ABSTRACT
        Dominant theories of educational administration have
viewed the field as a rational and technical science concerned with
the bureaucratic control of education. These theories have recently
come under attack for ideological and empirical reasons. More current
theories characterize educational administration as less rational
objective, and structured and emphasize the "loose coupling" of the
units or events within education and the tighter coupling of
education as a whole with the external environment. The theory of
loose coupling can be taken a step further to the "cultural coupling"
theory maintaining that educational organizations, although they may
have tight internal coupling, respond not to technical or rational
demands but to the external demands of the surrounding culture. This
theory of cultural coupling refers to the employment of myths,
metaphors, and ceremonial categories as processes of coupling among
educational organizations and between these institutions and their
environments. This view of educational administration sees
administrators as negotiating cultural claims and legitimizing them
within the school. This model may help reconcile the long-standing
divergence of administrative theory from practice. (Author/JM)

ED206077

A 013 544

POWER AND THE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATOR:

BUREAUCRACY, LOOSE COUPLING OR CULTURAL NEGOTIATION?

Richard Bates

Deakin University

Australia

- 3217

Introduction

Models are persuasive. They not only explain, they also convince.
The language, metaphors and rituals they promote entrap us in particular
world views. Wittgenstein claimed for philosophers the task of preventing
'the bewitchment of our intelligence by the means of language', but
such a responsibility is one to be shared far more widely.

For some decades now the model dominant in the imaginations of
administrators has been derived from bureaucratic, positivistic,
systems theory. Fundamental to the model are the twin concepts of
scientific understanding and prediction and of technological production
and control. To judge from standard texts in administration the ubiquity
of the model allows its classification as an administrative equivalent
of Kuhn's (1962) notion of a 'normal science'. Certainly it appears
to have provided several generations of administrators with an 'ideal
typical' explanatory structure, a standardised method of analysis, a
legitimating ideology and a rhetoric of control.

Recently widespread dissatisfaction has developed with the
adequacy of the model's explanatory power, the accuracy of descriptions
based on its procedures of analysis, the neutralising effects of its
ideology and the inequity of its processes of control (Bates, 1980a,
1980b; Charters, 1978; Erickson, 1979; Foster, 1980).

Such dissatisfaction is not restricted to the field of educational
administration but is also to be heard within the debate over
management science and public administration (Clegg and
Dunkerley, 1977; Denhardt and Denhardt, 1979; Foster, 1980; Wood and
Kelly, 1978). The issue at the heart of this debate is identified in
Foster's assertion that:

> A critical evaluation of management science and
> administrative studies, including those pertinent
> to education, reveals a peculiar weakness, where,
> in the pursuit of scientific status, the cultural
> ramifications of functioning organisations are
> ignored.
>
> (Foster, 1980: 12)

3

It is the argument of this paper that recent challenges to the adequacy of scientific theory as a model for the analysis and practice of educational administration are the precursors of something akin to Kuhn's identification of a paradigm shift. It is further argued that this shift will rapidly take us through the labyrinth of loose-coupling towards an alternative understanding of administration as cultural negotiation.

The Dominant Paradigm

The traditionally dominant paradigm of educational administration has two faces. The first is turned towards the pursuit of a theory of administration based on models drawn from natural science. The particular features of this model emphasised by its advocates as desirable criteria which a scientific theory of educational administration should strive to meet are contained in a number of key ideas. These centre around ideals of a coherent and unified body of knowledge achieved through the impartial examination of theoretical approaches to reality which can be checked through objective measurement and observation conducted according to universally accepted criteria of truth and validity. Such ideas are argued by some as allowing the establishment of an agreed set of axioms from which a completely deductive theoretical system can be derived (Blalock, 1969; Griffiths, 1977; Hoy, 1978; cf. Bates, 1980a). The pursuit of such a 'scientific' model is continued by a number of academics but it is widely recognised that the quest for a scientific theory of educational administration is collapsing both under the weight of its own pretensions and in the face of serious challenges in its 'parent' field (Bates, 1980a; Griffiths, 1979; Halpin and Hayes, 1977).

The other face of the dominant model seems unlikely, however, to suffer a rapid eclipse. This second face is directed towards the achievement of a technology of control. Although couched in terms such

4

as scientific management (Taylor, 1911) and justified through appeals

to the logical positivism presumed to underlie scientific procedures

(Simon, 1965; March and Simon, 1958) the major thrust of theory in

educational administration has been towards a technology of control

(Bates, 1980b; 1980c; Foster, 1980; Giroux, 1979; Pusey, 1980, 1981).

Indeed the dominant conviction of educational administrators supported

by such theory seems to be that 'the essence of being a good technocrat

is to exercise control' (Wolcott, 1977: 159).

Such control is represented in the literature as a purely cognitive

activity where fact is separated from value, ends from means and a

neutral objectivity in decision making achieved (see Simon 1965; March

and Simon, 1958). In essence the technological face of the dominant

administrative model is one derived from Weber's (1946) model of bureacracy.

It is however dissociated from Weber's caveat that far from being a

neutral activity the:

> bureacratisation of administration is deliberately
> connected with the. . . existing groupings of power
> [whose concerns are] how to exploit the special knowledge
> of experts without having to abdicate in their favour.
> (Weber in Gerth and Mills, 1946: 235)

Such a model of administration not only ignores Weber's observation

but, through its claim to neutrality, disguises and perpetuates particular

hidden interests:

> While the interests behind the historical development
> of technocratic rationality are rather clear, it appears
> that the historical roots of its more contemporary
> versions have been forgotten. . .This form of social
> amnesia not only characterises technocratic rationality
> it also shapes the conditions under which it sustains
> itself.
>
> (Giroux, 1979: 14)

The pervasiveness of technological rationality is argued to be a

dominant feature of industrial and post-industrial societies (Habermas,

1968; Pusey, 1980, 1981). Its main features are related to the dominance

of a particular epistemology (logical positivism); a particular form of

explantion (systems theory); a particular system of production (capitalism)
and a particular form of depoliticized social control (representative
democracy) (Bates 1980b, 1980c; Bowers, 1978; Giroux, 1979; Habermas, 1968;
Popkewitz, 1978, 1979).

As far as administrative structures are concerned the main thrust
of technological rationality is towards a model of organisation in which

> the central feature: . .is the notion that complex social
> systems can be synthesised from smaller socio-technical
> units and that they can be controlled in what they do.
>
> (Ammentorp, Popper and Morris, 1979)

The mechanism through which such control is exercised is that of
hierarchy:

> Organisations like all systems have a hierarchical structure
> that results from factoring global objectives into a
> hierarchy of more manageable sub-objectives. What we
> view as organisational structure - the compartmentalisation
> of the organisations resources, and the responsibility for
> achieving assigned objectives - represents an effort to
> implement the results of the factoring process.
>
> (Emery, 1969; 21)

The logic of the approach is that of the factory where the
specification, production and integration of various components in the
construction of a complex whole is the task of the organisation. As
Ammentorp, Popper and Morris point out, the control structure is central
to the process.

> How. . .control problems are attacked in manufacturing
> organisations is easy enough to observe. Any complex
> product is the result of many sub-operations that,
> in the final assembly, appear as components. Each of
> these operations is capable of standing alone as a
> controllable activity. These sub-operations can
> themselves dealt with as units that are organisations
> further fractionated into components with an attending
> specialisation in the division of labour. It is here
> that principles of resource allocation and control are
> applied as management attempts to arrive at a finished
> product by some least-cost criteria.
>
> (Ammentorp, Popper and Morris, 1980; 85)

The importation of this form of technological or systems rationality into the theory and practice of educational administration is a matter of historical record (Bates, 1980c; Callaghan, 1962; Getzels, 1977; Katz, 1971, 1975; Tyack, 1974, 1977; Tyack and Hansot, 1980). Its contemporary home is clearly in the political/administrative arena of accountability, evaluation and control (Apple, 1979; Bates, 1981a; Murphy, 1980; Spady and Mitchell, 1980; Wise, 1980). Metaphors drawn from the language of control theory are pervasive in educational administration especially those deriving from production models (see Taylor, 1980). The model of technical production and control is ubiquitious and deeply seated in educational administration.

The two faces of theory in the dominant paradigm of educational administration - scientific prediction and technical control - meet therefore in the importation of technological rationality into the management of schooling. Adherence to the model is widespread.

Challenges to its supremacy are far more recent and have taken two distinct forms. The first challenge takes issue with ideological implications of the model and may be called, in a non-pejorative sense - the ideological challenge. The second challenge takes issue with the model's veracity as a description of educational systems and might well be called the empirical challenge. Both challenges lead towards a theory of educational administration based upon a cultural analysis of schooling.

The Ideological Challenge

The ideological challenge to systems models of technological rationality in educational administration is derived from challenges to its underlying premises. For the most part these premises are being challenged in the parent disciplines from which educational administration

7

has borrowed.

Firstly, the epistemological basis of the model of science adopted
by educational administrators is under attack in the world of science.
A number of philosophers of science have recently challenged the
adequacy of logical positivism as an exclusive foundation for understanding
the world (Feyerabend, 1975; Hanson, 1958; Kuhn, 1962; Lakatos and Musgrave,
1970; Polanyi, 1958; Polanyi and Prosch, 1975; Popper, 1963, 1972, 1976).
The range of criticism is considerable as is the variety of alternatives
advocated. These range from a denial of the objectivity of science (Polanyi
1958) through a position of conceptual relativism (Kuhn, 1962) to a position
of epistemological anarchism (Feyerabend, 1975). Others, while rejecting
the claims of logical positivism to be an exclusive means to truth, also
reject the extreme claims of the epistemological relativists (Popper, 1962;
Phillips, 1977; Toulmin, 1972). What is clear is that the epistemology
which underpins the paradigm of normal science on which many of the attempts
to derive a scientific theory of educational administation are based is
by no means as secure as was assumed.

Secondly, the model of systems theory is under attack for its
assumption of consensus (which is frequently regarded as a gloss on the
interests of dominant social groups), its emphasis on stability and
equilibrium (and thus its support of most forms of the status quo), and
above all for its model of society as a self-regulating, essentially
technological rather than historical system (see Gouldner, 1976). The
dominance of systems theory as a model of social events is regarded as
a 'negative utopia of technical control over history' (Habermas, 1971) in
which:

> Man appears not only as homo-faber objectifying himself
> in his achievements and products, but as homo-fabricatus
> totally integrated into his technical apparatus.
>
> (McCarthy, 1978; 10-11)

8

Indeed the integration of logical positivism with systems theory leads to a specific social stance which gives great offence to many critics: implicit support for conservative social orders and an antipathy to change (Horkheimer, 1974).

Thirdly, critics have argued that underlying the principles of production in a capitalist society is a system of exchange which inevitably leads to the alienation of substantial numbers of individuals who are treated as objects or inputs into a system of production rather than as people who are capable of communal and historical activity. Moreover the pursuit of profit as the fundamental objective of capitalism is argued to be increasingly difficult and potentially in conflict with the democratic political institutions with which it has been historically associated (Edwards, 1979; Habermas, 1976; Wright, 1978). The argument leads to the fourth challenge. That is to the incompatibility of ideas of participatory democracy with those of technically managed social structure. The legitimation crisis produced by this conflict has been widely discussed (Crozier, 1975; Gouldner, 1970, 1976; Habermas, 1976; Pusey, 1980, 1981). It revolves around the importance of human volition against the emergence of something akin to Althusser's (1969, 1971) state apparatus.

It seems, therefore, that each of the major assumptions of scientific educational administration is under attack on the home territory from which it was drawn. Serious doubts maybe entertained therefore regarding the adequacy of its assumptions and the legitimacy of its dominance of the field.

If the scientific components of educational administration are under attack so are the educational tenets. A parallel educational critique is developing which argues that the dominant rational/technical model of control in education is based upon assumptions regarding:

a) The law-like nature of scientific propositions which
specify clearly relations of cause and effect and
therefore allow the possibility of technical control,
b) The objective nature of true knowledge and its
neutrality in the face of human interests and needs and,
c) A conception of education which separates fact from
value and employs models of inquiry which are functional
rather than historical or social.

(Bates, 1980: 9)

Moreover, the net affect of such assumptions is argued to be the
construction of an administrative system devoted to the depoliticising
of cultural transmission, the denial of the validity of certain social
political and moral questions and the trivialisation of socialisation
(see Anyon, 1979; Aronowitz, 1977; Bates, 1980c; Giroux, 1979, 1980;
Popkewitz, 1979, 1980).

Essentially the ideological challenge to the dominant model of
scientific educational administration denies its objectivity, its
neutrality in the face of competing interests, and its logical adequacy.
The claim for scientific status is seen in itself as an ideological claim
which masks the bureaucratic and professional interests of administrators
and mystifies their social and political interests (Bates, 1980b, 1980c;
Callaghan, 1962; Larson, 1977; Popkewitz, 1979). The major complaint
is that by treating schools as technical systems the predominant model
of educational administration denies both the reality and validity of
the meanings, intentions and interests of the individuals who inhabit
them.(Greenfield, 1973, 1975, 1979). In short it denies people their
culture.

The Empirical Challenge

Curiously for a profession which legitimated its position and
power by appeal to science (whether it be the early appeals to scientific
management or later appeals to a prospective scientific theory of educational

administration, educational administration has a long tradition of breast-beating over the inadequacies of its empirical base. Charters (1978), lament over 'acres of disjointed, theoretically barren, non-cumulative and downright shoddy studies' is perhaps the most colourful comment; but it is widely supported by other reviews of the field. Iannoccone, for instance, observes that the scientists of educational administration have largely 'produced studies which are methodologically bad, theoretically useless and which are focussed on trivial problems' (1973; 1965). The critique is general (Erickson, 1979; Halpin and Hayes, 1977; Immegart, 1977). The blame is apportioned between academics:

> Bluntly the professoriate in educational administration
> is just not interested in research or in the study of
> administration.
>   (Halpin and Hayes, 1977; .280)

and practitioners who:

> Make little use of research, tend not to read scholarly
> publications and even inhibit researchers wanting to
> collect data in the field.
>   (Immegart, 1977; 319)

Indeed, the lack of a specifically professional focus of concern and investigation is emphasised by Iannaccone's observation that ' irreverance for scholarship has lead educational administration research into being truly irrelevant' (1973; 58).

With so small a commitment to empirical research it may well be historically surprising that an empirical challenge to the dominant paradigm could be mounted. The historical roots of this challenge lie in the emergence, not of an administrative theory of schooling, but in the sociological analysis of schools which developed during the 1950's (see Hoyle, 1969, 1973). Schools were taken in this research as exemplars of a particular kind or form of organisation, the study of which would allow the development of sociological theories of organisations. Indeed as Corwin (1967) put it 'sociologists [were] beginning to appreciate the relevance of educational organisations for extending and testing theory'. The initial result of such studies were

11.

analyses of schools in terms of Weberian bureaucratic models (Goslin, 1965;
Musgrave, 1968) or Parsonian systems models (see Miles, 1968). The outcome
of such studies was the recognition that schools were only imperfect
illustrations of the models (Hoyle, 1973).

There was a distinct temptation for administrators to use the results
of these empirical descriptions of schools to 'improve' them by encouraging
the development of more systematic processes of:

    a   goal clarification (in the face of evidence regarding the

        multiple, vague and conflictful nature of school goals)

    b   internal integration (in response to evidence of the lack

        of co-ordination between organisational members)

    c   task accomplishment (where the technology and means of

        accomplishment were vague, private and uncertain), and

    d   adaptation (where the links between school and community

        made the school vulnerable and defensive).

In this respect the essential questions was:

> Do we understand the essential processes of schools
> well enough to start improvement programs that have
> a reasonable chance of becoming self-operative and
> self-developmental?

                    (Miles, 1968; 146)

The link between organisational analysis and school improvement based
upon convergence of practice with model was clear. Schools, in this view,
were still organisations whose purpose was to co-ordinate the technical
work of education and they were frequently criticised for their failure
to manage this work efficiently. This point is made clearly by Meyer,
Scott and Deal:

> With few exceptions social researchers have examined schools
> from the vantage point offered by the technical theory
> of organisation. The standard social science portrait
> of the schools which emerges is of weak and ineffective
> organisations with little internal rational organisation
> of work, little capacity to produce useful effects as
> measured by student performance, and little ability to
> defend themselves from environmental intrusions.

To a few, the schools seem to be fraudulent organisations;
to others they are classic examples of organisational
ineptitude.

(1980: 6)

It has recently been suggested however that rather than the model

being satisfactory and schools dilatory and ineffective it might be the

case that as a framework for the analysis of schools the bureaucratic model

of rationally integrated systems is inappropriate. Schools may in fact

be different kinds of organisations.

In support of this view it is possible to point to a growing body

of work in the ethnography of schooling which sits uncomfortably with the

dominant organisational view. Studies of schools such as those of Cusick

(1973, 1980), Jackson (1968), Mercurio (1972), Sarason (1971, 1972),

Sharp and Green (1975), Smith and Keith (1971), Willis (1977), Wolcott

(1977), and Woods (1979) for example are difficult to accommodate within

the traditional paradigm. They do not, for instance, provide evidence of

characteristic hierarchical structures, of well-developed divisions of

labour, of systematic control by rules, of impersonal relations or steady

progress through an occupational hierarchy which bureaucratic models of

organisation suggest. They do not, in effect, appear to be such tightly

integrated systems as either advocates or critics of the systems model of

educational administration suggest.

An Alternative Model: Loose Coupling

It was precisely this difficulty in educational organisation theory

to which Weick (1976) addressed the 'sensitising concept' of 'loose coupling'.

The virtue of the concept lies in its possible reduction of the blindness

induced by the dominant paradigm:

Organisations as loosely coupled systems may not have
been seen before because nobody believed in them or
could afford to believe in them. It is conceivable
that preoccupation with rationalised, tidy, efficient
co-ordinated structures has blinded many practitioners
as well as researchers to some of the attractive and
unexpected properties of less rationalised and less
tightly related clusters of events.

(1976: 3)

The idea of loose coupling is gradually passing into the literature
(Corwin, 1976; Fietler, 1980; Pajack, 1979; Weick, 1980; Willower, 1979).
It seems to be a useful concept for promoting the search for alternative
models of organisations and for their differentiation into a taxonomy based
upon recognition of major differences in their form and rationale.
Fietler (1980), for instance, argues that coupling can be used as one element
that distinguishes bureaucratic (tightly coupled) organisations from
voluntary (un-coupled) organisations with loosely coupled organisations
(such as schools) located at some point in between.

Such an adaption of the loose-coupling metaphor might well assist
in the development of comparative studies of organisations or indeed of
a comparative analysis of the effects of tight and loose coupling on both
internal and external activities of schools and on pupils and staff. This
development might assist the achievement of more accurate empirical
descriptions and explanations of educational organisations, but hardly seems
powerful enough to provide a convincing alternative to the technical model
described above.

The availability of the concept has, however, allowed and encouraged the
development of an alternative explanation of educational organisations as
representative of institutional structures based upon and legitimated by
ideas quite different from those of the governing technical paradigm. The
crucial distinction between organisational types has been argued to be that
between technical organisation and institutional organisation (see Meyer and
Rowan, 1977; 1978; Meyer, Scott and Deal, 1980).

14

The distinction they make is one between organisations whose structures arise from the need for the control of technical flows and those concerned with legitimation of their activities in response to external demands. The former technical organisation is characterised by tight internal coupling and loose external coupling. The latter, institutional, organisation is characterised by loose internal coupling but tight external coupling. In effect:

> The technical organisation faces towards its technical
> core and turns its back toward the environment. The
> institutional organisation turns its back on its
> technical core in order to concentrate on conformity
> to its institutional environment.
>
> (Meyer, Scott and Deal, 1980; 3)

Evidence is provided by Meyer, Scott and Deal of three characteristics of schools which support their definition as institutional rather than technical organisations. They point, for instance, to the wide degree of disensus between superintendents and principals and principals and their staff regarding the interpretation of educational policies:

> Superintendents and principals in the same district showed
> no special inclination to agree on explicitness of policies
> and principals showed no special agreement with teachers
> in their own schools in describing school policies.
>
> (Meyer, Deal and Scott, 1980; 10)

Similar evidence is provided by Bates (1971), Gross and Herriott (1965), and J. Meyer et al. (1978).

Secondly Meyer Deal and Scott argue that schools conform with institutional requirements of a ritualistic nature such as accreditation, credentialism, grading and curricular standardisation. Few of these 'institutional rules' relate directly to the effectiveness of instruction, but conformity to the rules legitimates the school in the eyes of its environment. Indeed:

> Schools which are in any way suspect in terms of their
> legitimacy or accreditation status suffer drastically
> lowered survival prospects irrespective of what evidence
> they have regarding their instructional effectiveness.
>
> (1980; 13)

15

Thirdly, while remaining stable in terms of the broad ritualistic catagories of the institutional rules, schools are highly responsive to their local environments (p. 14). This may be a particular characteristic of United States schools related to their localised political and financial structure, but the bandwagon effect of continuous educational innovation derivative of currently fashionable or progressive trends is not unknown elsewhere.

Finally, Meyer, Deal and Scott argue that typically higher degrees of local support for schools from both parents and students are based upon a combination of conformity with institutional categories and rules ('ours is a proper school of course') and the dynamics of (frequently cosmetic) innovation. Such criteria of evaluation are frequently preferred over the effectiveness of the schools technical performance.

The picture that emerges is one of schools legitimizing their activities not in terms of technical effectiveness but in terms of a) institutional rituals which indicate conformity to broad cultural norms and categories; b) the public presentation of innovations as indicators of energy and purpose and c) the cultivation of satisfaction and support in their local constituencies. These mechanisms are argued to 'buffer' the school against external technical control of their instructional processes. Indeed evidence exists of the low-level of standardisation of instructional and curricula processes in schools (Bidwell, 1965; Cusick, 1980; Lortie, 1973); of the inactivity of administrative control systems (Dornbusch and Scott, 1975); of low levels of survival of educational innovations (Pitman, 1980; Popkewitz, et al, 1980; Rowan, 1977). As Meyer Deal and Scott argue:

> Organisations as highly institutional environments organise
> around their core institutional elements with managers
> buffering their technical core from close regulation or
> inspection of either technical activities or work outputs.

(1980; 25)

16

In short the tight coupling of internal elements typical of the technical organisation is contrasted with the loose coupling of institutional organisations. Simultaneously the technical organisation is argued to be loosely coupled from its surrounding environment while the institutional organisation is tightly coupled with it.

Towards an Understanding of Cultural Coupling

This argument is convincing as far as it goes but it appears that comparisons between various types of coupling is not only a matter of degree but also a matter of kind. For instance, technical organisations may have tight coupling of internal elements of the kind advocated by Ammentorp, Popper and Morris (1979), Emery, (1969), Simon (1965) or Taylor (1911), and institutional organisations may have tight external coupling of the kinds suggested by Meyer (1979), Meyer and Rowan (1977, 1978), and Meyer Scott and Deal (1980). But the nature of this coupling in technical organisations appears to centre around 'rational' demands and the coupling in institutional organisations around 'cultural' demands. One might therefore talk not only of loose and tight coupling but also of rational and cultural coupling.

Rational coupling is required, for instance, where the specification of unit relations within a control structure is the typical form of organisation. Legitimation of the structure is by appeal to criteria of efficiency and effectiveness, and the link to the external environment is a loose economic one. On the other hand, cultural coupling refers to the characteristic attempts of institutional organisations to employ myths, metaphors and ceremonial categories as processes of coupling between their components and with their environment. Legitimation of their activities is made through appeals to propriety, service and means.

17

If the rational/cultural distinction is added to the tight/loose

distinction it may be possible to overcome some of the difficulties of the

exclusive reliance on the tight/loose image. It is, for instance, possible

that some school systems are indeed becoming more highly coupled internally

as a result of particular environmental requirements. As Wiikes et al

(1979) argue, the combined effects of centralisation and program evaluation

requirements may well be leading to tighter coupling of both external

relations and internal processes. Spady and Mitchell (1980) argue

similarly that the competency movement is already bringing about tighter

coupling of the internal elements of schools, moving instructional,

curricula and evaluation procedures towards a more systematic and therefore

legitimate style. Interpretation of these trends simply in terms of tighter

or looser coupling leads to some confusion, for essentially what seems to be

taking place is not only changes in the degree of coupling but also changes in

the style i.e. a shift from cultural coupling in those schools towards more

rational coupling. Thus the internal processes of schools are being subject

to the 'rationalisation' process already existent in technical organisations.

There is therefore both a shift in the degree and in the nature of couplings

of the internal processes of schools. Similarly, it could be argued that the

external coupling of schooling is also being subjected to shifts. Not, in

this case, in terms of the degree of coupling for, if Meyer, Scott and Deal

are correct, schools are already tightly coupled with their environments.

Rather, the nature of the coupling is altering from a cultural coupling

defined in terms of generalised cultural norms, rituals, ceremonies and

categories of meaning towards a rational/technical definition of the cultural

requirements of schools.

This latter shift from wider cultural requirements to narrower

technical requirements in schools can also be interpreted as a form of

18

cultural shift where the rational coupling being demanded of the schools by their environments is part of the wider rationalisation of society along technical lines (Gouldner, 1976; Habermas, 1971, 1972, 1976). A distinction needs to be made, therefore, between rational coupling as a technical form of organisation and rationalisation as a legitimating ideology of cultural coupling. There are, of course, strong links between the ideology of rationalisation and the technology of rational coupling. Similarly, however, there are strong links between a broader view of culture and history and the appropriate forms of the organisation of institutional life.

It would seem useful, therefore, to extend the two dimensions of analysis proposed by Meyer Scott and Deal - tight/loose coupling and internal/external coupling -to include a third dimension, cultural/rational coupling where the former refers to the processes of cultural justification including norms, values and ideologies as they are mediated through metaphors, myths, rituals ceremonies and aesthetics, and where the latter refers to the rational structuring of activity according to processes of integration and systematisation legitimised by principles of efficiency and effectiveness.

Schools clearly exibit various degrees of tight and loose, internal and external, cultural and rational coupling depending upon their circumstances, composition and environment. The description of schools in such terms is therefore an empirical matter. If however our examination of schools is to in any way account for the richness and complexity of the couplings in which schools engage, a purely rational (technical) approach must be eschewed. For, if as Meyer and Rowan (1977, 1978) argue, the schools should be properly regarded as ritualised institutions dependent upon myth and ceremony for their legitimation and co-ordination, and if the present argument regarding the cultural dimensions of articulation and legitimation is conceded, a purely technical understanding of schools focussed on the specification and control of 'infimal units' will be incomplete and misleading. The cultural dimensions

of belief, aspiration, understanding and communication, as they are realised

through metaphor, myth, ritual, ceremony and performance, must also be included

in any full analysis of schools (Bates, 1981a, 1981b, Bates et al, 1981;

Beyer, 1977; Codd, 1981; Eisner, 1976, 1979; Grumet, 1980; Jenkins, 1970;

Wilcox, 1980; Willis, 1978).

Coupling and the Administrator

Coupling is not, then, simply a technical process that can be thought of

as tight or loose or as occuring internally or externally. The cultural

dimensions of coupling which are especially important in what Meyer Deal and

Scott call institutional organisations imply cultural judgements and the

arbitration of interests. As Hodgkinson (1978) points out, such activities

are inevitably part of the processes of administration. Appeals to a science

or technology of administration which is value free, technical, depoliticized

and rational deny both the logic and cultural understanding and the day-to-day

experience of administrators. Indeed, the activity of administrators can be

as well analysed from a cultural perspective in terms of their rituals, myths,

ceremonies, metaphors and stratifications as through any systems analysis of

input, throughput and output. Indeed it seems probable that the work of

administrators cannot be understood without consideration of such matters, for

the whole idea of cultural coupling suggests that administrators may be

figures in the negotiation of competing cultural views into the structure of

the school. Studies of administrative cultures such as those conducted

by Gallagher, 1973; Herriott and Gross, 1979; Rist, 1978; Smith and Pohland,

1974; Spindler, 1963; and Wolcott, 1973, 1977, indicate the importance of the

values, assumptions and beliefs of administrators in negotiating with various

other cultural groups.

Clearly, various cultural groups are coupled with schools and

their administrative cultures in a variety of ways. Intellectual, class,

ethnic, religious and sexual sub-cultures are, for instance, coupled with schools

through administrative cultures which mediate these couplings and provide a framework of sanctions whereby some couplings are legitimised and others de-legitimised (Burlinghame, 1980). Administration is therefore as much a rhetorical activity as a technical one, directed towards the mediation of cultural reproduction through the coupling of the internal culture of the schools with specific external cultures. This process is both a generalised process (in as much as it is subject to (coupled with) generalised political and institutional processes) and a localised process in terms of specific couplings with particular social, ethnic, religious, sexual, aesthetic and intellectual cultures available through the multiple memberships held by people constituting the internal culture and external context of particular schools.

Such a view however requires a different understanding on the part of administrators: a major shift from emphases on efficiency and effectiveness and technical procedures of resource allocation, prescription, evaluation and control towards an understanding of the cultural aspects of schools as social systems. In effect this also demands a shift in the criteria of legitimation of administrative activity away from legitimation by appeal to the mythology and rituals of business towards legitimation by appeal to educational criteria. What might such a shift entail?

Educational Administration and the New Sociology of Education

Over the past decade, both in England and the United States as well as in Europe, many of the structures and processes of educational systems have been subject to careful scrutiny by a new generation of sociologists. The main objective of these sociologists was to question previously unquestioned assumptions lying behind the investigation of educational activities (see Bates, 1980d, 1981c; Esland, 1971; Young, 1971). Central

to their perspective are a series of questions concerning whose particular interests are served by a particular educational practices and how educational practices might be altered to broaden (or indeed transform) the nature of the interests presently incorporated in educational practice. Central to their argument was the assertion that:

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control.
>
> (Bernstein, 1975; 85)

Thus, it was argued that significant parallels between social and educational structures were supported in schools through the imposition of the culture of dominant social interests, whether they were class-based (Bernstein, 1975; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), or the result of economic (Bowles and Gintis, 1976), or technical (Apple, 1979) dominance.

Schools were seen to be not only serving a technical function in the production of certain skills and behaviours but also confering continuities in social status and legitimising particular forms of social order. Crudely put, schools were seen as preserving the status quo and the extension of dominant social interests rather than as agencies of social reform. In this sense the new sociology of education, though beginning from somewhat different premises, has a great deal in common with a tradition of educational ethnography in the United States which has:

> Been conducted on the basis of a general set of orienting assumptions about the nature of cultural transmission and the role of schools in society. The orienting statements which have guided research have been extremely important in that they have consistently contradicted the dominant technocratic approach to education.
>
> (Wilcox, 1980; 65)

The corollaries of the argument of both the new sociology of education and educational ethnography are significant in their recognition that education systems are typically neither truly educative (in that they deny

22

access to certain kinds of knowledge and learning to particular social groups.- working class, minority ethnic groups and women for instance) nor truly just (in that both resources and benefits are concentrated on the already privileged at the expense of the disadvantaged). The basic arguments and evidence provided by the new sociologists of education have transformed the nature of debate in the sociology of education from a narrowly empirical science towards a broader social science which incorporates the study of ideology, domination and legitimation into its analysis of particular situations (Giroux, 1980a; Whitty, 1980).

This transformation is not without its significance for educational administration. For if educational administration is, as is argued above, a process of negotiating cultural claims and their legitimation within the culture of the school, then the analysis of such issues is a necessary background to administrative action.

Cultural Negotiation, Message Systems and Administrativ Power

Current debate in the sociology of education centres around detailed analysis of the three fundamental message systems of the school: curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation.

> Curriculum defines what counts as knowledge; pedagogy
> defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge;
> and evaluation defines what counts as valid realisation
> of this knowledge on the part of the pupil.

> (Bernstein, 1975; 85)

Each of these message systems can be treated in a purely technical manner whereby the 'relevance' of knowledge the 'efficiency' of transmission and the 'accuracy' of measurement are the criteria of administrative evaluation. Alternatively, and this is the task both sociologists and ethnographers have undertaken, the message systems can be 'unpacked' and the cultural content the systems of stratification, the nuances of meaning and communication can

be illuminated and the principles of control implicit in their structure can be exposed. Considerable progress is being made in the analysis of various curricula message systems (Apple, 1979, 1980; Bernstein, 1975; Giroux, 1979, 1980a, 1980b); in the analysis of pedagogy (Anyon, 1979, 1980; Esland, 1971; Popkewitz, 1979, 1981; Young, R, 1979, 1980) and the examination of evaluation (Broadfoot, 1979, 1980).

The issues raised by such an analyses of these message systems and their operation in schools speaks directly to the task of the administrator in assisting the adjudication and legitimation of various cultural couplings within the school and between the school and its various competing external cultures. In this respect it is well to acknowledge Hodgkinson's observation that:

> Administration is a value-laden, even value-saturated enterprise. The conventional wisdom would sustain this, no practical administrator would deny it.
>
> (1978; 122)

But the advantage of a model of cultural coupling goes beyond the re-establishment of links between administration and moral and social philosophy. It also presents a theoretical perspective within which the long-standing divergence of administrative theory from the practice of educational administration can be reconciled. Moreover, it presents a theoretical perspective which avoids the sterility and irrelevance of the pursuit of the 'completely deductive theoretical system' proposed by members of a scientific theory movement in educational administration (see Bates, 1980).

An administrative theory of cultural coupling can, for instance, be securely located within the theoretical traditions of cultural anthropology and the new sociology of education, both of which perspectives offer tools for the analysis of school culture and activity. Thus a secure theoretical foundation can be layed which is tied to the cultural character and purposes of education rather than the narrower concentration on system efficiency and effectiveness implicit in the rationalised model of educational systems.

Moreover because of the incorporation into these theoretical perspectives of issues in epistemology (Bates, 1980a, Freeman and Jones., 1980), aesthetics (Beyer, 1977; Bowers, 1977, 1980; Vulliamy, 1978) and social and political philosophy (Hodgkinson, 1978; Whitty and Young, 1976; Young and Whitty, 1977) there is a distinct possibility of a development of a coherent and comprehensive critical theory of administration which goes well beyond the narrow bounds and taken for granted assumptions of positivist approaches to a science of educational administration.

The cultural analyses on which such a critical theory might be based are also likely to be closer to the lived experience of principals and educators whose day-to-day activity is a continuing round of adjudication and legitimation of competing claims and values (Cusick, 1980; Ortiz, 1980; Wolcott, 1973, 1977). Moreover if the curricular, pedagogical, and evaluative message systems of the schools are taken as the focus of such cultural negotiations, and the culture of the administrator seen as a mediating structure in such negotiations, we might also meet the criticisms of Erickson (1979) that the study of educational administration has largely ignored matters such as the organisation of instruction, the organisation of pedagogy and their relation to student outcomes. One of the results of such an analysis might be a better understanding of the limits as well as the uses and abuses of administrative power (Erickson, 1972). We might even begin to understand the cultural basis of the legitimation of such power and its relation to the processes of cultural negotiation in which the administrator is inextricably bound.

25

Bibliography

Althusser, L. (1969) For Marx, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

Althusser, Louis (1971) Levin and Philosophy and Other Essays, New Left Books, London.

Ammentorp, W.M., Popper, S., and Morris, J.R. (1979) 'A methodological approach to the problem of administrative control in human service organisations', Educational Administration Quarterly, 15 (1) 83-103.

Anyon, J. (1979) 'Schools as agencies of social legitimation', Unpublished manuscript: Boston University.

Anyon, Jean (1980) 'Social class and the hidden curriculum of work', Journal of Education 162, (1) 67-92.

Apple, Michael (1979) Ideology and Curriculum, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Apple, Michael W. (ed.) (1980) Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Aronowitz, S. (1977) 'Mass culture and the eclipse of reason', College English, 8, 768-774.

Bates, Richard J. (1971) Disensus in the Role-Set: the Case of the Teacher, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Massey University, New Zealand.

Bates, Richard J. (1980a) 'Educational administration, the sociology of science and the management of knowledge', Educational Administration Quarterly, 16 (2) 1-20.

Bates, Richard J. (1980b) 'Bureaucracy, professionalism and knowledge; structures of authority and structures of control', Education Research and Perspectives 7 (2) December.

Bates, Richard J. (1980c) 'The function of educational administration in the processes of cultural transmission', Paper presented to the Conference on the Origins and Operations of Educational Systems, International Sociological Association, Paris, August.

Bates, Richard J. (1980d) 'New developments in the new sociology of education', British Journal of the Sociology of Education, 1 (1) 67-79.

Bates, Richard J. (1981a) 'Management and the culture of the school', pp. 31-40 in Bates, R.J. (ed.) Management of Resources in Schools. Deakin University, Press, Geelong, Australia.

Bates, Richard J. (1981b) 'Ideology, evaluation and administration', in Bates, R.J. (ed.) Organisational Evaluation in Schools, Vol. 1, Deakin University Press, Geelong, Australia.

Bates, Richard J. (1981c) 'What can the new sociology of education do for teachers?' Discourse: The Australian Journal of Educational Studies, 1 (2), 41-53.

Bernstein, Basil (1975) Class, Codes and Control Vol 3: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Beyer, L.E., 'Schools, aesthetic meanings, and social change', Educational Theory, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1977, 274-82.

Bidwell, C. (1965) 'The school as a formal organization' in J. March (ed.) Handbook of Organizations, Rand McNally, Chicago.

Blalock, H.M., (1969) Theory Construction, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs N.J.

Bourdieu, Pierre & Passeron, J.C. (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, Sage, London.

Bowers, C.A. (1977) 'Emergent ideological characteristics of educational policy', Teachers College Record, 79 (1) 33-54.

Bowers, C.A. (1980) 'Curriculum as cultural reproduction: an examination of metaphor as a carrier of ideology', Paper presented to the Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, 1980.

Bowles, Samuel & Gintis, Herbert (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Broadfoot, Patricia (1979) Assessment, Schools and Society, Methuen, London.

Beyer, L. (1977) 'Schools, aesthetic meanings and social change', Educational Theory, 27 (.), 274-282.

Burlinghame, M. (1980) 'Protecting private realities by managing public symbols: mystifications, cover-up and martyrdom', Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

Callaghan, R.E. (1962) Education and the Cult of Efficiency, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Charters, W.J. Jnr. (1978) 'A critical review of Erickson's readings in educational organisation and administration', Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Canada.

Clegg, S., & Dunkerley, D. (1980) Organisation, Class and Control, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Corwin, R.G. (1967) 'Education and the sociology of complex organisations', in Hansen, D.D. & Gerstl, J.E. (eds.) On Education: Sociological Perspectives, Wiley & Sons, New York.

Corwin, R.G. (1976) 'Organizations as loosely coupled systems: evolution of a perspective', Unpublished manuscript, Ohio State University.

Crozier, M. (1975) Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracy to the Trilateral Commission, New York University Press, New York.

Cusick, P. (1980) 'A study of networks among professional staffs in secondary schools', Paper presented to AERA, Boston.

Denhardt, R. & K. (1979) 'Public administration and the critique of domination', Administration and Society, 11 ( ) 107-

Dornbusch, S. & Scott, R. (1975) Evaluation and the Exercise of Authority, Jossey Bass- San Francisco.

Edwards, Richard (1979) Contested Terrain, Basic Books, New York.

Emery, J.C. (1969) Organizational Planning and Control Systems, MacMillan, New York.

Erickson, D.A. (1972) 'Moral dilemmas of administrative powerlessness', Administrator's Notebook, 20 (1), 1-4.

Erickson, D.A. (1979) 'Research on educational administration: the state of the art', Educational Researcher, 8 (3), 9-14.

Esland, G. (1971) 'Teaching and learning as the organization of knowledge', pp. 70-115 in Young, M.F.D. (ed.) Knowledge and Control, MacMillan, London.

Feyerabend, P., Against Method, New Left Books, London, 1975.

Fietler, F.C. (1980) 'Bureaucratic myths: does loose-coupling go for enough?' Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Boston.

Foster, W.P. (1980) 'The changing administrator: developing managerial praxis', Educational Theory, 30 (1), 11-23.

Freeman, H. & Jones, A. (1980) 'Authority, power and the 'new' sociology of education'. Unpublished paper. Auckland University.

Gallagher, A. A. Jnr. (1973) 'Directed Change in formal organizations: the school system', in Iannis, F. & Stovey, F. (eds.) Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues, Little Brown, Boston.

Getzels, J.W. (1977) 'Educational administration twenty years later', pp. 3-24 in L. Cunningham, W. Hack & R. Nystrand (eds.) Educational Administration: the Developing Decades. McCutchan, Berkeley.

Giroux, H.A. (1979) 'Beyond the limits of radical educational reform: toward a critical theory of education', Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 2 (1).

Giroux, H. (1980a) Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling, The Falmer Press, Lewes, U.K.

Giroux, Henry A. (1980b) 'Beyond the correspondence theory: notes on the dynamics of educational reproduction and transformation', Curriculum Inquiry, 10 (3), 225-247.

Goslin, David (1965) The School in Contemporary Society, Scott, Foresman, Glenview, Illinois.

Gouldner, Alvin W. (1970) The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, Hienemann, London.

Gouldner, Alvin W. (1976) The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology, Seabury Press, New York.

Greenfield, Thomas B. (1973) 'Organizations as social inventions: rethinking
    assumptions about change', Journal of Applied Behavioural Science,
    9 (5) 551-574.

Greenfield, T. Barr (1975) 'Theory about organisation: a new perspective
    and its implications for schools', in Houghton, Vincent et al.
    Management-in-Education, Ward Lock Education, London.

Greenfield, T.B. (1979) 'Organization theory as ideology', Curriculum Inquiry,
    9 (2) 97-112.

Griffiths, Daniel E. (1977) 'The individual in organisation: a theoretical
    perspective', Educational Administration Quarterly, 13 (2), 1-18.

Griffiths, D.E. (1979) 'Intellectual turmoil in educational administration',
    Educational Administration Quarterly, 15 (3), 43-65.

Gross, N. & Herriott, R.E. (1965) Staff Leadership in Public Schools,
    Wiley & Sons, New York.

Habermas, J. (1971) Toward a Rational Society, Heinemann, London.

Habermas, J.   Knowledge and Human Interests, Heinemann, London, 1972.

Habermas, J. (1976) Legitimation Crisis, Hienemann, London.

Halpin, A.W. & Hayes, A.E. (1977) 'The Ikon, or, what ever happened to theory?'
    pp. 261-297 in Cunningham, L.L., Hack, W.G., and Hystrand, R.O.
    Educational Administration: the Developing Decades, McCutchan, Berkeley.

Hanson, N.R., Patterns of Discovery, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1958.

Herriott, R. & Gross, N. (1977) (eds.) The Dynamics of Planned Educational
    Change: Case Studies and Analysis. McCutchan, Berkeley,

Hodkinson, C. (1978) Towards a Philosophy of Educational Administration,
    Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Horkheimer, M. (1974) The Eclipse of Reason, Seabury Press, New York.

Hoy, Wayne K. (1978) 'Scientific Research in Educational Administration',
    Educational Administration Quarterley, 14 (3), 1-12.

Hoyle, E. (1969) 'Organizational theory and educational administration'
    in Baron, G. & Taylor, W. (eds.) Educational Administration and the
    Social Sciences, Athlone Press, London.

Hoyle, E. (1973) 'The study of schools as organizations', Educational Research
    Bulletin, 3 ( ), 32-56.

Iannaccone, L. (1973) 'Interdisciplinary theory guided research in educational
    administration: a smoggy view from the valley', Teachers College Record,
    75 (September) 55-66.

Immegart, G.L. (1977) 'The study of educational administration 1954-1974',
    pp. 298-328 in Cunningham, L.L. Hack, W.G. and Hystrand, R.O. (eds.)
    Educational Administration: the Developing Decades, McCutchan, Berkeley,

Jackson, Phillip W. (1968) Life in Classrooms, Holt Rinehart, Winston, New York.

Katz, Michael B. (1971) 'From voluntarism to Bureaucracy in American Education, Sociology of Education, 44 (3), 297-332.

Katz, Michael B. (1975) Class, Bureaucracy and Schools, Praeger, New York.

Kuhn, T.S. (1962) The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Chicago University Press, Chicago.

Lakatos, I. and Musgrave, A. (eds.) Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970.

Lortie, D.C. (1973) 'Observations on teaching as work',   in Travers, R. (ed.) Second Handbook of Research on Teaching, Rand McNally, Chicago.

Lortie, D. (1975) School teacher: A Sociological Study, Chicago University Press, Chicago.

March, J. & Simon, H. (1958) Organizations, Wiley & Sons, New York.

McCarthy, T. (1978) The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Mercurio, J.A. (1972) Caning: Educational Rite and Tradition, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.

Meyer, J.W. (1978) 'The effects of education as an institution', American Journal of Sociology, 83 (1) 55-77.

Meyer, J. & Rowan, B. (1977) 'Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony', American Journal of Sociology, 83 (2) 340-363.

Meyer, J. & Rowan, B. (1978) 'Notes on the structure of educational organizations', in Myer, et al (eds.) Environments and Organizations. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Meyer, J., Scott, W.R. & Deal, T.E. (1980) 'Institutional and technical sources of organizational structure: explaining the structure of educational organizations', Stanford University, School of Education.

Meyer, J., Scott, R., Scott, S., & Intilli, J., (1978) 'Schools as organizations: instructional Dissensus and institutional consensus', in M. Meyer et al (eds.) Environments and Organizations, Jossey Bass, San Francisco.

Meyer, Marshall et al (eds.) (1978) Environments and Organizations, Jossey Bass, San Francisco.

Miles, Matthew B. (1965) 'Organisational health: figure and ground' in Change Processes in the Public Schools, Center for Advanced Study in Educational Administration, Eugene, Oregon.

Miles, M.B. (1968) 'Some properties of schools as social systems', pp. 124-146 in Lloyd-Jones, E., and Rosewall, N. (eds.) Social and Cultural Foundations of Guidance, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Murphy, J. (1979) School Administrators Besieged: A look at Australian and American Education, Mimeo: Australia - U.S. Education Policy Project. Wooden, Australia.

Musgrave, P.W., (1968) The School as an Organisation, MacMillan, London.

Ortiz, F. (1980) 'The structure of educational administration in pub'.c school organizations', Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Organisation, Boston.

Pajack, E.F. (1979) 'Schools as loosely coupled organizations', The Educational Forum, (NW) 83-95.

Phillips, D.L., (1977) Wittgenstein and Scientific Knowledge, MacMillan, London.

Pitman, A.J. (1979) Conceptual Conflict and Innovation in Education, M.Ed. thesis, Latrobe University, Australia.

Pitman, A.J. (1981) 'The necessary distortion of disseminated innovations', Journal of Curriculum Studies, (in press)

Polanyi, M., (1958) Personal Knowledge, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Polanyi, M., The Tacit Dimension, Doubleday, New York, 1966.

Polanyi, M., and Prosch, H., Meaning, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975.

Popkewitz, Thomas (1978) 'Educational research: values and visions of social order', Theoretical Paper No. 71, Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Individualized Schooling. University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wiscousin.

Popkewitz, T.S. (1979) 'Educational reform and the problem of institutional life', Educational Researcher, 8 (3) 3-8.

Popkewitz, T. (1979) 'Teacher education as socialization: ideology as social mission', Paper given to AERA, San Francisco.

Popkewitz, T.S. (1981) 'Organizational change as ideology', Dialogue (AERA) 1 (2) 3-10.

Popkewitz, T., and Tabachnick, R. (eds.) (1981) The Study of Schooling: Field Based Methodologies in Educational Research, Praeger, New York.

Popkewitz, T., Tabachnick, B.R. and Whelage, G. (1980) School Reform and Institutional Life: A Case Study of Individually Guided Education, Wisconsin University, Madison, Research and Development Center for Student Diversity and Schooling.

Popper, K.R., (1963) Conjectures and Refutations, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Popper, K.R., (1972) Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972

Popper, K.R. (1976) Unended Quest, Open Court Pub. Co., LaSalle Illinois,

Pusey, M. (1980) 'Key issues for education policy in the 1980's', Paper given to A.C.T. Seminar, Canberra, Australia, February.

Pusey, M. (1981) 'How will governments strive to control education in the 1980's?' Discourse: The Australian Journal of Educational Studies, 1 (2) 9-17.

Rist, R. (1978) The Invisible Children: School Integration in American Society, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Rowan, B. (1977) 'Bureaucratization in the institutional environment', in Davis, M. et al, The Structure of Educational Systems: Explorations in The Theory of Loosely Coupled Organizations, Stanford Centre for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford.

Sarason, S.B. (1971) The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

Sharp, Rachel and Green, Anthony (1975) Education and Social Control, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Simon, H (1965) Administrative Behaviour, Free Press, New York.

Smith, L.M. & Keith, P.M. (1971) Anatomy of Educational Innovation, Wiley and Sons, New York.

Smith, L.M. & Pohland, P. (1974) 'Educational technology and the rural highlands', in Four Evaluation Examples, Vol. 7 of AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation, Rand McNally, Chicago.

Spady, W.G. & Mitchell, D.E. (1980) 'Using public performance standards to redefine the games of power, legitimacy and secrecy in schools', Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Associate, Boston.

Spindler, G. (1968) 'The role of the school administrator', in Spindler, G. (ed.) Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Taylor, F.W. (1911) The Principles of Scientific Management, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Taylor, W. (1980) 'Quality control in education?' Paper presented to the Conference of the British Educational Administration Society, Glasgow.

Toulmin, S., (1972) Human Understanding, Vol. 1, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Tyack, David (1974) The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Tyack, David (1977) 'Pilgrim's progress: towards a history of the school superintendent, 1860-1960', History of Education Quarterly, 17 (Fall) 257-300.

Tyack, D. & Hansot, E. (1980) 'From social management to professional management: an inquiry into the changing character of leadership in public education', American Journal of Education, 88 (3) 291-319.

Vulliamy, G. (1978) 'Culture clash and school music', pp. 115-128 in Barton, L. and Meighan, R. (eds.) Sociological Interpretations of Schooling and Classrooms: A Reappraisal, Nafferton Books, Driffield, U.K.

Weber, Max (trans, Gerth, H. & Mills, C.W.) (1946) From Max Weber, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Weick, K.E., (1976) 'Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems' Administrative Science Quarterly, 21 (1)

Weick, K.E. (1980) 'Loosely coupled systems: relaxed meanings and thick interpretations', Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of AERA, Boston.

Whitty, F. (1980) 'Ideology, politics and curriculum', Unit 8 in Society, Education and the State, Course E353. Open University, Milton Keynes, U.K.

Whitty, Geoff and Young, Michael (1976) Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge, Nafferton Books, Driffield, U.K.

Wilkes, C.D. et al (1979) 'Centralization and tighter coupling in education through program evaluation', Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance. Stanford.

Willis, Paul (1977) Learning to Labour, Saxon House, London.

Willower, D.J. (1979) 'Ideology and science in organisation theory', Educational Administration Quarterly, 15 (3) 20-42.

Wise, Arthur E. (1980) Legislated Learning: The Bureaucratization of the American Classroom, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Wolcott, H.E., (1973) The Man in the Principal's Office: An Ethnography, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Wolcott, H.F., (1977) Teachers vs Technocrats, Center for Educational Policy and Management, Eugene, Oregon.

Wood, S. & Kelly, J. (1978) 'Toward a critical management science', Journal of Management Studies, 15 (1) 1-24.

Woods, Peter (1979) The Divided School, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Wright, Erik O. (1978) Class, Crisis and the State, New Left Books, London.

Young, Michael F.D. (ed.) (1971) Knowledge and Control, Collier Macmillan, London.

Young, Michael & Whitty, Geoff (1977) Society, State and Schooling, Falmer Press, Ringmer, U.K.

Young, R.E. (1979) 'Technicist and interpretive ideologies of classroom practice', Paper delivered to the Annual Conference of the Sociology Association of Australia and New Zealand, Canberra.

Young, R.E. (1980) 'The controlling curriculum and the practical ideology of teachers', Australia and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 16 (2) 62-70.