved judgements about whether close supervision was required on teaching tasks; about the need to change the curriculum; and about the interdependence of teaching tasks. Power involved choices regarding basic goals or strategies.

In routine schools which will be orientated to some kind of examination system, discretion will be limited with regard to the subjects taught. Where the educational outcome is prescribed and the teacher and teaching group converge in the isolation of the single classroom, close supervision of teaching tasks will be the norm. Interdependence of teaching tasks will be unnecessary in this highly structured situation.

The power of the teacher or of a teaching group to influence basic goals or strategies in the routine school will be organised in terms of subject departments, and the distribution of this power will depend upon the importance attached to each subject.

In non-routine schools it can be expected that the topic centred interdisciplinary enquiry will require a greater interdependence between teachers, and between teachers and taught. The division of labour between teachers will rely upon the expertise of individual teachers and upon their willingness to co-operate in making use of their skills in a variety of different situations with groups of children which will vary in size and ability. Children will be expected to undertake a number of tasks without the close supervision characteristic of the routine school. Discretion

with regard to teaching tasks will be exercised in a different way from that in the routine school. In the former discretion will not be limited by a prescribed examination system which will determine the choice of subjects to be taught, but by the necessity of co-operating with other teachers in determining what will be taught to what category of pupil.

Choices regarding basic goals and strategies will rest in the collective response of the teaching staff although it will be difficult to determine the location of major policy decisions as distinct from day to day operational decisions. The allocation of teaching staff and teaching groups may change in non-routine schools but the method of allocating responsibilities will still be delegated to heads of departments who will be given additional financial allowances for this specific responsibility. Unless the method of allocating responsibilities changes it could be proposed that power will continue to lie in the hands of subject departments, a possibility which may encourage interdepartmental antagonisms and undermine the success of interdisciplinary enquiry.

Co-ordination of task related activities in routine schools will be achieved by planning whereas non-routine schools will be largely dependent upon feedback.

4. Social Structure

Perrow suggested that the social structure, or the non-task related aspects of organisational structure, would be one of four types all of which were present in all organisations although the saliency varied. They were; firstly, social identity or communal social structures born of long tenure and close working relationships; secondly, goal identification based upon the mission of the organisation; thirdly, work or task identification based upon technical satisfactions; and fourthly, instrumental identity based upon such exigencies as

job security, pay, and protection from arbitrary power. In schools the first and third may approximate to Gouldner's "local" and "cosmopolitan" respectively in which close working relationships will be characteristic of "locals" and technical satisfactions characteristic of "cosmopolitans". Goal identification or the mission of the organisation will be high in most types of schools, although it will be much higher in "progressive" schools such as A.S. Neil's "Summerhill". The fourth category will be unlikely to apply to any type of school in this country.

5. Goals

Perrow identified three types of organisational goals. Firstly, system goals which related to the characteristics of the system as a whole. Secondly, product characteristic goals which related to the product the organisation decided to emphasise. Thirdly, derived goals which referred to the uses to which power generated by the organisation could be put independent of the other two goals.

In routine schools system goals will emphasise organisational stability, few risks, and examination success. Product goals will reflect little innovation, quantity rather than quality, superficial transformation of behaviour patterns, such as the acceptance of discipline, rather than the restructuring of character. Derived goals will reflect a conservative stance in routine schools. Non-routine schools on the other hand will be less influenced by examination success, will take more risks, and will expect a certain degree of organisational flux. Innovation will be encouraged, quality will be advocated at the expense of quantity, and basic character transformation will be approved. Non-routine schools will be progressive.

Although Perrow's perspective ignored the role of cultural and social environments in defining the characteristics of pupils and

the organisational goals and functional processes of different types of schools, he provided some provocative ideas regarding the possible effects of technological change on the task structure, social structure, and goals of schools. Some of the implications of these ideas will be discussed in the concluding chapter where both the organisational consequences and the possible organisational obstructions to such changes will be discussed.

ROUTINE	NON-ROUTINE
1. Educational technology -	
(a) Standard operations in specific contexts.	(a) Interdisciplinary enquiry involving team teaching.
2. Technological environment -	
(a) Fixed sets or classes.	(a) Variable numbers in groups.
(b) Ability groups.	(b) Mixed ability groups.
(c) Fixed classroom.	(c) No fixed classroom.
(d) Fixed periods of time per class.	(d) Variable work periods.
3. Task Structure -	
I Control	
(i) Discretion -	
(a) Little control over changes in curriculum.	(a) Control over curriculum high.
(b) Supervision of classes high.	(b) Supervision of classes low.
(c) Interdependence of teaching tasks low.	(c) Interdependence of teaching tasks high.
(ii) Power -	
(a) Departmental.	(a) Collective.
II Co-ordination	
(a) Plan.	(a) Feedback.
4. Social structure -	
(a) Admixture of goal and mission identity.	(a) Admixture of goal and mission identity.
5. Goals -	
(i) System	
(a) Organisational stability.	(a) Organisational flux.
(b) Few risks.	(b) Risk taking.
(c) Exam success.	(c) Individual success.
(ii) Product	
(a) Little innovation.	(a) Innovation.
(b) Quantity.	(b) Quality.
(c) Superficial transformation of pupils.	(c) Basic transformation of pupils.
(iii) Derived	
(a) Conservative.	(a) Progressive.

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