DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 212 033 EA 013 873

AUTHOR Bone, T. R., Ed.; Ramsay, H. A., Ed.
TITLE Quality Control in Education? The Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the British Educational Management and Administration Society (9th, Glasgow, Great Britain, September 1980).
INSTITUTION British Educational Administration Society.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE May 81
NOTE 134p.; Back cover may not reproduce due to color of original paper.
AVAILABLE FROM ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403 (free).
JOURNAL CIT Educational Administration; v9 n2 pi-122 May 1981

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; Cost Effectiveness; *Educational Assessment; *Educational Quality; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Inspection; Postsecondary Education; *Quality Control; Staff Development; Teacher Administrator Relationship; Values
IDENTIFIERS *England; Participative Decision Making

ABSTRACT

An introduction, keynote address, and 12 selected papers present the conference's proceedings. Also provided are summaries of the seven other conference papers and of the final plenary session, along with a list of conference participants. The keynote address questions whether quality control is possible in education. It notes that the concept of quality control needs broadening to be applied to education and that the educational processes of recognition (or credentialing), assessment, and intervention help widen the definition of quality control. The next five papers discuss the roles of the national government, school boards, regional advisory councils, and local educational agencies in England in educational quality control. The following section's three papers ponder the problems involved in improving education through staff development. These look at further (or adult) education institutions, management-staff conflict, and participative management in elementary and secondary schools. Two further papers review the "politics" of educational quality control, particularly the problems of value judgments in assessing quality and of teachers' reactions to school amalgamations that threaten jobs. Cost-benefit analysis is used in the final two papers to examine the costs of local educational inspectors and to suggest a method of monitoring educational efficiency. (Author/RW)

QUALITY CONTROL IN EDUCATION?

The proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the British Educational Management and Administration Society, held at Jordanhill College, Glasgow, September 1980.

Educational Administration Volume 9 Number 2

Edited for the Society By

Dr.T.R.Bone, Principal, and
H.A.Ramsay, Lecturer in Education Management,
Jordanhill College of Education.

May 1981

Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the British Educational Management and Administration Society.

QUALITY CONTROL IN EDUCATION?

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE BRITISH EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

The theme on the ninth annual conference of the British Educational Management and Administration Society (BEMAS) was "Quality Control in Education?". In its choice of this theme and title the organising committee had hoped to provide an issue for debate of direct professional relevance and importance for the many sectors of education from which the Society's members come. The net result was an outstanding 'keynote' address and some twenty papers twelve of which are included below, with brief summaries of others. The conference itself incorporated a plenary session with local authority representatives and a sophisticated system allowing members the choice of attending four separate seminars, or even two twice! The papers had been distributed in advance and thus there were opportunities for all participants to contribute to the debate.

THE 'KEYNOTE' ADDRESS

The conference made an auspicious start with Dr.Taylor's seminal paper, "Quality Control in Education?". Looking back on previous BEMAS conference proceedings one can see that certain contributions broke new ground and became part of the conventional wisdom of the subjects dealt with, and Dr.Taylor's authoritative treatment of the topic at issue on this occasion may come into this category. While it can be said that, the conference as a whole answered the question posed in the negative, the special merit of Taylor's paper is that it sets out for us just where the concerns encapsulated in the technical term 'quality control' impinge upon us in education, and at least three of his main points deserve a mention in this Introduction. Firstly, the production metaphor carries with it a precision of measurement unattainable for us, and the concept of quality control needs widening to be of use in an educational setting. Secondly, Taylor's suggestion of three modes wherein the ideas of quality and control coexist in education provides a fruitful hypothesis, and the major conference papers are easily accommodated to it. 'recognition' 'assessment' and 'intervention' are activities that managers in education will readily recognise. The third idea derives directly from the original concept of quality control, i.e. the notion of 'assignable' and residual' causes of variation from a 'specification'. As translated by Taylor, in education there is a continuous process by which understanding emerges as to what constitutes reasonable and realistic expectations, and in today's world the 'tolerances' are becoming finer, the 'clients' less inclined to accept explanations of failure in terms of 'factors beyond our control'. Where there are other claimants competing with education for a dwindling input of resources this attitude has consequences for us all. But Taylor concludes that our administrators would do better to avoid comparisons which have little to do with education, and to concentrate instead on those processes which offer prospects of 'improvement', a notion which, even if it carries no very impresssive scientific overtones, and involves elements of chance

and opportunism, may be more promising for those engaged in the provision of a complex professional service to people.

THE CONFERENCE PAPERS

Taylor's address having cleared the ground, it became editorial policy to select for inclusion those papers which might help to advance thinking from his baseline. Contributions were loosely grouped under four major sub-themes, namely (i) improvement and control through agencies, (ii) betterment through the development of staff, (iii) 'political' aspects of progress, and, (iv) efforts towards improvement on the costing front. Of the twelve papers thus chosen five fell into the first category, 'politics' and costing attracted two each, and the remaining three broached staff development aspects of the main theme.

Those papers which concentrated on improvement agencies were easily related to Taylor's frame of reference, agents whether Advisory Committee, Her Majesty's Inspectorate, School Governing Body or Advisorate clearly undertook tasks of 'recognition' 'assessment' and 'intervention'. Young reported a recent renewal of interventionist activity on the part of Central Government, and Welton probed some of the underlying assumptions behind DES thinking. From the viewpoint of a Further Education Advisory Committee Martin noted that 'recognition' decisions were being taken by administrative rather than academic authorities, and Davies and Lyons propounded a list of 'critical success factors' with which to appraise the efforts of LEA advisers. The assessment mode figured prominently in Davies and Lyons' second paper on School Governing Bodies as Agents of Quality Control. Adopting an open systems approach they envisaged a clear role for School Governors in the areas of policy planning and evaluation.

In the staff development area Stenning's case study of collective bargaining at 'plant' level supported Taylor's point that educational specifications are subject to on-going negotiation, and the same vitality of response in educational institutions came through strongly in Pratt's study of 'interaction strategies'. Harding and Scott, again at the micro level, offered guidelines towards a staff development programme. Perhaps conspicuous by its absence in this section was a paper addressing itself to *THE* quality control problem in education, the professional development of schoolteachers.

In a discussion of the meaning of 'academic standards' under sub-theme (iii) above, Cuthbert contended that the use of this umbrella term conceals two separate ideologies, the one 'product' the other 'process' oriented, and managers' adherence to one or the other is bound to colour the activities they undertake within Taylor's three modes. Isaac's paper was addressed to the task of maintaining quality in merger situations. In building the new organisation managers had to attend to behavioural factors like self esteem, anxiety and awareness of role and territory.

In the field of costing Thomas' efforts to devise a measuring device for a limited sector of academic achievement

was close to quality control in its original sense, whereas Hinds quoted comparative statistics of educational provision, leaving it to his audience to draw their own conclusions about quality implications. In common with some other Local Authority members Hinds seems to be prepared to entertain the possibility of applying quality control procedures in education, what he emphasised was the opportunity costs incurred in doing so.

THE PLENARY SESSION

While both the local authority representatives were suspicious of attempts to achieve quality control, Mr. Semple was prepared to argue that certain sections of an education service might be amenable to such treatment. The real problem, he thought, was in determining criteria for appraising the service delivered by teachers. Mr Cunningham, on the other hand, drew our attention to the differing perceptions of quality made by people at different levels, and while he was sympathetic to a more 'open' resolution of quality dilemmas, he saw the 'political' character of the process militating against this. Lest members might forget it, Mr Bird upheld the claim of central government to be an indisputable part of the process, and the principal agent of 'recognition'

CONCLUSION

In our view the Conference recognised that while quality and control are as important for education as for other service activities, the juxtaposition of the two to form a concept redolent of industry is ultimately of little help to us One may wonder whether a better starting point might be to survey how the task of marrying service delivery at a required standard to proper oversight is carried through in one of the other personal social services, instead of looking to manufacturing parallels. The pragmatic approach of hospital service managers like Haywood (1974)* (first, look for peaks and hollows in performance, and then, seek to encourage an ethos of efficiency not adequacy) could have more to offer education than the rigidities of any industrial application of quality control.

A second caveat relates to a widespread belief that quality control in education has never been genuinely attempted in this country Quite apart from the period of payment by results one may point out that in the prevailing climate of corporate management, education, rightly or wrongly, has been forced to compete as an equal with other spending departments, and management consultants have been busy trying to lick education into shape for the application of techniques which have a close affinity with quality control One would have welcomed a more open recognition of this state of affairs and comment upon it.

In conclusion, in spite of Dr. Taylor's exposure of the dangers of Quality Control in education, something like it could well be attempted, so that the BEMAS Conference should have been helpful in clarifying our thinking, even if this account of its proceedings is unlikely to provide the last word on the subject.

* Haywood S C. (1974) Managing the Health Service Allen and Unwin

T.R.Bone
H.A.Ramsay

FINAL PLENARY SESSION

For the conference's final session the organising committee had invited two speakers who represented the providing authorities of the education service in England, Wales and Scotland, these being Mr.Gordon Cunningham, Education Officer of the Association of County Councils in England and Wales, and Mr.David Semple, Director of Education for the Lothian Regional Authority in Scotland. Each presented short initial statements of their position and then, with Dr.Tom Bone as their Chairman, answered questions from the floor.

Mr.Gordon Cunningham began by making it clear that quality control implied for him more than simply evaluation; it had to include a readiness and ability to influence quality as well. Education, he said must always be concerned with quality, and that concern carried with it a desire for improvement. Therefore there was nothing new in quality control, which should be seen as an integral part of the education process.

Although the concept was not new the term might be, and its connotations were such that it was not surprising if educationists were nervous of it. Yet what it involved us in was the making of judgments about what constituted quality, how we might measure it, and what factors affected it, and unless we became thus clearer about the importance which we attached to providing quality there was a danger that the quality control which would inevitably take place would be determined simply by the supply of money. While in his daily work he was concerned with the expenditure of authorities, Mr.Cunningham counselled the participants not to try to judge quality by whether we were spending more or less. Decisions about how much should be spent, or on what it should be spent, had always to be closely related to knowledge about how to secure quality in return.

The history of quality control in education was not a happy one (from the days of payment by results to tales of pre-test breakdowns and post-examination suicides in Japanese classrooms), but attempts would always be made to measure the quality of the product, and the process was continued in the present day by a host of agencies, from external examining bodies to the teacher himself working in his classroom.

Mr.Cunningham suggested that there were three propositions which should be seriously considered by all:-

(a) That evaluation or assessment in education cannot be the same as quality control in manufacturing. It had to be more subtle and more sensitive, and it had to take account of individual and community needs and variations.

(b) That it must be an open, understood and credible process, so that it commanded general public acceptance and respect.

(c) That this meant that the spokesman for education had to be prepared to define in discussion what constituted quality, and to explain and justify the part which different inputs played in achieving this.

The British system was founded proudly on the freedom of the teacher in the classroom, but it was as well to remember that this had never been a total freedom, for teachers operated in a community of colleagues, of parents, of employers, and with a professional conscience. They had themselves been responsible for more quality control in their every day teaching than any number of outside agencies. If the pressures on the whole system were now however such that previously informal systems required to be developed in a more formal way, we would do well, said Mr.Cunningham, to ensure that any new structure was (a) understood by and acceptable to the public outside the schools, and (b) based on the involvement and professionalism of the teachers themselves.

Mr.David Semple supported Mr.Cunningham in his desire for quality improvement in the provision of an education service, but he found the phrase "quality control" less acceptable, since for him it evoked images of custard creams, mini-metros and men in white coats. To him quality control suggested a production involving inanimate objects, and while education had its share of these, they were fortunately in the minority. In education we dealt with people, and while control certainly had to be exercised, it had to be achieved through what he called "philosophy of the four c's - care, concentration, consultation and co-operation". Perhaps those in positions of responsibility had to add to that a considerable dash of determination.

In speaking of the education service we were facing a very large canvas, and while the most important part of that was concerned with work undertaken in classrooms, we could not ignore the many other parts which made up the whole. In some of these quality control was a very proper activity, and much was being done (and more could be done) to effect qualitative improvements in such parts of the service as catering, transport, property maintenance, careers and child-guidance etc. Effectively taken steps in these areas could perhaps release funds for parts of the service which were less easily measured. The canvas was not blank either: every inch was already painted in different ways in every authority, in every school and in every classroom. We could not merely talk in general terms about improvements, there had to be some order of priority in tackling the situation.

To Mr.Semple's mind there was one matter however which

rose above all others and which held the basic key to qualitative improvement across most and possibly all aspects of the service He described this as the "people chain". While it might have as many links as were considered necessary, there were a number which were fundamental - initial training, staff selection, promotion procedures, staff development, in-service training, job satisfaction, and political involvement. Most if not all of these links needed to be strengthened in today's circumstances, and Mr.Semple was pleased that some of the group papers which he had read showed how this might be achieved.

Turning finally to the matter of finance, Mr.Semple said that although he recognised that he was speaking in a time of financial stringency he had to stress that he came from an authority which, to put it mildly, was disinclined to accept the Government's current view regarding the management of public expenditure. They would resist making cuts if they felt that quality would suffer. Yet Mr Semple recognised that complaints about cuts could be a means of avoiding difficult problems. Was there not a danger, he asked, that we in the education service might be creating a smoke screen which would enable us to avoid tackling the question of qualitative improvement on the excuse that the necessary funds were not available?

In the discussion that followed, Ray Bolam drew attention to the possibility of changes in the contractual position of teachers, and Mr Semple, commenting on his experience in Scotland where a "teachers' contract" had beeen negotiated with the unions, warned that it could erode professional attitudes, with some teachers doing the minimum they could as a result Tom Bone referred to Etzioni's suggestion that remunerative control produces a calculative response. Mr. Cunningham felt, however, that if the professionals did not manage to define what teachers' responsibilities were, this would be done for them by the industrial tribunals. Some members wondered if the coming of a formal teachers contract would retard the movement from a role to a task orientation in secondary school management

Further discussion was initiated by Ron Glatter on the link between financial restraints and quality, and by Rob Cuthbert about the handling of clear cases of incompetence, but perhaps the most significant other contribution came from Richard Bird of the DES, who said that discussion of controlling quality in education sometimes appeared to leave Central Government out of the equation The Education Acts invested Secretaries of State with a general duty to promote the provision of education, and that had to include a concern with quality. The ways in which Central Government might contribute could be a matter of dispute, as over the proper extent of its involvement in the school curriculum, but they included overall resource levels, teacher supply and training, the provision of some types of information, some inspection from the centre, and the maintenance of a sound legislative framework

Tom Bone wound up the session by reminding members of Bill Taylor's opening address, which had provided such an excellent foundation for the whole conference, and used a story he had been told by Bill to relate the ideals and aspirations of Governments, as well as those of men and women, to the difficulties created by economic recession and human weakness.

QUALITY CONTROL? ANALYSIS AND COMMENT

William Taylor
University of London Institute of Education

1. Introduction

I have not been party to the discussions about the organisation and theme of this Conference, although I understand that its title was originally Quality in Education. This was subsequently, in the words of your Chairman, 'tightened up' to produce the present theme of Quality Control in Education. The new title, I am glad to see, has been redeemed by a question mark.

I have of late become much more conscious than I used to be of how our perceptions of phenomena, and our judgments about the personal and political stances appropriate to them, are affected by the sources and resonances of the metaphors we employ to give them meaning. Especially so when such metaphors are associated with families of concepts that have proved their usefulness in other contexts, and which appear to offer internally consistent and coherent frameworks for interpretation, explanation and even action.

To accuse students of administration who find it useful to employ engineering metaphors for certain limited aspects of educational practice of reducing the whole of education to mechanism, is as unfair as to argue that economists who use the concept of Gross National Product are all materialists, and that their entire notion of what constitutes welfare is subsumable to this concept.

Yet metaphors are sometimes more powerful than they seem. Useful as they may be for partial and local applications - of a kind exemplified in some of the discussion papers for this conference - they have a tendency to cast their thrall more widely, and to exert excessive influence over the agenda of problems for research and discussion.

It may be argued that a title like Quality Control is merely a useful shorthand. It points to common elements in all those processes that society uses to ensure that teachers and schools and heads and lecturers and directors are achieving appropriate standards, and by means of which the administrator satisfies his political masters at national and local level that all is well, or not well as the case may be. It may be suggested that its industrial overtones are a prudent and harmless concession to employers and those who plead for greater relevance and higher standards of attainment, and will help convince them of the seriousness of our purpose.

Perhaps so. I must not jump to conclusions at this stage. Sufficient to say that I have taken the interrogative mode of your title at its face value, and that it strongly colours all the rest of what I shall have to say.

I have taken my task to be a conceptual analysis of the idea of quality control and an assessment of its uses and limitations for certain kinds of educational practice.

My paper has five sections. Following these introductory remarks I shall look at some of the implications of using the words quality and quality control in educational settings. I shall then draw upon the language and ideas of quality control as it is practiced in industrial production, in an attempt to see how it helps to classify and to give us fresh insights into educational phenomena. In my fourth section I shall try out such a classification, using the headings of recognition, assessment and intervention to organise my remarks. Finally, I shall return to my anxieties about choice of metaphors and identify what I see as some of the costs and benefits of developing the idea of quality control in educational administration

2. What do we mean by Quality?

My very earliest memory of the word quality is of black lettering on a white bakelite label, stuck into a proud but, one trusted, representative pear nestling in the artificial grass of a greengrocer's stand. The label was unadorned by an qualifier, such as the entrepreneurial 'high quality' or the bureaucratic 'standard quality'. There it was - quality. Just that A good thing, needing no further justification.

Pears are on thing, but what about education? It is easy to believe that we know quality when we see it. Some of our political masters are so convinced that they speak for the nation as to assume their own preferences are universally shared. But get a little beneath the surface, go one stage beyond the popular or academic pieties - 'decent standards of reading and writing', 'the ability to cope with and adjust to change in a complex and technologically advanced world' - and the disagreements begin to emerge.

Education does not produce a uniform product for a clientele with a homogeneous set of preferences. It is important, then, to underline that quality has no meaning except in relation to some explicit and agreed, or implied but generally understood function. In the words of a textbook of Factory and Production management.

"Quality is not a property which has an absolute meaning, a high quality pair of beach shoes can

> well be a very low quality pair of walking shoes, a low quality billiard cue can be a very high quality pea-stick. The quality of an article has meaning only when related to function ('that ... which makes it work or sell') and the isolation of function is rarely simple" (Lockyer 1974 p50)

Education serves many different functions for different people. The use of the word quality does nothing to resolve long standing debates about what education should be for, about how educational resources and benefits should be distributed, whether the national interest and the imperatives of civilization and of human potentiality (however defined) are best served by common or diversified curricula.

Nor, if quality is to be established in relation to fitness for some purpose, can such purposes rationally be defined independently of the means available for their achievement, it is not only politics that is the art of the possible. However idealised or moralised the form in which a purpose first presents, itself, by the time it has been legislated for in public policy or become an administrative objective it has usually been greatly modified to take account of the materials and means presently or putatively to hand. The relationship between purpose and possibility is never uni-directional. The development of atomic weapons during the Second World War provides a graphic example of the pushes and pulls involved.

Sensible judgments about quality cannot be taken without reference to cost. Have we not, every one of us, found ourselves at some time in confrontation with the purveyor of some good or service concerning a failure of what we have purchased to come up to expectations? The paint is flaking off the walls after only six months. Or the door sills are rusting. Or the straps and buckles have come adrift after a single encounter with the Heathrow carousel. The drawers no longer fit, and so on and so forth.

But sir, but madam - if you wanted it to last you should have had the triple undercoat and four top coat treatment. Or bought a Rolls Royce. Or chosen the leather valise with the solid brass fittings. Or opted for a handcrafted or antique piece. And so on and so forth.. After all, what did you really expect at that price?

However closely we may base our choices on the valuable advice of the consumer organisations, however much we may be protected by officially determined and legally enforceable standards, few of us are in a position to seek or to identify or to afford superior goods and services over the whole range of things we buy and do. In using the freedom granted to us by a capitalist [illegible] (and for which it is seldom thanked) we determine [illegible] own priorities. In one or two areas of life we will be satisfied with nothing

but the best. Wine, shirts, darts, holiday hotels, beer, dog food, photographic equipment, fishing rods, hi-fi - in a society such as our own the choices are almost infinite. For the rest, we spend as little as we can consistent with reasonable reliability and personal safety (although not always even those), an unremarkable appearance and the satisfaction of bodily needs.

Individual choices and preferences can be rapidly switched - although in practice they are remarkably stable. Societal choices and preferences take longer to shift, especially when the goods concerned are non-marketable. It is the privilege and the task of individuals and pressure groups to convince us that our current pattern of preferences, reflected in the quantity and quality of health care, education and municipal services that we receive, is mistaken or manipulated. Currently we get what we are collectively willing and able to pay for. Willingness to pay has probably been affected by high personal taxation and doubts about the value of some of the things on offer. Ability to pay has been affected by lack of economic growth. It would be otiose for me to trace out the multitude of historical, political and social considerations that determine an average expenditure per pupil of £460 in the financial year 1978/79. But we cannot avoid asking what we can expect at that price.

When public policy could reflect unarticulated or tolerated distinctions in worth or desert - gold, silver or bronze, an IQ of 130 or one of 90, hard working or indolent - it was possible to derive differences in function which legitimated variations in quality of provision. With the dissolution of such distinctions it has become increasingly difficult to justify anything but 'the best'. Variations in expenditure, accepted (not always wisely) as proxies for the level of service provided are readily subject to scrutiny and criticism.

All this creates problems in trying to apply quality control concepts to education. An educational administrator with whom I was discussing the matter recently was emphatic that (and I quote) 'quality is always expensive'. Now does this mean that superior quality is costlier than ordinary quality (however defined), or that in any particular sphere, a more demanding specification than that which exists, with finer tolerances and unaccompanied by compensating reductions in labour and material costs or the introduction of new and more efficient technologies, is likely to cost more per unit of output, or that securing concordance with an existing specification costs more than we are at present willing to spend, or what? To sort this out we need to look more closely at what is involved in trying to secure quality control.

3. The process of quality control

The meaning of quality control in manufacturing is quite narrowly defined. It is 'a term usually used in the UK to cover those techniques of inspection based upon sampling methods'. Quality control is part of a quality policy, which requires management continuously to

"(a) identify the customer's needs and his perception of his needs

(b) assess the total ability of the organization to produce the product economically

(c) ensure that the policies are understood at all levels

(d) obtain feedback of information from the market

(e) monitor performance by the manufacturing unit"

(Lockyer 1974, p51)

The key factor in any process of quality control is the determination of a specification. Assuming that we are able to determine the specification appropriate to the achievement of a particular purpose or purposes, how do we then go about the business of ensuring that this specification is met?

Determining the acceptable level of variability is an essential element in any specification. One thousand less or more, 600 hours from one electric bulb and 1800 from another in the same batch may or may not be acceptable. (Huitson and Keen 1965) In any process executed by different people using different machines and different pieces of material there will be, despite every effort at standardisation, residual variations which those responsible for quality control regard as inherent to that particular process. In addition, there will be sources of variation that arise from assignable causes - defects in raw material, the mood of the operator (the Friday afternoon car we all dread buying), the type of supervision exercised, and so on. The line between residual and assignable variations does not seem to me to be absolute, and is likely to be determined by economic considerations.

Now we are told that in education during recent years the mood of the customers has changed. Putting the matter in quality control terms, they are less willing to accept that variations in output are due to residual factors, and would like to tighten the specification and to obtain a more accurate indentification of the assignable causes of variability.

The task of identifying the assignable causes of variability and doing something about them has not been left to the professionals - not surprising when the customers

include every parent and tax payer, and the professional providers occupy what appears to some people to be a monopoly position. The air had been thick with assertions about inadequately trained teachers; weak heads, fragmented curricula and the lack of proper supervision and inspection.

Any hint that a large proportion of the variability in output can be assigned to a single factor is eagerly seized upon, especially when it chimes with a long standing demonology. Hence the concern with the alleged influence of Marxists, progressives and theorists. Within educational circles, a particular welcome has been given to research findings which hold out the possibility of improving outcomes through action taken by the educational system itself.

But the extent of present dissatisfaction with outcomes must not be exaggerated, and there are signs that the educational empire has begun to strike back. Surveys suggest that a high proportion of parents are reasonably well pleased with the education offered to their children (Lodge 1977. For US data see Hodgkinson 1979). The Policy Studies Institute and Lancaster University recently surveyed 300 Personnel Officers and found that most were satisfied with the quality of the school leavers employed. Over one third expressed no dissatisfaction of any kind with their recruits.

There are both practical and theoretical reasons why measures of need and satisfaction based upon evidence of this kind must be treated with caution. Not all the survey findings are in the same direction, as always, a great deal depends upon the way in which questions are worded and open-ended responses interpreted. Furthermore, it could be argued that even if the quantity and quality of educational services fully satisfied private demand, there may be aspects of what we can call the public good, and what an economist might call 'externalities' which justify additional provision and the stimulation by subsidy and other means of a demand sufficient to ensure that such provision is fully taken up. In the words of an OECD Report (1976 p33) 'in talking about the relation of such externalities and private demand we are led to consider the justification for government to supply more educational services than the private sector would demand if it were charged the full cost on an individual basis.' Customer satisfaction is not the sole criterion of quality in educational provision.

However spurious the recent inflation of discontent, education is not exempt from the greatly heightened sense of expectation that characterises open societies with high standards of living and high rates of return from individual investment in additional years of schooling. The language of quality control offers an analogy for recent changes in the distinctions made between high, medium and low cases of what is called relative precision.

High relative precision exists when the specification tolerance - the gap between the lower and upper specification limit - is wider than the current natural tolerance. For example, where the specification demands plus or minus five thous, and the actual distribution of completed items is fully contained within a distribution of plus or minus three thous, then high relative precision exists. Medium relative precision relates to where the fit between specification and process tolerance is for one reason or another much tighter. Low relative precision is when the process tolerance is wider than the specification range.

Now in the high relative precision case the manufacturer is in the happy position of being able to satisfy his customers with very little effort. He could even allow process tolerances to drift up or down a bit without running into trouble. There is opportunity to modify materials, methods, levels of supervision and so on without incurring penalty. This is less so in the medium precision case, emphatically not so when low precision is the rule. Then, something has to be done. Customer satisfaction might be maintained by a higher level of final reject, but this is both wasteful and inefficient. The process might be improved so that the residual variability diminishes. The customer might be persuaded to widen the specification, especially if it can be shown that the limits of improvement using existing or likely technologies have already been reached (and provided that someone else is not offering the existing or improved specification at a comparable price).

Sticking with the metaphor, we can now say that during the past decade or so the provision of many kinds of educational service, especially those offered during the compulsory years of primary and secondary schooling, has moved from a position of high to one of low relative tolerance. Until fairly recently the specification has been loosely drawn. Even where it has existed, customers were willing to accept that failures were the result of irreducible residual variability in the educational process, for which the educators themselves could not be expected to assume responsibility. At the one level, popular mythology invoked silk purses and sows ears and equine responses to confrontations with water, whilst at another, research findings on the distribution of ability and the effects of different patterns of motivation were quoted in defence.

Not all customers, of course, had identical tastes. Some wanted such esoteric products as greater social equality. Yet confronted with failure to deliver, even they went away more or less peaceably when presented with an explanation that suggested they were wrong to have wanted such a thing in the first place, but if they still hankered after it, they would be wise to deal with a group of quite different firms.

It is only in respect of some products that a potential customer provides a specification, invites tenders, chooses the most satisfactory, signs a contract and sits back to await delivery. (Although the short lived history of 'performance contracting' in the USA showed that some people found even this model attractive.) It is quite customary, and not only when the number of potential manufacturers is limited, for a specification to emerge from a lengthy and detailed process of negotiation between customer and manufacturer, in the course of which the desirable and possible become reconciled at a price acceptable to both parties. Quality control then becomes a matter of ensuring that the agreed specification is met, or that in the light of productive experience it is modified by means of further negotiation.

Now this is clearly a more promising conceptual framework in terms of which to fit the discussion of quality control in education than one which implies a market relationship in conditions of perfect competition, with the relationship between customer and manufacturer mediated solely by price. In the real world the education system is also the consumer of many of its own products, and many of the customers are themselves involved in some aspect of the production process. Information exchange in the course of negotiations between interlocking networks of national and local politicians, administrators, representatives of teachers' organisations, members of subject associations, interest groups and so forth, not only in formal settings but through contacts at conferences, in the columns of the educational press, at drinks parties, even in the street, constitute a continuous process by means of which agreements and understandings emerge as to what constitute reasonable and realistic expectations for the 'output' of particular parts of the system. The specifications, in other words, are negotiated, not simply put out to tender.

It will be clear from the preceding discussion that in my view an interpretation of quality control drawn from industrial practice ("those techniques of inspection based upon sampling methods") is of only very limited application to the determination of quality in non-marketed goods such as education. There are problems in defining quality. The use of the word 'control' implies a pattern of relationships that bears little relation to the human realities of institutional and system management. The production metaphor suggests a degree of precision in the process of inspection that we know from studies of, for example, inter-rater reliability cannot be achieved in educational settings. For all these reasons it is important to widen the meaning of quality control to take in a greater variety of social processes, which in the following section I shall classify as recognition, assessment and intervention. If in the course of such usage, quality control ceases to have any meaning that cannot better be conveyed by other terms - well, let us again not jump to conclusions too soon.

4. Modes of Quality Control in Education.

Recognition, assessment and intervention derive from the necessity of intra-generational coding of existing and new knowledge and its inter-generational transmission. It is interesting, but perhaps merely fanciful, to identify such coding and transmission with what Richard Dawkin (1978) calls 'menes', or cultural genes.*

By recognition I mean the process whereby authority to profess particular kinds of knowledge and to certify performances is conferred upon individuals and institutions. Recognition thus embraces procedures as apparently diverse as the determination of eligibility and access, credentialling and accreditation and the distribution of material and non-material rewards, such as praise, promotion and increased salary.

By assessment, I refer to the processes whereby tests made of the ways in which recognised individuals and institutions are utilizing the authority that recognition has conferred upon them. These include regular or occasional provision of information about current and completed activities (statistical returns, monitoring exercises, school self reports), many kinds of external measurement and the exercise of supervisory and inspectorial functions.

By intervention I mean the processes whereby new technologies and forms of organisation are introduced to

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* A great deal of work remains to be done in exploring the implications and relevance of the work sociobiologists to education in ways that avoids the ideological conflict that has marred many earlier discussions of this subject. Such exploration needs to be undertaken in full awareness of, the inevitable limitations of such work in educational contexts - limitations sharply brought out in a recent review of Symons (1979) by Clifford Geertz (1980):

> "This is a book about the 'primary male-female differences in sexuality among humans' in which the following things are not discussed. guilt, wonder, loss, self-regard, death; metaphor, justice, purity, intentionality, cowardice, hope, judgment, ideology, humour, obligation, despair, trust, malice, ritual, madness, forgiveness, sublimation, pity, extasy, obsession, discourse and sentimentality. It could only be one thing, and it is. Sociobiology"

For an admirable example of how sociobiological ideas can be accommodated within social-democratic political and philosophical assumptions see Midgley (1970). Balanced assessments of the value of these ideas are to be found in Caplan (1978) and Young (1978).

ameliorate or remedy failure, and those individuals or institutions who fail to satisfy criteria laid down in respect of continued profession of knowledge and certification of performances are deprived of some or all their authority to act. Such stigmatisation includes the cancellation of credentials; removal of the right to offer courses or programmes, or the imposition of more or less strict conditions for the continuation of such offerings, exclusion and dismissal, denial of opportunities for promotion or enhanced status, and individual and group disapproval

This categorisation links together a lot of things that in other contexts are examined separately. It also divides for purposes of anlysis processes that are not phenomenologically distinct. For example, some assessment processes, such as a conversation between an adviser or inspector and a junior teacher can embody elements of both recognition and intervention.

(i) Recognition

I will comment briefly on some of the processes that a person wedded to the use of the notion of quality control might regard as falling within its ambit.

First, within the broad heading of recognition there are the inter-connected questions of access and accreditation, which for present purposes I shall deal with separately.

There has been a consistent tendency in public policy to widen access, to minimise the effects of classifications such as non-resident, woman or working class, to break down the boundaries that at one time made it impossible for secondary modern schools to enter pupils for public examinations, that confined colleges of education to professional qualifications, that restricted non-polytechnic institutions to sub-degree work A progressive weakening has taken place in the sharpness of the criteria by which the eligibility of an individual or an institution for a particular kind of accreditation is established.

There have always been 'side-doors' - the Headmaster's discretion to admit thirteen or fourteen year olds to a selective Grammar School without test, the twelve per cent of university entrants without the requisite 'A' levels, the mature student candidate for shortened courses of teacher education, the local Tech. with its only half acknowledged ration of AFE, and so on. But in an increasingly egalitarian and rights-conscious society, the ability of a minority to obtain access by the side door has not been enough. A closed main entrance is an affront to the principles of open access, and its existence must be contested. A whole essay could be written about the costs and benefits to the individual and to society of what I have here called side door / main entrance principles At least until a new and firm position is negotiated and agreed, the assault on the 'main entrance' may well have the effects of closing some of the side doors.

Eligibility for admission to most primary and secondary schools is on the basis of criteria such as place of residence and age, that have only indirect connections with considerations of quality. The few State schools that remain selective in respect of ability, the more fastidious independent schools, some schools offering specialised work in, for example, music and dance, universities and many post-secondary institutions offering advanced study and professional training, still have the right to determine their own criteria of eligibility, to pick and choose amongst those who request access, to deny or to reject without giving detailed reasons. Even these rights do not go unquestioned, although those who abhor as elitist any form of selection on the basis of general or special abilities and potential do not always make clear how they would cope with an excess of demand over the number of places available. Ballots have been advocated and used in one or two instances, but they have not achieved any popularity.

Access to education is a study in its own right, and my only motive in mentioning it here is to emphasise that the ability to impose criteria of eligibility in order to control admissions cannot be ignored when issues of quality are at stake. We may, of course, decide that the moral and political priority of open access, coupled with the low validity and high personal and social costs of selection are such, at least during the period of compulsory education, as to rule out the manipulation of eligibility and access in the interest of quality control. Indeed, much of the debate about the structure and organisation of education over the past twenty-five years has been about just such issues, as well, of course, about the definition of the 'quality' over which some kind of control is sought.

Access is clearly linked to accreditation. This can relate to individuals, to courses and programmes of study, or to institutions. It is always an external process, whereby an appropriately constituted body confers academic or professional authority. At the individual level such accreditation takes the form of credentialling - the award of a diploma or degree that established the eligibility and fitness of a person (a) to proceed to a further level of education and training (b) to profess certain forms of knowledge and (c) to practice particular skills, or some combination of these. I do not see how the question of quality control can sensibly be discussed without reference to such credentialling, which is surely the oldest and most persistent way in which we seek to contain standards of achievement and performance Not that everyone is satisfied with the results. For some, the CSE or 'O' levels no longer mean what they did, degrees are too cheaply obtained, professional qualifications soon lose their relevance in a changing world and require regular updating and certification. The continuous debate that takes place on these matters is, of course, one of the mechanisms by means of which the thresholds of knowledge and competence that establish eligibility for a particular award are negotiated.

It is clearly impracticable on an occasion of this kind to list and comment upon all the different features of individual and institutional accreditation as it is practiced in our society. It is important however to recognise that it always involves release from direct supervision, that it confers freedom to act within a specified time frame without subjection to the kind of moment to moment checking and control that (nominally at least) is the lot of the apprentice and certain assembly line workers. As the heads of totalitatian regimes understand very well - and I have in mind the experience of the Nazi backed regime in Norway during World War 2 - classrooms are in any case very difficult places in which to exercise any kind of systematic supervision of what is going on.

(ii) Assessment

For the present purpose I will identify only three kinds of assessment, characterised by rather different methodologies and purposes, each of which could be an element in what might be described as quality control.

First, assessment is undertaken to rank and certify individual performance. Within this category come internal and external examinations, such as those conducted by teachers themselves, and state or nation-wide external examinations such as the General Certificate of Education and the Baccalaureate. In the process of ranking individuals for the purpose of assigning relative achievement within a peer group, or certifying the possession of certain knowledge, skills or understanding as pre-requisites for further stages of education or employment, many different techniques can be employed. These include the familiar three hour "unseen" paper with its requirements for essay type answers, tests of achievement standardised on smaller or larger populations, and course work and projects. Recent years have also seen a veritable explosion, especially in the United States, in the institutionalisation of what is know as 'minimum competency testing". I shall have more to say about this in a moment, but there seems no doubt that it comes within the first of my three categories, even though the purposes it serves are somewhat broader.

The second category comprises assessment undertaken for purposes of educational diagnosis and curriculum evaluation. Here again, there are several levels. Conscientious teachers have long undertaken regular testing of pupil progress, sometimes using intruments specially designed for diagnostic purposes. They have sought to identify those kinds of knowledge, skills and understanding in which their classes are proficient and deficient, to identify the strength and weaknesses of particular pupils within these knowledge and skilled domains, and to evaluate the extent to which the objectives of a particular course or programme of study are being achieved. There are, of course, many methods of assessment which can be used in the diagnostic and evaluative mode. Wood (1977) has argued that the analysis of responses

to questions in the familiar General Certificate of Education can be of much greater value than simple aggregate scores on specially designed tests, in that such analysis enables a meaningful relationship to be established between objectives, syllabus content, examination questions and levels of mastery. The information we get from answers to a particular question, especially if we can classify candidates by region, socio-economic background, size of instructional group, type of teaching employed and other situational and instructional variables, can tell us much about these pupils, their teachers and their schools. It can also be informative of the kinds of knowledge and skill that the questions attempt to sample, and the relationship of these to the objectives of the course overall. Analysis of this kind also plays a part in the third mode of assessment that I want to identify.

This is the monitoring of school and system performance. Here the unit of comparison is not the individual student, but a school, group of schools or school system. The tests employed can be among those used in the ranking/certifying mode and/or the diagnostic/evaluative mode. There is a long history of using GCE results in the United Kingdom to make judgments about the relative success of e.g. Grammar, Direct Grant and Comprehensive Schools, or to establish that standards of attainment have risen or fallen over time. Such attempts have had some political impact. But it has not been difficult to show that most of the comparisons made, both between institutions and over time, are spurious, having been calculated on shifting base lines, inadequate samples and over-simplified input/output models.

Specific attempts to assess the performance of whole systems, although they had their progenitors in the United Kingdom in the "codes" and "standards" on which for a time grants for educational expenditure were based, are in their modern form of very recent origin. Within this mode of assessment are to be included the US National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), the work of the UK Assessment of Performance Unit (APU) and many of the state and local accountability schemes that have been introduced in the US and in England and Wales. All these arose in the 'sixties and early 'seventies, co-terminously with the rise of doubts about the performance of schools and teachers.

The optimistic expectations of the schools that characterised the sixties reflected both left and right wing aspirations. Greater equality could be defined in terms of either outcome or opportunity. Better economic performance offered higher rewards for all, including more for distribution to the less well paid. An enhanced sense of political responsibility could be seen by the left in terms of more democratic participation, by the right in a greater sense of social responsibility and respect for property.

In just the same way, some of the expectations generated the testing movement attract support from both left

and right. To make educational outcomes more visible, to cut through teachers' claims of professional confidentiality is according to one's point of view either to reduce the chance of ideological takeover of the curriculum or to make the governance and conduct of education more open and less secretive.

Feelings expressed on these matters derive from two vaguely felt "rights' - the "right to know" and the "right of privacy". But these are in some circumstances antithetical to each other (Shils 1974). One cannot have both. If a system is to be tolerably efficient and reasonably humane, some measure of confidentiality is needed..

> "The reasons for confidentiality, as well as the reasons for anonymity, are not matters of principle. They are matters of practical advantage towards all parties concerned ...a conscientious and devoted teacher will seek to guide his pupil around the shoals of his defects without describing them explicitly . Yet in writing to a potential employer or a grant awarding body or a professional school a teacher would do less than his duty if he does not write the truth as he sees it. If he fails to do so he will impose disadvantages upon the better qualified student for the benefit of the less qualified one" (Shils Ibid p144)

It is necessary here to recognise the problem created by what Shils (1974) and Broudy (1977) call the fiduciary element in education. The movement from staus to contract, from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft, from community to society, has diminshed opportunity for experience of a kind on which relationships of trust can be built The post-Freudian, post-Marxist and post-Dawinian world that we inhabit does not make for the kind of simplicity of assumption on which trust thrives. Yet there are many respects in which parents must trust the teachers of their children, in which the community must trust the administrators and staff of its schools. Even if they so wished, it would be totally impracticable to exercise moment to moment surveillance.

It will be obvious that in the confines of this paper I cannot do justice to the part that the process I have called assessment plays in maintaining quality control. I have said nothing, for example, about the way in which a body like the Council for National Academic Awards operates once recognition has been given to a course or institution, about the possible clashes that may arise, given the distinction that we make in public sector higher education, between academic and course approval, between academic control and resource control. I have made no attempt to deal with the work of HMI and with local authority inspectorates and advisory services (Bolam et al 1979). And I have left out a host of other matters that I can only hope will be dealt with in the group and plenary discussions that follow.

I have focused on testing because the apparent 'hardness' of the numbers so produced invest them with an importance that may be denied to more refined non-numerical judgments. If there is no simple way to prevent the misuse and abuse of such figures by those with a political axe to grind, educators do have a duty to point out the limitations and deficiencies of test data, particularly when it comes to ascribing causes and identifying action that it is hoped will bring about improved outcomes. Such caution is essential if we are to benefit from the careful and systematic analysis of data obtained from tests that are appropriately designed, and interpreted in relation to their purposes and objectives. Developments at the frontiers of statistical theory, greater ease and accuracy of data collection and computational methods and a better appreciation of what particular figures do and do not show can all help to avoid excesses.

There is much that could be, for example, said about the collection of statistics concerning local authority spending on education, and the need for more research on the relation of costs to 'outputs'. We know that there are significant variations in spending on education. We do not know to what extent such differences arise from accounting practices or reflect real differences in resource allocation. We know next to nothing about the way in which any real differences in expenditure relate to outcomes and performances. As long as we recognise the limitations of data of this kind, there is much to be said for more work on 'intermediate outputs', to show how spending patterns relate to the level of service provided (Howick and Hassani 1979, 1980). There is also food for thought in the suggestion that the costs of effective quality control in industrial production processes amount to between four and twelve per cent of total turnover (Juran 1962, quoted Lockyer 1974). I must leave to others the intriguing business of making comparisons between figures of this magnitude and a breakdown of the relevant cost columns in the CIPFA statistics!

(iii) Intervention

Having conducted our testing programmes, analysed the outcomes of our monitoring exercises, undertaken our inspections, what do we do with the results? Action in the real world is seldom based on logical sequences (recognise - assess - intervene - renew/modify recognition, etc.). Just as the existence of a research project or programme on a particular topic, long before the formal publication of 'results', helps to modify the agenda of our concerns and sensitises us to issues that might otherwise remain unconsidered, so the existence of testing, monitoring and inspection processes modifies teaching and learning (Taylor 1973, 1980). To deal adequately with this theme would require excusions into the vast literature of educational innovation that are clearly out of the question in the present context. I must restrict myself to three points, chosen because I hope they will be taken up

in subsequent discussion.

First, I do not think that we are always sufficiently careful in distinguishing between what might be called organisational and system improvements and those which might follow from changes in motivation, knowledge, dedication and skill of individual teachers. Nonetheless, the last ten years have seen some important if little remarked shifts of emphasis in public policy and professional practice.

At one time the hope of improvement was strongly invested in the possibilities of technological change - new methods of teaching, new forms of organisation, new apparatus and equipment - and in what came to be called "Rational Curriculum Planning", or RCP for short. Within the past decade such hopes have faded. The emphasis now is on individual growth, on the part that in-service education and further professional training for teachers, heads and administrators might play in securing improvements (Taylor 1978). This is, of course, consistent with the greater stress on 'person-blame' rather than 'system blame' explanations that has accompanied the decline in faith in the possibilities and promise of planning and the resurgence of interest in market and invisible-hand explanations of change

Second, we should not underestimate the extent to which the simple provision of information derived from testing, monitoring and inspection can lead to modifications of practice. To take a single example, I should imagine that there are many people who have observed and drawn upon the findings in the Inspectorate Secondary Survey (DES 1979) about excessive concentration upon and the narrowness of some existing work in the basics, (since confirmed in the Scottish HMI report on Primary 4 and 7 (SED 1980)), when confronting those who continue to assert that teachers have been unresponsive to the priority of literacy and numeracy. But the value of such information assumes the existence of an active professional concern on the part of teachers, heads and administrators that gets little emphasis in models of change based upon notions of 'quality control'.

Third, such models and the movements within which they have originated have brought into play a lot of incredibly loose talk about a form of intervention that can usefully be labelled stigma. 'Lay it on the line to them', 'make them get it right', 'get rid of the incompetents', 'weed out the duds', 'clean out the Augean stables' and so on, ad nauseum. Fortunately it is only occasionally that contemporary life imitates the art of the soap opera, in which characters stare each other down with narrowed eyes, bellow at each other across desks, deride, demote and dismiss without compunction, and terminate conversations with such phrases as 'I've better things to do than sit here talking to you'. Disenchantment with the fruits of social science has encouraged kinds of robust sentiment and no-nonsense populism that bring out the residual frontiersman in us all. The reality of organisational life, especially in the context

of recent legislation, is very different. To produce a negative report on an individual or on a course, to stigmatise teachers or institutions as inadequate, to modify or withdraw an existing form of recognition on the basis of testing, inspection or review is inevitably and properly a serious business, demanding of time and attention and qualities of leadership.

I wonder if I am alone in finding the literature of supervision and assessment curiously bloodless, devoid of information about what it actually feels like to 'put the boot in' as the respected journal Education described the recent action of Scottish HMIs on publication of their Primary 4 and 7 report, to confront an administrator or a head or a teacher with the record of his or her own inadequacies, to initiate action that will deny or modify an existing form of recognition? Or, even more importantly, what it is like to be on the receiving end of these processes? The language of quality control is replete with references to failure and rejection. I do not think it is either unnecessary or sentimental to remind ourselves that we deal with a very different kind of raw material; our responsibility as educators is to ensure that the vocabulary and metaphors we employ are consistent with the values and commitments that we profess. I am not sure that the resonances of quality control satsify this requirement.

5. Conclusion

I noted at the beginning of this paper that the title of your conference was interrogative. I have indicated, in responding to the question thus posed, that I am less than happy with some of the implications and resonances of using 'quality control' to package that great variety of processes - validating, accreditating, credentialling, testing, monitoring, inspecting, advising - which might contribute to the quality of education. Especially so when such processes depend not upon the degree of control that one person or agency exercises over other people or agencies, but on mutual understanding, on the negotiation of agreements, the provision and exchange of information, above all on the personal commitments that individuals make to the improvements of their practice.

The economist Joan Robinson (1979) has recently had this to say about the over elaboration of models:

> "Mathematical operations are performed upon entitities that cannot be defined, calculations are made in terms of units that cannot be measured, accounting identities are mistaken for casual laws; differences are identified with changes; and one way movements in time are treated like movements to and fro in space. The complexity of models is elaborated merely for display, far and away beyond the possibility of application to reality"

I fear that such over elaboration is not restricted to economics.

The images invoked by quality control invite unhelpful comparisons with processes that have little to do with education, and lend a superficial technological glamour to bureaucratic values that all of us, administrators, especially, would do best to avoid. The language that such images encourages us to use erodes and discredits the human elements of mutuality, trust, reciprocity sympathy, dependence, scepticism, understanding, responsibility and commitment that in various mixes characterise the complex relations of parents, teachers, heads, advisers, inspectors and education officers.

To end on a positivie note, could I suggest that there would be much to be gained from concentrating our attention on those processes of policy making and administration that offer, not quality control, but prospects of educational improvement? The word isn't very original, and has no very impressive scientific or technical overtones. But it does underline the very important fact that the only real, non-arbitrary standards we possess are based on what is happening now, on the current achievements or the lack of them of 11 year olds, school leavers, qualified teachers, graduates in engineering and so on. It emphasises that a better quality education is made up of minute particulars. The head of the Maths. Department in one Comprehensive discovers through a lecture at an in-service course a new approach to fourth year Maths., comes across a book on the same theme a little later on, meets some friendly colleagues from other schools and a sympathetic adviser who have tried it and believe it works, and is supported by his head in trying it out. The headmistress of another uses all her understanding and tact and collegial respect to persuade militant Miss X (without 'bawling her out' or 'laying it on the line') that preparing lessons and marking work in a reasonable time is not some kind of cop-out to bourgeois values. The Chief Education Officer is happy to accept an idea from his finance section that saves Heads and their secretaries half an hour of form-filling each week and gives them a fraction more discretion in the allocation of resources.

Improvement involves elements of chance, opportunism, serendipity, even contradiction. It demands a positive climate of public attitudes towards education, of a kind that is more likely to be earned by achieving and maintaining high standards of professional knowledge and skill and commitment than by discovering and implementing so-called systems of quality control.

We should always be ready to learn from the theories, concepts and language of other fields in the teaching and practice of educational administration. But what look like superficially attractive analogies can turn out to be dangerous metaphors, which work to redescribe the phenomena of education in terms that are not educational at all. In the spheres

of production to which it is relevant, the idea of quality control is important and worthwhile. But education is not such a sphere. The question mark in your title is amply justified.

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THE INSPECTORATE AND QUALITY CONTROL IN EDUCATION

Pamela Young
University of London
Institute of Education.

Introduction

Kay-Shuttleworth was quite sure that inspection was "not intended as a means of exercising control, but of affording assistance ... Her Majesty's Inspectors have ... no authority to direct, and will not be permitted ... to advise unless invited to do so".(1) . This dictum still applies, but then as now, Her Majesty's Inspectorate exercise a measure of quality control in education by virtue of their task of "sampling the system"*(2), notably in the sector of further education.* What is in doubt today, is the degree to which the nature and style of quality control in education has changed in response to the changed needs of the Department of Education and Science. Recent publications (Primary Education in England, 1978, Aspects of Secondary Education 1979.(3) suggest a shift in the balance between evaluating the process and product of the maintained school sector*, towards the product side, using an additional set of techniques.

Quality Control in Education Obscured

The question of quality control as an element in affording assistance to education has tended to be obscured in recent years. In the sixties and seventies, there was a change in the mode and style of advising and inspecting away from the formal inspection with its written report for individual institutions, to one of a more general kind.(4) Miss Sheila Browne, Senior Chief Inspector, said in her evidence to the Select Committee in 1976(5), "Our major-

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* *HMI were involved with the following in 1978:- Schools Council activities; APU; consultants to the Manpower Services Commission; joint work with DESS on under-fives; survey effects of falling rolls; survey effects of expenditure patterns by LEAs on schools; process Circular 14/77 returns; 16+ exam.; Inner City programme, Primary and Secondary Surveys; work for the Warnock Report; national/regional/local courses eg on Education in Schools Cmnd 6869; follow up to the Bullock Report; examine mixed ability teaching; survey units for pupils with behavioural problems; development of B.Ed Source: DES (1979) Education Survey 1978. H.M.S.O.*

* *HMIs and the FE sector are not dealt with in this paper.*

surveys are more visible and more policy-related, but they are only a means to an end. We are constantly trying to sample the system to see which way it is going and which way it should go, but when we are fairly clear something needs attention or is of interest in planning, or could be of interest to planning, then we would mount a major survey."

A second reason for suggesting that Her Majesty's Inspectorate's task of quality control in education has been obscured in the sixties and seventies, was the "modus operandi" adopted by individuals (and LEA Inspectors) or teams until very recently. This has taken the form of qualitative and subjective assessments based on a more or less clear idea of "good practice"(6) - a concept which includes the teacher's relationships with his pupils, the adequacy with which the curriculum is taught, the evidence of good learning habits in the pupil and so on, of the kind to be found in the Plowden Report (1967). Such subjective assessments of "good practice" have been much maligned as being "too soft", "lacking clear criteria" and inappropriate for effective quality control in education. Indeed it may well have been that similar comments both from within the Department of Education and Science and from without (7) about this form of assessment by Her Majesty's Inspectorate, prompted the adoption of additional quality measures of the process and product of education.

Lastly there was the shift in responsibilities from H M Inspectors to the local education authorities' advisory team. It was the Select Committee (1968) who noted that the advisory activities of Her Majesty's Inspectorate overlapped the work of the local inspectorate (8). Subsequently, there was a withdrawal by Her Majesty's Inspectorate from giving day-to-day advice in favour of conveying the national viewpoint, national trends and national standards (9). It would appear to the observer that quality control in education at the local level fell increasingly to the lot of the local inspector after this withdrawal.

When these three factors of the sixties and seventies are put together, it can be argued that Her Majesty's Inspectors task of quality control in education may have diminished in volume but it has not disappeared.

The Changes

The three factors mentioned above have undergone change in the second half of the nineteen seventies. Formal inspections have certainly diminished in number except for "special reasons" like the Sutton Centre at Sutton-Ashfield (1978) investigations (10). There has also been the addition of objective testing in the surveys of Her Majesty's Inspectorate, and, very recently, in many local education authorities a marked increase can be detected in inspectorial as opposed to the advisory task. The reasons for these changes are familiar to us all. They are not dealt with

here for they are well documented elsewhere (11).

The responsibilities of H.M. Inspectorate have been enlarged in respect of both their traditional roles as guardians of standards and advisers on the curriculum (12), they now find themselves projected to the centre of the education stage. In 1975, the Assessment of Performance Unit (APU) was set up and located in Schools Branch III of the Department of Education and Science (the new section concerned with curriculum and examinations) and staffed by three of Her Majesty's Inspectors seconded to this particular work. The APU has as its brief: "to promote the development of methods of assessing and monitoring the achievement of children at school and to seek to identify the incidence of under-achievement." The quality control element in education with the addition of a quantitative bias, is very clearly presented in this statement of intent; and it is also to be found in the Inspectorate's "checklist" for the secondary sector of the sorts of skills that are thought desirable - aesthetics, creative, ethical, linguistic, mathematical, scientific, social, political and spiritual. Clearly, the APU and its objectives are likely to become an increasingly important factor in any future attempt to institute quality control in education. For example, both Lancashire and Avon are already planning accountability schemes using APU and NFER procedures.

At much the same time as the APU was established, the primary and secondary surveys got under way. Both surveys used a mixed approach the "old" careful, professional judgements, and the "new" quantitative approach. In the case of the primary survey, scores obtained by children in objective tests administered by NFER, were analysed. For the secondary survey, quantitative information was collected and statistical tests were applied to the data derived. On the basis of the findings from the mixed approach, Her Majesty's Inspectors wrote their reports. It was the usage of the quantitative material that raised doubts in the press and not the content. Both reports received guarded praise as helpful guides for local education authorities and schools in their own quality control activities.

Shortly after the two surveys began, the series of curriculum appraisals, known as "Matters for Discussion", were initiated and the findings published as a basis for strategic planning by local authorities. As a guidance procedure, the series were a new departure for Her Majesty's Inspectorate, but very much in keeping with the Inspectorate's work with improving the quality of education. These "Matters for Discussion" and the document circulated in February 1977 as a background to the "Great Debate", to CEO's, colleges of education and professional associations contained criticisms of a number of aspects of education.

Sandwiched between the activities of the Inspectorate referred to above, came the publication of "Education in

Schools .A Consultative Document" (Cmnd 6869). It contained a statement about the aims of the schools that very much reflected Inspectorate thinking (para 1.19) and looked for a translation of these aims into practice in the schools "The conclusions reached by H M. Inspectorate must be capable of being related nationally to the education system."

Between the publication of "Primary Education in England" (September 1978), and "Aspects of Secondary Education in England" (December 1979), the Department of Education and Science published "Local Authority Arrangements for the School Curriculum", a report on Circular 14/77 which required local education authorities to review their policies and practices in curricular matters For a Circular it was almost without precedent in education in its unusually searching inquiry into "local arrangements for co-ordination and development, curricular balance and breadth, selected subject areas, transition between schools, school records, and preparation for working life."

Apart from the detailed nature of the questions asked, the report on the Circular review is of interest for a different reason It is the first time that a document has been available which allows local education authorities to discover in a comprehensive rather than a piecemeal fashion, what other authorities are thinking and doing in curricular and allied matters The document could well be used by the schools themselves when seeking knowledge about how other than their own authorities proceed on this front. (There is no dearth of Department information on a wide variety of educational topics, but very little however is useable in any meaningful way by schools engaged in self-evaluation).

In January 1980, "View of the School Curriculum" was published by Her Majesty's Inspectorate It was the culmination of the Inspectorate's activities of the last five years and contained a clear statement about what is and what should be It is perhaps too early to assess the full significance of this document for 'affording assistance' in education since it received a mixed reception from the education service.

Her Majesty's Inspectorate and the LEAs

By and large, the Inspectorate work closely with the local authorities, there is frequent consultation. Both sides are very much aware of the other's thinking and activities The sixties and seventies saw a heightening of the complementary nature of the work of the two inspectorates (13). By the mid seventies, for example, a number of local education authorities had developed very similar procedures to those of the full inspection carried out by Her Majesty's Inspectors. In more than one authority, the inspectors have worked to produce some acceptable criteria for both subjective and objective evaluations of their schools, others have produced "Checklists" which have been

circulated to schools in order that teachers may be able to assess strengths and weaknesses. The onus here is very much on the school itself exercising quality control.

Much publicity was given in 1978 to Hillingdon's two week long assessments by the advisory team, of every school, as part of a comprehensive scheme to unify, support and monitor school work (14). Activities of this kind suggest that there is an increase in quality control in education at the local level that parallels attempts at the centre. One indicator that quality control in education is growing locally was provided by Miss Ann Burridge, the president of the National Association of Inspectors and Schools Educational organisers, when she suggested in her inaugural speech, 1979, that the term inspector was politically more desirable and more explicit than the term adviser. There is further support for her comment to be found in the report on the review initiated by Circular 14/77 referred to earlier. (15)

Conclusions

The Inspectorate is the oldest instrument for monitoring our education service. From this derives a second major function, that of improving the service-quality control in education. The wish of the Department of Education and Science for more detailed information to assist policy formation has pushed Her Majesty's Inspectorate to the forefront and required them to produce more quantitative data than formerly. There is evidence that the local authorities are not unhappy with this development. What this change in methodology has tended to do is to highlight the quality control aspect of the inspectorial task in education, to the probable detriment to the task of giving professional advice for the improvement of the education system that has been well received by practitioners and local authorities in the past.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. Tenth Report from the Expenditure Committee, the Education, Arts and Home Office Sub-Committee, Session 1975-76, Policy Making in the Department of Education and Science, HMSO para 1454.

3. DES (1978) Primary Education in England: A survey by HM Inspectors of schools, HMSO. The primary survey was based on a sample of 543 schools, and explored three sets of questions. The first related to standards of achievement and for this HMI called upon NFER for standardised tests. The second set was concerned with the content of the curriculum and the extent to which the essential ground was covered. The third set was given questions about the matching of teaching and learning to the full range of ability within the primary school. Questions in the third and second sets were tackled by HMIs own techniques of visits and observation. DES (1979) Aspects of Secondary Education in England A survey by HM Inspectors of Schools, HMSO. It was based on a series of inspections covering 10 per cent of maintained secondary schools concentrating on the last two years of secondary schooling. Four aspects of education were the focus the development of language skills, mathematical understanding, scientific skills and the personal and social development of the pupils. NFER assisted with the forms used in the survey.

4. Gatherer W.A. (1974), "Control and Guidance. The Role of the Inspector", in Hughes M. (ed.) Administering Education International Challenge Athlone Press.

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6. Nash R. "Teaching Styles of Rural Heads" in McAleese R. and Hamilton D. Understanding Classroom Life NFER.

7. DES (1975) A Language for Life (Bullock Report) HMSO proposed as its first recommendation. "a system of monitoring . . . which will employ new instruments to assess a wider range of attainments than has hitherto been attempted in the past, and allow new criteria to be established for the definition of literacy".

8. op cit. Select Committee Report (1976)

9. op cit. Tenth Report (1976) para 1462

10. Maclure S. (1978) "Introducing-Background to the Accountability Debate" pp 9-25 in Becher T. and Maclure S. (1978) Accountability in Education NFER.

11. See Becher and Maclure: The "yellow book", a confidential memorandum entitled School Education in England - Problems and Initiative: Education in Schools.

12. In 1977 HMI were reorganised to cope with the work. About a quarter (70-100) were withdrawn from the general, local and subject specialist work they were doing to work on the national surveys and studies. A proportion of the Inspectorate are now answerable primarily to the centre (first call centre) and are not available for territorial assignment. Source: Letter sent to CEOs by Miss S. Browne, December 1976.

13. HMI (1977) Curriculum 11-16: Working papers by HMI, a contribution to current debate. DES 1977. Five LEAs are supporting the schools in their area who are working within the HMI framework. These should be published in the near future and will describe the work and "the variety of local flesh they have put on the inspectorial bones" p.iv

14. Craddock W.J. (1979) "Forms of Assessment of Schools in Hillingdon", an address to BEAS South East Annual Conference, 3.2.79.

15. op cit. Report of C.14/77, for examples see pages 14, 17, 34, 42, 50, 68.

SCHOOL GOVERNING BODIES AS AGENTS OF QUALITY CONTROL*

J.L.Davies & G. Lyons
Anglian Regional Management Centre
North East London Polytechnic.

1. Introduction

In pursuing the theme of quality control we are concerned to identify and examine, through the use of a simple theoretical framework, a set of key areas under which effective performance of the school can be scrutinised, and additionally, to ensure that this very process of accounting to the public for the effectiveness of the institution is itself properly discharged. Examination of the key areas identified indicates the likelihood that effective performance in these areas is necessary for institutional health. however attribution of responsibility for this effective performance is to the educational sector and not necessarily to governing bodies. However, if those responsible for the operation of governing bodies are not clear on the answers to the questions posed, then one must either question the relevance of their very existence, or ascertain how their operation could incorporate such a role. The paper explores these issues.

2. Some Initial Contextual Assumptions

2.1 It is necessary initially to make some assumptions about the future pattern of educational government and management at school level, based upon pressures and tensions which are presently and necessarily within the system, in order to give a context to the argument we wish to develop. Amongst these are:- pressures for public accountability; a developing consumer movement; pressures to see the school more fully integrated within its community and to the hard facts of economic life. This is likely to be expressed not only in constitutional terms but also in performance

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* *This paper is based upon evidence submitted to the Committee of Enquiry into the Management and Government of Schools, January 1976, by J.L. Davies and G. Lyons, Anglian Regional Management Centre, Danbury, and G.W. Rose, New York University. Copies of the original submission may be obtained from Anglian Regional Management Centre, Danbury Park, Chelmsford, Essex, CM3 4AT.*

terms, including cost effectiveness, social responsibility, etc. It is likely that governing bodies as presently constituted may not be equipped to deal with such pressure. There will also be continuing pressure from teachers' unions, certainly over conditions of work and service, and from within the school for continued delegation of responsibility for purposes of efficient work processing, and also on staff development grounds.

It seems self-evident that the points outlined above contain inherent conflict between institutional autonomy on the one hand and public accountability on the other. LEA's have sought in the past to resolve this conflict by the use of two intermediaries -

> governing bodies consisting of representatives of various interest groups which are intended to secure fulfilment of LEA policy in the context of a particular school, and undertake representations to LEA on behalf of the school,
>
> LEA advisers/inspectors who are intended to be both the 'eyes and ears' of the LEA and the 'guides philosophers and friends' of schools. We have written elsewhere (1) of the role conflict implicit in this situation, even though advisers are an important informal lubricant in the system to prevent the autonomy-accountability dichotomy reaching formidable proportions.

It appears to us that these mediating processes, the one formal and legislative and the other informal and administrative, are in danger of breaking down.

2.2 Additionally, there are growing doubts about the adequacy of existing methods of institutional planning and resource allocation to schools which in many cases has been unsystematic, and were evolved in a period of constant rapid growth rather than the current situation of zero growth or contraction. Schools, like other educational institutions, have not been notable for the effectiveness of their planning, and governors have rarely offered a significant contribution in this area.

2.3 It also seems evident to posit that there must be continuing (even healthy) conflict within the local authority between education and other agencies, e.g.

> with central units such as personnel and finance, and with other spending services, such as social services, and recreation and leisure, in areas of policy overlap, coordination at the grassroots operational level, and joint use of facilities.

There are both undesirable and desirable features of corporate management, but the fact remains that school government and management is likely to be increasingly affected as its use in local authorities is extended and developed, and by definition this could pose a challenge for governing bodies in terms of e.g. staff recruitment and selection, joint use of school facilities, etc.

2.4 It becomes apparent that there is an increasing awareness that schools have very different problems from each other, e.g. in terms of growth, decline or a steady state, and the environment in which they operate; and the personalities involved. Thus, we would contend that the past practice of searching for legal/structural solutions/recipes of a general nature which may be enshrined in common articles and instruments may not be at all appropriate. It would seem, in looking to the future, that diverse situations will not be solved by uniform methods. the principle of unequal treatment perhaps should predominate.

2.5 There is also an increasing amount of over-work occurring in education offices, from which it could be concluded that, in the absence of additional staff, the only solution is delegation within broad guidelines to institutions. But desirable though this may be, there are a series of issues which may be too large for resolution at school level. Issues of this type currently exercising the attention of schools are those concerned with a reduction of school population, unemployment of teachers, disturbed and disruptive pupils and so forth.

2.6 If the above are acceptable portents, it follows that the role of governing bodies has to be analysed with these sorts of issues in mind as representing the fundamental issues inherent in the pursuit of quality control. One cannot treat these processes in isolation from other parts of the system: This may result in the conclusion that other bodies already existing are performing traditional governing body roles more effectively. If this is the case, it should be recognised as such, and no teams shed. If there is a case still for governing bodies, then prime attention should be devoted to

the key tasks they should uniquely perform - the 'WHAT';

the processes they should use to carry out their tasks - the 'HOW';

the groups and people needed to carry out the processes - the 'WHO'.

and it is quite conceivable that the answers to these will differ widely from place to place.

Let us now turn to a simple theoretical framework to provide further insight into these questions as a way towards the identification of key processes in quality control.

3. A systematic framework to identify the need for, and effectiveness of, Governing Bodies.

3.1 We wish to use a variant of an 'open systems approach' in order to raise a number of pertinent questions relating to the effectiveness of the school, and by implication, the role of various agencies in providing satisfactory answers to these questions.(2)

Using the open systems approach referred to, it is apparent that there are a number of key organisational processes which need to take place to secure the overall wealth and effectiveness of the institution which somebody or other in the system must undertake.. It is suggested that the following are perhaps amongst the most significant:

The explicit setting of goals; the development and fulfilment of policies to meet these goals - educational, social, cultural, etc; and their evaluation.

The development of curricular and other activities relevant to the goals, and their renewal and updating in the light of changing circumstances, internally and externally.

The acquisition of adequate resources to fulfil the school's purposes - physical, human, financial.

The effective utilisation and deployment of the resources available, particularly staff and space, and

The maintenance of a motivated and competent staff.

Satisfied and cared for pupils.

The development and maintenance of good supportive relationships with the groups in the external environment who have an interest in the school, and notably

The development and maintenance of a good corporate reputation for the school, and

The effective integration of the contributions of those with an interest in the life of the school.

The evaluation of performance.

The health of the school in organisational terms may begin to be assessed overall, therefore, using this framework.

3.2 If the governing body of the institution is really to be relevant and helpful to the functioning of the institution, one may justifiably enquire as to which of these key processes are its pertinent areas of interest, and also how well governing bodies perform in these areas. Immediately it becomes apparent that the governing body is not the only body with an interest in any one of them. There is considerable ambiguity, overlap and confusion in the system: the LEA (Officers, advisers and members), PTA, headteacher, school staff, HMI, and professional teacher associations may be involved in the key processes quoted above.

Some of this ambiguity is welcome, accepted and the result of a recognisable partnership. Some, on the other hand, is the ambiguity of conflict and uncertainty, where the de facto location of initiatives does not at all correspond with the de jure location of legal responsibility. Indeed, in regard to certain key areas, ineffectual governing bodies may have been supplanted by other bodies, whose expertise and credibility may be perceived to be far more potent. In this case, to perpetuate a de jure system which has been bypassed by events may be quite futile.

3.3. Thus, instead of starting off at the point of looking at tasks like discipline, admissions, etc., we would prefer to start by considering who is likely to be able to contribute effectively to these key processes, and what the especial contribution of a governing body may be.

3.4 The systems framework would not imply an automatic association between one school and one governing body. In responding to the existing local situation, it may well be that a convenient 'local' grouping of schools would provide the natural and coherent unit. Where circumstances allow, a secondary school and its contributory primary schools could provide such a grouping; similarly, groupings of first, middle and high schools could be profitably formed.

In other authorities a grouping of nursery, infant and junior schools, may more realistically represent

community needs and associations. The permutations are numerous. The systems model implies such flexibility; it does not imply a prescriptive, nationally imposed structure for governing bodies.

3.5 It is contended that the processes outlined above, then, are critical ones to enable the governing body to orientate its discussions to questions of quality. Unless it consciously perceives itself as having a specific role in these fields, it can be strongly argued that its influence on quality improvement and maintenance in the school will be severely limited.

4. Application of this framework

4.1 We must first ask ourselves the question, what is the distribution of contributions of participants in terms of the key organisational processes? Figure 1 indicates examples of how this might emerge in relation to a hypothetical school. Each of these key processes can be broken down into

i. Who maintains the prime accountability and sees that the process is enacted?

ii. Where will initiatives in idea or policy terms normally spring from?

iii. Who will primarily be concerned with day-to-day operation of the process?

iv. Who will be concerned with evaluation of the school's performance at the end of the day?

4.2 Let us turn our attention now to a number of points emerging from this analysis.

i. Despite the overall statutory responsibility of the LEA, the governing body may well be the prime focal point of accountability. In short, the governing body may be in business to ensure that these processes are effectively undertaken, and in order to do this, has to be a powerful advocate outside the school (e.g. vis a vis LEA), and a sensitive motivator within the school (e.g. vis a vis head and staff). It may not therefore necessarily display the same style in both situations.

ii. Initiatives in an open system should be expected to come from several directions. We do not feel that they should be at all restricted. The governors' main functions here may very well be to encourage a multiplicity of contributions,

without necessarily restricting any specialisation on their own part.

iii. Governors may be able to contribute a great deal to implementation, either collectively or singly to the key processes listed above.

iv. Governors, because they may be a prime focus of responsibility, have clearly to be interested in systematic evaluation of the effect of policies and events. They may already be engaged in the latter, (e.g. staffing, pupil discipline); the former, the evaluation of policy, we find almost entirely lacking. They will invariably need help with evaluation, both in terms of the collection and interpretation of information, and the head will be active in providing this help. the advisory team may also function in a similar capacity.

Thus, the attempt to identify roles, responsibilities, etc., should, in our view, reflect these and other prevailing concerns. The aim should perhaps therefore be to generate a partnership between contributors to the process, rather than attempt over-precise legal definitions which would founder in reality.

4.3 Pursuing our analysis, we can now take some examples from our list of key processes, and examine them with a view to establishing from our experience

~~How well is the process performed?~~

What problems are evident?

What conclusions may be drawn regarding the the 'future' role of the governing bodies?

With these questions in mind let us as an example examine two of the key processes indicated above - 'the explicit setting of goals and the development of policies to meet these goals', and, 'the effective integration of the contributions of those with an interest in the life of the school'.

5. Examples of the application of the framework

5.1 The explicit setting of goals and the development of policies to meet these goals

i. A characteristic of the contemporary school is the lack of explicit statements regarding the direction in which the school is going, and how it proposes to get there. This may be for various reasons - inability of participants

to formulate objectives, and policies; a feeling of insecurity/exposure generated by being specific; the ploys of heads in keeping policy a matter of mystique or personal prerogative- the often predominant role of the LEA, etc.

ii. Governing bodies are presently ill-equipped to 'take-on' the head, or to formulate policy themselves in isolation. This may be due to lack of time, information, expertise, or effective policy planning processes.

Most instruments and articles do not contain reference to the processes which the governing body may use to carry out its business. There are usually a range of tasks, which include substantive matters such as.

- educational aims
- finance
- appointments
- internal organisation
- discipline
- admissions policy
- communications with external bodies

In general, we would not dissent from any of these as being valid areas of concern of the governing body, but they often lack a framework in which to consider them as related aspects of school life.

iii. These conditions may be countered by the use of development plans at governing body level. This is a device which has been to some extent helpful in Polytechnics. It would consist of:

- a statement of school's philosophy, distinctive contribution to the community, learning philosophy
- particular objectives over a 3 year period, expressed in terms of expected achievements in
- innovations
- efficiency/productivity
- resource acquisition
- external relations: parents, community, LEA, other institutions
- public responsibility

translation of the above into a continuing annual review and audit with the recognition of alternative strategies or options, a curriculum review, the recognition of staff development implications, role and structural changes, technology requirements, etc.

iv. The potential consequences of effective development planning in this context would seem to be:

channelling of governing body energies into constructive systematic activities

engaging governing bodies in policy decisions, and diverting them from detail

assisting the school to justify/clarify its purposes and activities

identifying the areas where the school needs particular assistance

commitment of particular members of the governing body to activities on the school's behalf

enabling the governors to relate individual decisions to their context, resulting in, for example, more sensitive appointment interviewing for key posts

helping the school assess its performance, by mutually acceptable indicators of success, derived from the objectives.

v. We are not here advocating the governing body becoming the prime initiator in policy thinking, but it can be extremely valuable in ensuring that the thinking takes place - within the school and within the LEA -; comenting on its validity; exerting pressure in the appropriate quarters, and reviewing performance. Development planning moreover necessitates a partnership between the people inside the system (the school) and those active on the boundary.

vi. If policy planning along these lines is acceptable, it follows that a number of conditions have to be in existence to make this possible, and these conditions have as their common feature, defined freedoms in which to exercise their creativity, e.g.

Legal status

There is advantage in using the wording of the Education (No.2) Act 1968, that the governing body should be constituted "other than as a sub-committee of the Education Committee". This would facilitate the design of alternative ways of proceeding according to the requirement of the particular school and ensure that the business of the governing body is not automatically subject to review by the LEA, as is the work of a sub-committee. Flexibility is thus possible the important thing is to ensure that it is utilised.

Financial aspects supportive to the governing body in this context include

- appropriate information supplied by head, LEA and community groups
- policy guidelines and resource targets supplied by LEA
- financial freedoms

Adequate clerk support, from whatever local source seems most appropriate to a particular governing body and to be determined by those governors. They might choose as clerk a school registrar, administrative officer, LEA committee clerk from the area education officer's staff, an adviser with specific general responsibilities for the school, and so forth.

The existence of relevant skills and knowledge within the governing body itself - careful selection of members, and on-going training, particularly to facilitate the posing of relevant questions and evaluating of performance.

5.2 The effective integration of the contributions of those with an interest in the life of the school

i. We have already referred to the fact that governing bodies are at the cross-roads of various interest groups, and it seems to us that governing bodies are fulfilling the function described by March (3) as a "dustbin", that is, the various groups with an interest in schools use governing bodies for their own particular purposes, and this use may be different, or often contradictory. Governing bodies may seem to be at the intersection of a number of political movements of

which we itemise four.

The drive for public accountability. schools, it is said, must be accountable to someone for expenditure of money, for fulfilling appropriate government policy (central and local) both in terms of curriculum and mode of operation. LEA elected members are seen as the traditional custodians of this accountability.

The academic freedom movement: a certain amount of autonomy, it is alleged, is necessary to ensure the development of a healthy atmosphere where thought is uncontaminated by dubious political interference and where academics have freedom to pursue their work without a great apparatus of external controls. Robbins (4) referred to this as "the self governing academic community", by no means to be equated with the sovereignty of head teachers.

The consumer movement those who receive services should be able to comment forcefully on the quality and quantity of such services in relation to their own needs and expectancies. This comment could embrace participation in decision-making (at various levels). complaints in relation to incidents, or evaluation of the "performance" of the institution. Consumers in the context of the school could embrace pupils/students, parents and guardians, employers and community groups.

The effective administration movement: those who see the need for the service to be run efficiently, and periodically to acquire legitimacy for activities, policy and expenditure. LEA administrators, chief executives and some heads may see their activities in this light.

The groups engaged in these movements thus have differing expectancies from governing bodies, and different ways of proceeding with decisions. Consumers tend to favour swift and speedy action with scant regard for formality. Academic decision-making in a group tends to be slower with an emphasis more on consensus, (unless the head teacher defines his role otherwise). Elected members and administrators tend to follow the norms of LEA committees and procedures.

ii. The dissatisfaction with governing bodies may well derive from their inabilities to cope with these different pressures, with a number of possible consequences:

an inability of groups to work together, with resulting conflict, and

groups unhappy with their ability to get what they want from governing bodies will discover or invent alternative channels, e.g.

consumer groups may use direct action

LEA members may impose control in schools sub-committee

heads may look to advisers/inspectors as a more reliable advocate for the school to the LEA

academics may build up their own internal cohesion and strength and "baffle" the governing body with their own expertise

parents may find PTA's much more helpful

the role of the governing body becomes very confused.

iii. What questions does this integration issue pose?

That the right people are represented. It is inconceivable that when a systems approach is applied, staff or parents could be excluded.

That a major contribution to overcoming these divisive tendencies could be team building exercises, aimed at producing mutual understanding and collaboration. It is suggested that as a means of developing sound supportive relationships within the governing body, and a partnership between the governing body and the academic community, its usefulness should be seriously considered.(5)

That the governing body has an on-going internal training programme designed to enable it to develop ways of proceeding and conducting its business which is congenial to the group itself, rather than continuing any standard administrative pattern.

That attempts to cope with the lack of

integration will not succeed if based on structural/legal considerations, but stand more chance of success if based on behavioural and process considerations.

5.3 We have only considered as exemplars two of the key organisational processes, but would contend that it is already apparent that significant conclusions have emerged from asking pertinent questions. Clearly the answers would tend to be different in particular situations, which justifies the use of such an approach.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. There are growing pressures on the school for its accountability, and at the same time, for professional autonomy in its operation. These pressures may be in conflict and between them seem to throw up the question of the present adequacy of mechanisms and processes for planning in schools. Influencing this problem further is the new fact of zero-growth and/or reduction of many school populations, with assorted consequent issues.

2. At the same time it is clear that schools are not all the same, either in how these pressures and changes are impinging on them or in how they are attempting to respond to them. Although there are some features of the situation that schools tend to have in common, there are also great diversities amongst them.

3. It is useful in analysing the situation to see the school, and its governing body, as elements of a system. They exist in relation to a complex of forces and structures which affect them, and which they affect.

4. It is argued here that if the governing body is to exist at all it should have a unique and important function in relation to its school (or group of organically related schools). The governing body exists at a special place in the system, related to both the school and the authority, and as a separate and distinct entity from them. It is, furthermore, in a special relationship to the school's community. If by this placement the governing body can fill a gap in the system such that the whole can function better, then its existence is justified.

5. A group of potential key processes, or process-tasks in school decision-making, have been suggested as appropriate concerns of a governing body. But emphasis is placed on its potential for contributing, within appropriate guidelines, to the school's planning and assessment processes as the competing demands for accountability and autonomy are reconciled. Planning and assessment are tasks to which schools must give increasing attention. The governing body can become a valuable partner in this effort; it can play a unique role. Such a role should attract individuals who place great value on their school and who are committed to its development.

By examining key processes derived from an open systems examination of a school, specific areas of activity have been identified and roles indicated. These might be usefully discharged by governing bodies. If this is the case then the governing body should operate within a discernible contextual framework. It should be borne in mind however that any type of proposed reform will not settle into an existing system without affecting anything else. One of the key features revealed by a systems approach is the interlocking and interdependence of its component parts. Thus, any change in the role and operations of governing bodies will produce repercussions for heads, education departments and committees, advisers, personnel and financial procedures of the authority etc. The governing body can have an important, even critical, function to fulfil in the pursuit of effectiveness and of quality in the educational institution. If the governing body cannot fulfil these functions, then its continuation cannot be justified and no tears should be shed.

FIGURE 1

Distribution of Contributions of Participants in School Decision-making : Sample analysis

Key Process	Location of Prime Responsibility	Source of Initiatives	Centres of Execution	Focus of Evaluation and Monitoring
1. Good external relationships	GB H	GB H PTA	GB H PTA S	PTA PG LEA GB H
2. Setting goals and developing policies	GB	LEA H GB S	H S	
3. Developing and reviewing curricula	GB H	GB H S LEA PTA	H S	S H LEA HMI
4. Acquiring resources	GB	GB LEA PTA H		HMI LEA
5. Effectively deploying resources	GB H	H S	H S	GB LEA
6. Developing motivated and competent staff	GB H	H	H	GB LEA HMI
7. Satisfied & cared for pupils	GB H	H S	H S	S H GB
8. Good corporate reputation	GB	GB H S PTA	GB H	GB LEA HMI
9. Integration of contributors	GB	GB H	GB	GB LEA
10. The evaluation of performance	LEA	LEA HMI	LEA HMI	LEA HMI

It is accepted that this is within overall LEA framework, but where GB not a sub committee

Prime role (P)
Support role (S)

Institutionalised
Formal
Informal

GB - Governing Body; H - Head; LEA - Local Education Authority; PG - Pressure Groups
S - School Staff; PTA - Parents Teachers Association; HMI - H.M. Inspectorate

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5. A considerable interest in this type of training has
grown in the last decade and expertise will be readily
found in most management departments in Polytechnics.

THE ROLE OF REGIONAL ADVISORY COUNCILS FOR FURTHER EDUCATION IN THE QUALITY CONTROL OF EDUCATION

Lindsay C. Martin
Assistant Secretary
East Anglian Regional Advisory Council for Further Education

The aim of this paper is to explore the role which Regional Advisory Councils play in the control of the provision of advanced further education courses in educational establishments in the public sector.

1. Origins and development of RACs

1.1 The Regional Advisory Councils for Further Education were established by Circular 87 of the Ministry of Education published on 20 February 1946 entitled "Regional Organisation of Further Education," under the terms of which the RACs were established by voluntary co-operation between local education authorities and are wholly financed by them.

1.2 There are ten RACs in all, nine in England and one, the Welsh Joint Education Committee, in Wales. Despite a number of changes over the years, their areas of jurisdiction do not necessarily coincide with other regional units such as the late Regional Economic Planning Councils or the Regional Divisions of the DES. Furthermore they do not necessarily coincide with local authority boundaries, and in some cases, the precise boundary between RACs is difficult to determine.

1.3 In their early years, RACs were much concerned with the function of regional planning and the development of advanced courses based on schemes submitted to the Ministry of Education by local education authorities. The ministry of Education published Administrative Memorandum 545 on 1 March 1957 entitled "Approval of Courses in Establishments of Further Education," which defined advanced courses and laid down that the prior sanction of the Ministry of Education was required for their establishment, and that in this connection Local Authorities needed to seek the support of their RAC.

Note The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect either the views or policies of the East Anglian Regional Advisory Council.

1.4 The "Report of the Committee on Higher Education" chaired by Lord Robbins, published in 1963 recognised that "Regional Advisory Councils will have an increasingly responsible part to play" in the co-ordination and distribution of all forms of higher education in the non-autonomous institutions.

1.5 In December 1972 the Government published its White Paper "Education A Framework for Expansion". In its section on "The Organisation of Higher Education" the White Paper clearly identified a role for RACs in the "improved arrangements" which it felt were needed for the co-ordination and provision of higher education in the non-university sector if the anticipated programme of expansion was to be planned to the best advantage."

1.6 This role for RACs identified above, was re-iterated in D.E.S. Circular 7/73 entitled "Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector," where it was envisaged that Local Authorities would "wish to discuss their proposals within RACs." The procedures for dealing with the approval of advanced courses flowing from these proposals were set out in DES Circular 6/74 entitled "Development of Higher Education in the Non-University Sector: Interim Arrangements for the Control of Advanced Courses". This defined advanced courses as those contained in the Further Education Regulations 1969. These procedures laid down that such courses, other than those leading to a teaching qualification, "will be controlled by the Department after taking into account the recommendations of RACs." This included such advanced courses in what were the colleges of education. These Interim Arrangements were codified in the Further Education Regulations 1975.

1.7 The most important modification to these Regulations came in D.E.S. Circular 10/76 entitled "Approval of Advanced Further Education Courses Modified Arrangements." The aim of the Circular was to "simplify and expedite procedures, and to confer a greater measure of responsibility for decision making upon RACs and their constituent local authorities." To this end the Secretary of State gave general approval to certain types of advanced courses so that they could be mounted simply with "the prior agreement of the appropriate RAC in each case." The significant additional conditions, however, were that

> "in all cases provision should be made for securing at least the minimum viable number of enrolments in accordance with established practice, for keeping enrolments under review in consultation with the appropriate RAC; and for following the recommendations of the RAC on the closure of courses."

This is the current situation.

2. The context of RACs and their functions

2.1 The Terms of Reference of RACs, given some individual variations are as follows

2.1.1 to keep generally under review the content and organisation of facilities for further and higher education in the Region

2.1.2 to consider such proposals for the development of further and higher education in the Region as may be referred to the Council

2.1.3 to maintain liaison between the constituent local education authorities and their colleges and industrial and commercial interests in all matters affecting education and training

2.1.4 to make such recommendations and tender such advice as the Council may desire to its constituent bodies on any matter relevant to the promotion and maintenance of an economic and integrated system of further and higher education within the Region, including

2.1.4.1 suggested or proposed new developments in further and higher education in the Region

2.1.4.2 the location and distribution of courses of further higher education in the maintained sector

2.1.4.3 the securing of a co-ordinated basis for financial arrangements among the constituent local education authorities in matters affecting further and higher education

2.1.4.4 the dissemination of information regarding facilities for further and higher education.

2.2 Despite a basic similarity in their Terms of Reference, in practice RACs differ quite widely in the emphasis placed on different aspects of their work. This is as much caused by the circumstances of an individual RAC as by its predilections. For example, the London and Home Counties RAC, because of the large area it serves, the density of the population in its Region and the consequently large number of colleges and courses established to serve that population, spends 90% of its time dealing with the formal course approval mechanism. On the other hand, the East Anglian RAC with its low-density, dispersed, rural population and the consequently small number of advanced courses, spends barely 10% of its time in this way. This

difference in the distribution of work within an RAC inevitably affects the mechanism by which an advanced course proposal is processed.

2.3 Obviously RACs operate within the context of the whole education system, "Any RAC being closely linked on the one hand with its constituent L.E.A.s, whose members, officers and college's staff serve on RAC committees, and on the other hand with the Regional Staff Inspector of the D.E.S. who acts as a partner in the course approval system.

3. The mechanics of the advanced course approval system

3.1 Differences in the distribution of work within RACs affect the mechanism by which advanced course proposals are processed. To illustrate this I have chosen to examine two contrasting RACs, namely, London and Home Counties and East Anglia. Their committee structures are very similar in having a number of senior committees with functional responsibilities and a range of subject area committees below them.

3.2 The difference, however, lies in the route by which an advanced course proposal is channelled through the committee structures. In the case of London and Home Counties an advanced course proposal is first considered by a Subject Advisory Committee which makes a recommendation to a Senior Committee composed almost entirely of L.E.A. Officers for a decision. The Subject Advisory Committees are composed principally of college staff in the subject area concerned, with a sprinkling of L.E.A. officers and representatives of industry and commerce. The college staff in the Subject Advisory Committees, however, do not represent their own colleges. They attend as nominated representatives of other organisations such as trades unions and professional bodies The reason is twofold, the theoretical one is that this should enable them to objective when considering course proposals rather than representative of their own college's interests, and the practical one is that the Region is so large that the Committees could not accommodate a representative from each college with work in that subject area.

3.3 The East Anglian route is much simpler, all course proposals go straight to the Approval of Courses Committee which makes a decision endorsed, subsequently, by Standing Committee composed principally of L.E.A. Officers.

3.4 The reason for this difference in procedure is a straightforwardly practical one. The sheer volume of submissions in the London and Home Counties Region would be too great for the L.E.A. officers to deal with ab initio. In practice, therefore, the senior committees tend to 'rubber-stamp' the recommendations

of the Subject Advisory Committees. To do otherwise would be to lose the benefit of having the latter at all.

4. The criteria for judging advanced course proposals

4.1 What must not be forgotten is that RACs and the DES are concerned solely with administrative course approval. Further it must be remembered that the course approval procedure was not devised by the RACs, and remains little changed from that formulated in 1957 to meet the demands of an expansionist situation very different from today.

4.2 Looking first at the specific criteria which are theoretically applied to new advanced course proposals, these could be listed in the form of a series of questions.

4.2.1 Is the course relevant to the current work and future plans of the institution?

4 2 2 Is the course relevant to local and/or regional considerations, with such subsidiary questions as

4.2 2 1 Is the course consistent with the development plans of the maintaining Authority?

4.2 2.2 Does the course constitute new or additional regional provision?

4 2.2 3 Does the course overlap with other proposals within the region?

4 2 2.4 Would the establishment of the course adversely affect enrolments on existing courses within the region?

4 2 3 Is there a discernable demand for the course from students and/or employers, with such subsidiary questions as

4 2 3 1 If a part-time vocational course, what evidence is there of the willingness of employers to release students?

4 2.3.2 What evidence of support for the course is discernable from enrolments on "feeder" courses?

4.2 3.3 What evidence is there of vacancies on existing similar courses within reasonable access to the proposed course?

4.2.4 Does the course lead to employment in an area of perceived manpower needs, and if relevant, does the course lead to recognition by an appropriate professional body?

4.3 I think it is possible to level criticisms at almost all the above criteria, but first two general points. There are, quite rightly, no academic criteria, and this is where the distinction between Regions is important in that it is virtually impossible for a committee principally composed of academic staff not to apply academic criteria to a course proposal. Hence a distinction emerges between the theoretical and actual criteria applied to a course proposal. The possibility of this distinction arising in East Anglia is avoided simply by not routing the proposal through a subject committee.

4.4 The other general point to be made, is that it is exceptionally difficult for college members of staff representing another body to be objective about course proposals from their own college or about course proposals which might be seen as in any way a threat to their own college This potential bias would to some extent be cancelled out if all colleges were represented in some way, but they are not

4.5 For specific criticisms I shall consider the criteria in 4 2 above seriatim

4.5 1 The only information an RAC can have on the future plans of an institution comes from that institution itself, there can therefore be little independent evidence. Even given the usefulness of the information supplied, it might be difficult for a RAC to evaluate it without making some academic judgements.

4.5.2 The same problem also applies to the development plans of a maintaining Authority. Likewise an evaluation of whether or not two courses overlap in content might well call for an academic judgement. As for 4.2.2 4 above, this is an almost impossible question to answer without information about the overall size of the pool of potential students for these courses, which is very unlikely to be available

4.5 3 The main problem about questions concerning potential demand for a new course is that of the time-scale of the approval process which will be considered below

4 5.4 The whole question of successful manpower planning is one to which no satisfactory answer has yet been formulated.

4.6 There are, also a number of criticisms of the overall approval system which must be considered

4 6.1 A criticism usually levelled at the system by polytechnics but which applies to any course

attracting a mandatory award is that it is likely to attract national recruitment and is therefore unfairly judged by Regional criteria. A partial answer to this criticism, however, is that all such courses are finally approved by the Regional Staff Inspector who supplies the national dimension. There is also evidence that such courses recruit at least half their students from the surrounding Region.

4.6.2 Another widespread criticism of the course approval system is that it is administratively cumbersome and imposes excessive delays on colleges wishing to mount courses in response to perceived needs. For example, the time-lag between the preparation of a submission for a full-time course and its earliest start date is about two years. This makes it particularly difficult for colleges to answer the questions in 4.2.3. above, either because perceived student demand at the planning stage has evaporated by the start date or because local industry wants a particular course only if it can be put on straight away.

4.6.3 A third criticism often voiced of the course approval system is that RACs, being wholly financed by their constituent L.E.A s, inevitably become a forum for inter-Authority compromises. There is much use of such analogies as horse-trading. I think that this criticism fails to allow for the ability of an RAC secretariat and members to steer an independant course and the sheer improbability of such 'arrangements' occuring in, for example, an RAC with some 20-odd constituent L.E.A.s.

4.6.4 A less fundamental criticism of the system is that RACs rely heavily on the voluntary services of the chairmen and members of its committees, as a result of which course proposals are not examined and considered in sufficient detail. I submit that any other system would have to be considerably more expensive, and that this is not the time to propose increases in educational spending!

4.6.5 A final criticism which is perhaps not so commonly discussed is that RACs are only able to consider course proposals made to them by their constituent L.E.A.s, a year at a time. This means that a more suitable proposal can miss out by being a year 'behind' a similar one elsewhere. This might seen obvious and unavoidable, but some RACs have requested colleges to produce, say, five-year plans for development, and then considered new course proposals in their context.

QUALITY CONTROL IN EDUCATION

Dr. John Welton
University of London Institute of Education.

Plagiarism is sadly common in higher education. The following extract might have been found in a student essay, part of the final assessment for a Diploma in Educational Administration at Polystute College of Higher Education. A more alert tutor would have recognised the extract as taken from Sheila Browne's analysis of "The Accountability of HM Inspectorate (England)", chapter 3 of Lello, J., Accountability in Education, Ward Lock, 1979. The extract is reproduced here with the tutor's notes which are perhaps more detailed than usual owing to a recent career disappointment ...

"Because of the range (1) of institutions inspected by HMI, it is difficult to generalise about their work There has never been a rigid definition of inspection, though there have been and still are conventions, instructions, and guidelines. (2) The basic principle has always been close observation (3) exercised with an open mind (4) by persons with appropriate experience and a framework of relevant principles, HMI's (5) first duty (6) is to record what is and to seek to understand why it is as it is. The second step is to try to answer the question whether or not it is good enough. To do so HMI uses as a first set of measures (7) the school's or other institution's own aims, (8) and, as a second, those which derive from practice across the country and from public demand or aspiration (9) The two sets of measures are unlikely (10) to be in general opposition but the circumstances of any individual institution or part of it may well lead to different emphases. (11) In his assessment, HMI must strike a balance between the common and the particular requirements and he must try to give a rounded picture. Whenever he looks at part of an institution, he must relate it to the whole." (12)

NOTES

1. How representative is their sample? How chosen?

2. Can you be more specific? How did these 'conventions' develop? How do they change? Are they open to public scrutiny?

3. What observation techniques are used, and how are the observers trained?

4. What do you mean? What do we know about the background and professional socialisation of H.M.I?

5. VERY DIFFICULT TASK! How long do they take? How cope with the phenomenology ...?

6. To whom accountable?

7. In what sense do you mean 'measures'?

8. Are the 'AIMS' taken at face value? Some aims are not made explicit, this is a research problem.

9. Very interesting. What sample of practice is used, how is public aspiration assessed?

10. Why?

11. Can you develop this? What range or diversity do H.M.I. 'conventions' tolerate? A few examples please.

12. GOOD - but how does he/she do it, what about the informal structure.

GENERAL COMMENT

Useful summary but vaguely familiar? How can we get to know more about the Actual Process of Inspection? Without good independent research discussion of H.M.I. 'Quality Control' function will be unsatisfactory. Such research would benefit H.M.I. by feedback, and lessen suspicion by enabling open discussion. Please contact me to discuss how to develop this as your M. Phil research proposal.

ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ADVISORY TEAMS IN LEAS

J.L. Davies & G. Lyons
Anglian Regional Management Centre
North East London Polytechnic

Preamble

The theme of this conference is Quality Control in Education, and it is clear that one of the principal areas for its examination exists at institutional level where provision meets client However, at this interface of institution and client, there operate teams of Local Education Authority advisers (or inspectors) whose existence in large part depends upon quality improvement, upon the maintenance and monitoring of the work of the school or college. It would not, therefore, be inappropriate to examine the effectiveness with which the advisory team itself discharges its duties in attempting to gain insight into the ramifications of quality control in education To do this we shall need to focus principally upon the management of the advisory team and its functions. (1)

It is apparent that, with few exceptions, advisers and inspectors cannot undertake quality control, defined in a strict sense, since they are not part of line management, they are operating in a highly ambiguous context and have few sanctions and control mechanisms. Advisory teams are much more concerned with influencing groups within the education service who are often more powerful than themselves and who are often in control of their own destinies Advisers attempt to undertake this 'influencing' function by providing services for these groups who are, in reality, their clients, and these services are in large part aimed at quality improvement.

The key question, then, is assessing the effectiveness of advisory teams in the context of the current debate on quality, is what critical factors might be advanced to determine the health of advisory teams as providers of services?

We recognise, of course, that the effectiveness of advisory teams is not solely to be considered in terms of group activity, since advisers in large part operate as individuals, a source of both strength and weakness The question here is therefore whether teams are capable, by group organisation, of facilitating both group and individual effectiveness in the pursuit of quality control and improvement

Factor 1 - Has the team a clear perception of who its clients are, and the different (maybe conflicting) expectations of the team held by these clients?

(1) Officers and members as clients

Traditionally in a local authority the real power resides with elected members and full time officers. However, it is suggested that in practice they lack, for example, the to day knowledge of modern curriculum processes and could never be credible agents of curriculum innovation or renewal. They have incomplete knowledge of the most appropriate types or designs of equipment for a school, they need a ready data bank of information upon which to draw for day to day administration and (usually) they lack the physical mobility or opportunity actually to get round schools. This latter capacity, allowing as it does a knowledge of what is actually happening at the "coal face", is of inestimable importance to an administrator. The adviser, therefore, begins to become indispensable and the advisory team thus begins to function as an essential communication link between the authority and its schools or colleges, and as an arm of LEA policy. Ultimately, the advisory team may well become an organ of quality control and "inspection" and this as opposed to the "advisory stance" becomes of signal importance The statements above are meant to be illustrative of observed trends and reflect the different policies and directions adopted by the various Local Education Authorities

The heavy use of the adviser as an essential communication channel presents fundamental problems to him of what he should and should not pass on, and this burden becomes particularly acute when the "advise" or "inspect" dilemma is added

The increase in size of some authorities has hastened and consolidated the tendency towards the adviser accumulating two additional functions These are the taking on of a 'generalist curricular role' as opposed to a curricular role in one specific subject, and, the adoption of a pastoral role to a group of school

There are authorities which pursue the more traditional perspective of the adviser as curriculum expert, others use the team as a source of policy development, a further view sees the team as a tool of quality control and yet another perspective sees the advisory team as an arm of administrative practice that extends into the school, ensuring a standardisation of policy The stance is important because on the one hand it can be essentially proactive - the use of the advisory team as an integral part of the authority's own processes and development - and on the other hand, is essentially reactive - those who use the advisory team to plug the holes in existing practice, which can nonetheless be an invaluable function. An individual authority may in fact be adopting a number of the above postures and the picture nationwide is one of considerable diversity, and this presents attitudinal and operational dilemmas for advisers

(2) Schools as clients (2)

To the school the advisory team is the provider of functions, several of which can be extrapolated directly from those outlined above in the case of the local authority. To the school, of course, the emphasis of perspective will be changed and for the individual school, particular needs will be predominant. Amongst other things, the school wants the adviser to represent it at County Hall, to be a cutter of red tape, to plead its case or help it in making a case. It wants to obtain the advisers' extra resources (assuming that the adviser is left with any resources to allocate). To the school the adviser represents an important outside objective source of help. He is in a position to mediate upon internal problems particularly of a professional or personal nature if called upon to do so, and may help get the head off the hook. To the primary head who lacks access to a wider audience of his professional colleagues than his secondary counterpart at a day to day level at least, the adviser can be an invaluable link, resource and source of support. The adviser clearly has more traditional functions to fulfil in the areas of in-service training and staff development, in induction of probationers and in the capacity to balance such provision upon an authority wide basis. The pressures upon the individual adviser and upon the team to deliver effectively this disparate range of functions is therefore immense.

In practice we have found that a considerable discrepancy exists between what schools say they want, what schools actually get and what the adviser thinks they get. This is really a very fundamental point, since if the consumer of the service is frustrated by what he is or is not receiving the credibility of advisers (or lack of it) seriously affects advisers' efforts in other directions. In the eyes of some secondary comprehensive heads, the adviser presents skills which may be judged as superfluous luxuries and he may appear to lack all-round credibility. To the primary head advisers may however present a welcome link to the LEA for the primary head presents a more isolated fugure than does the secondary head who may have his management team as a source of professional advice and expertise. It is also likely that the primary adviser has been a successful primary head, and, in these circumstances, credibility is more likely to be readily forthcoming.

Both, however, may be inherently suspicious of the adviser's potential power in resource allocation, they may be reluctant to share responsibilities over staff recruitment, and may be deeply suspicious over any extension of the adviser's power fearing it may mean an erosion of theirs, which it probably does. The insecurity, of course, is enhanced when the adviser acts as inspector.

We have seen from the above that the adviser's functions appear to be evolving from that of a relatively

uncomplicated curriculum/pedagogic stance to an extremely sophisticated function which, across the country, shows considerable diversity and complexity.

Clearly, the functions advisers are being required to perform are those which various groups see as being desirable. The adviser is likely to continue to have problems with his role and functions based upon an evolving perspective of this sort because the basic problems are likely to be resolved only when a different debate is settled that is, the clarification of the nature of their influence and authority.

Factor 2 How effective is the team in identifying, interpreting and responding to pressures from clients?

For an organisation existing solely for the purpose of providing services for clients, an outward looking and responsive advisory team would seem essential. Here, we would have to consider such questions as

> How well does the team identify and interpret the needs and demands of the clients, as outlined above?
>
> How well does it recognise changing aspects of its environment - political, social, governmental, financial, technological, educational - and how good is the team and individual advisers in adjusting their stance, thinking, and activities in response to the changes?
>
> Has the team the right relationships with its client groups and those who support it with funds? Is it credible, has it access to the relevant power sources, and is it a visible presence where its best interests need protection?
>
> How adequate is the information flowing in and out of the team in relation to its key priorities, and how efficient are its methods of collecting, storing and retrieving this information (particularly in relation to quality review, control and improvement)?
>
> What sort of debate does it have with the respective client groups and do they mutually own their respective goals and problems?

There are undoubtedly a number of problems which can be identified for most teams when this factor is applied. These include -

(a) With schools

Credibility problems based on lack of co-

ordination of advisory response; the out of date nature of some advice; and inconsistent image presented.

A lack of correlation between what schools think they get from advisers, and what advisers think they give to schools.

The phenomenon of advisers drifting in and out of schools.

Inadequate perception of the consultant role (see Factor 5).

Schools often perceiving a lack of common policies and stance between advisers and other officers of the authority.

Differing views on what the role of a general adviser is, or ought to be, and

Imbalances between the inspectoral, pastoral and inservice training functions, or a lack of apparent interdependence between these functions.

(b) With officers

Not all advisers seem to have a clear conception of the ideas and responsibilities of administrators and of departmental policies and procedures. (The briefing of advisers may be quite inadequate).

Advisers often feel that many officers are unaware of what advisers do and what their potential contributions to decision-making and policy formulation may be.

The result is that officers may have a low opinion of advisers.

There is a feeling that most contact is purely on procedural matters, and at too high a level in the department. This implies a case for more adviser involvement, formally and informally, in cases such as building design, policy studies, (e.g. on issues relating to declining enrolments).

Advisers undoubtedly feel the lack of access to significant power centres within the administration, which adds up to a feeling of frustration at not being used or valued properly.

The significance of these perceptions is clear. If there is a gulf of respect and knowledge between advisers and other parties, the reputation of the team will be adversely affected. This, in turn, will create its own

problems of attracting funds for adviser activities and adviser morale; the extent to which the team may be able to discharge its key functions, the extent to which it may be on the defensive, and ultimately, its ability to attract high calibre staff.

Factor 3. Does the team possess operational goals and objectives stated as a phased development plan with defined priorities?

The function of goals in any organisation may be described as providing guidelines for subsequent activity and detailed analysis, and securing the commitment of members of that organisation and its clients to those goals by the process of open discussion and argument. Goals may also provide a basis for the determination of priorities of work, the allocation of tasks to members, and by implication, for the rejection or postponing of demands.

The tradition and professional ethic of advisory operation has, in many cases, mitigated against the adoption of a formalised or systematic planning process for its own operations. There is historically a strong emphasis on individualism in teams. They are often prone to accept instantly demands for action from committees, officers and schools, possibly in order to demonstrate their indispensibility to clients, and some may in fact justify this fire-fighting role as being their principal function. Such factors as these all contribute to the diffuse nature of team goals and plans, and whilst they may have positive aspects, they may also produce difficulties for the operation of the team

the instant response to demands for its services may well create intolerable loads on even the most competent adviser.

many innovations which have been started may not be successfully completed, since other tasks interfere.

it is easy for advisers to become "educational butterflies", with a poor record of achievement.

such goals as may be in existence are based on what advisers want to do rather than what clients may need and may be so general and philosophic that they do not function as guidelines.

individual advisers pursuing the fulfilment of their own curriculum interests may do so without regard either to a concerted examination of the overall needs of the school, or the LEA, and may do so without the necessary resources to make adequate contributions.

Chronic policy problems are very often subject to an unduly long period of vacillation, conflicting action, procrastination or neglect in the absence of a concerted view by the team, e.g. on inservice training, and curriculum policies relating to declining enrolments.

Factors such as these may well place undue pressures on individuals, and where individual performance suffers, this inevitably reflects on the team. The manager of the team would therefore seem to have a responsibility to alleviate these problems

Any advisers' goals and plans are only valid if they are derived from the problems of clients. This may imply a far more accurate diagnosis of "school" needs and problems than is currently thought necessary, helping schools develop their own institutional plans or methods of self evaluation, an art as yet in its infancy.

Participation and commitment of all the members of the team in goal formulation.

Goals and plans should be sufficiently precise to be feasible (capable of achievement), phased into a programme or timetable (when possible), capable of adjustment (rolling plans), and capable of evaluation.

Team goals are of no particular use other than at a cosmetic level, unless some subgroup or person takes aboard a target as his/her personal property, and organises his/her time to work towards it, via specific and updated job descriptions.

The design of such a goal setting process may well be facilitated by the use of an external agent.

Factor 4 Has the team the will and ability to evaluate continually its own performance particularly in terms of satisfying schools' needs?

If an open systems approach were to be applied to the advisory function then a necessary corollary of setting goals and formulating plans will be the existence of forms of evaluation to ascertain the extent to which those goals and plans are being fulfilled, (and if not, why this is so). Evaluation is, of course, a highly emotive process, and is often perceived as threatening and disturbing, and thus needs to be embarked upon with considerable care. The evaluation of the performance of an advisory team is something which is always taking place, in a highly informal manner, both by the advisers themselves and by their clients. However, with reference to the performance of the team the question perhaps should be. how good are advisers' teams at identifying the signals, distinguishing between the

symptoms and causes of problems, and how willing or capable are they to act on the basis of their conclusion?

Nowhere is this more evident than in the thorny question of the relevance of the team's activities to the needs of clients.

A number of implications emerge given the significance of evaluation within the education sector generally:-

is the team in fact ready and prepared to evaluate itself? Has it the necessary evaluative skill?

how far is it prepared to undertake surgery to close down certain activities, and redeploy/retrain its advisers in fewer, more appropriate directions, and has it sufficient credibility, influence or autonomy to do this?

how far is it prepared to redefine roles, e.g. between specialist and generalist advisers?

how far can it undertake this evaluation on its own? Does it not require continuing dialogue and information from clients, and possibly the help of a dispassionate (even compassionate) third party.

what role does internal staff development of advisers play in this possible re-direction of activity?

There is an added piquancy to the whole of this argument for in the current economic climate considerable pressures have emerged which desire to examine the effectiveness (cost effectiveness perhaps) of the whole of the educational sector. If the educational administrators are unwilling to undertake systematic self-examination there is a very good chance that others (non-educationalists) will do this instead. It would be idle to pretend that the advisory team itself would be spared microscopic scrutiny.

Factor 5: Has the team developed an appropriate repertoire of roles to build fruitful, helping relationships with clients?

It is apparent from the above that advisers have, and will continue to have, a wide variety of functions to perform. curriculum development, staff appraisal and development, evaluation of school performance, information provision for officers and members, advice on building design and educational technology, etc. It follows from this that advisers could exercise these functions through a variety of different roles, and relationships. As far as schools are concerned, for example, the relationship could be one

of mutual support and interdependence, or of school dependence on the individual adviser engaged on a particular project, or one where the adviser is trying to make the school independent of himself/herself, and able to stand on its own, relying on its internal expertise.

It must therefore be asked, "what type of relationship is the team/adviser trying to create, and is it appropriate for the particular situation?" It is compatible from our previous analysis that the answer should be in the best interests of the client not the adviser. It is not helpful for the advisers to create a feeling of dependence on them by schools, and then be personally unable to deliver.

One may take the argument a stage further by asking "do advisers jointly or singly possess a repertoire of roles from which to select one appropriate to the situation, and do they possess the skills necessary to fulfil these roles?" In our experience, these questions are not often put, and not systematically answered Let us take an example. When helping schools cope with innovation, there are a number of quite different roles which may be adopted, for example (3)

a research role, to help evaluate the existing situation identify weakness. and evaluate the effect of situations.

a catalyst role, to stimulate interest, and demonstrate the necessity for innovation or change

a resource role in which he/she makes available knowledge of the problem, technical expertise etc.

a counselling role, in which he/she listens to problems from all sources, encourages the person(s) to analyse problems for themselves, in a non-directive manner:

a full change agent role, in which he/she is an active participant in problem identification, analysis, resolution and implementation and will contribute extensively to discussions, staff development, producing information etc.

Supplementary questions now become apparent, for example who is best equipped within the team to perform particular roles at particular times in particular situations? How should advisers acquire the skills underlying these roles?

Many of the problems experienced in the school-adviser relationship are directly attributable to a failure of the adviser to recognise which role is needed, or his/her lack of competence in a given role.

Factor 6 The integration of adviser effort into an effective team, and the creation of a favourable organisational climate in the team.

It is conventional to use the term "team" as a collective noun for advisers. This implies -

> a well organised and concerted effort where each member is working on behalf of his colleague, and for the group's goals as a whole, and where harmony may be expected in terms of group behaviour, the individual's sense of affiliation, the interrelation of necessary tasks, and the co-operation of subgroups relating to particular issues. These are a formidable set of expectations and usually considerable progress can be made in this direction. Problems which can be identified here include the following

> > many advisers, especially subject specialists have tended to operate as 'missionaries or loners'
>
> > working groups have variable success in developing effective working procedures, targets of achievements, and social cohesion, and may in any case have little obvious point of contact with many other groups.
>
> > traditional groupings of advisers may be inappropriate for new problems and authorities may have been slow to evolve new groupings, e.g. area teams, project teams and so forth
>
> > conflicting or uncoordinated advice may be passed to schools by advisers acting individually.
>
> > those concerned with curriculum development may not act in concord with those whose interests may be more in staff development or resources.
>
> > frequent goal displacement (often externally induced) within the team regretfully undermines painfully and hard-won consensus agreements amongst advisers

Thus, there are inbuilt tendencies towards fragmentation.

There are also the behavioural dimensions of teamwork, since unless the organisational climate of a team is right, its capacity to recognise external needs, to plan and evaluate, and to organise itself properly, will be greatly limited, as will its ability to face up to and resolve its difficulties.

A supportive internal climate is thus a pre-condition of doing other things well. There are a number of signs which can be looked for to detect the health of the climate, of which some examples are. (4)

> are objectives felt to be widely shared amongst members or are goals purely personal?

are mistakes and problems hidden or brought out into the open for resolution?

is problem solving confined to those with status, or is everyone encouraged to be pragmatic?

is there a close attention to the personal needs and difficulties of individual advisers by senior advisers?

is collaboration freely entered into across subject, area and locality boundaries?

are conflicts covered and managed by office politics or regarded as creative and necessary to the education of the team as a whole?

are advisers "locked" into their jobs, or do they derive social and intellectual satisfaction from fresh challenges working with other people?

We could proceed further with such questions. Suffice it to say that we have found indications within most teams that negative responses to these questions are not uncommon. The issue now is "what can be done to resolve a negative situation?"

open leadership and a sharing of difficulties and policy issues.

team building exercises both for the whole group and various subgroups.

sensitive counselling of advisers by their senior colleagues.

regular seminars for problem analysis, information exchange, and training.

the creation of task groups to offer a sharper attack to problems than may be offered by traditional structures, with clearly defined terms of reference.

the outlining of an action plan for the team which clearly articulates the directions for development through the anticipation of future needs, and training advisers for future tasks.

Whilst we have pointed to a need for greater cohesion, we fully realise the problems and difficulties of team operation which has a high degree of centralisation - rejection of minority views, pressures to conform, the subjugating of individual flair, and also the day-to-day reality that the good adviser must have a degree of freedom and entrepreneurial autonomy to actually do the job. The size of team is also likely to have a profound effect on the degree of cohesion that is a practical possibility.

Factor 7 Are support services adequate?

One of the easiest problems to diagnose in any team is the adequacy or otherwise of support staffs, mainly clerical and administrative. It would probably be universally true that the work of the team has expanded faster than their support services. Whilst it is self evident to assert how the effectiveness of a team or an individual adviser can be crippled through lack of effective support services, a solution to the problem would not automatically be found in increasing the clerical complement. One would also have to consider questions such as the conscious design of an adequate information base, (library, files on institutions, their problems, etc.), the skills of advisers in report writing and communications generally, and the use of alternative methods (dictating machines). In the current economic climate this situation is only likely to worsen.

Factor 8 Does the team continually invest in its own growth potential, through a comprehensive framework of staff (and technique) development?

Whilst advisory teams are becoming increasingly more competent at identifying the training and development needs of school staff, there is evidence that they are not so good at their own internal staff development, which is not nearly as systematic as it might be. Comparatively few teams have evolved a continuing and updated plan for themselves, either in terms of the needs of

the individual members of the team.

the group as a whole, or of sub-groups of the team.

Thus, whilst we have fairly regular conferences aimed at passing information and developing social cohesion, other fundamental staff development problems are neglected, e.g.

conversion of subject specialists into generalists, (Factor 4) to incorporate pastoral skills for groups of schools, the ability to look at curriculum processes for the whole school, to look at organisational processes for the whole school.

training in research and evaluative skills (Factor 4).

training in consultancy skills (Factor 5).

training in group leadership skills (Factor 6).

other new emerging needs, e.g. a public relations role for the LEA, policy formation, (Factor 2).

This is not intended to imply that subject development is unimportant - merely to demonstrate areas of current neglect.

A framework for the development and training of advisers thus seems to be needed, since if those who are giving advice are themselves becoming progressively outdated, their entire credibility is at stake. Staff development of advisers may thus be viewed as investment expenditure, and the seed corn of the future.

Conclusion

This paper does not pretend to offer a highly sophisticated, quantitative based research study of advisory teams What it does purport to do is to provide an analytical device which advisory teams may use on themselves (preferably with other colleagues in attendance), to identify issues of concern, and to map out areas of improvement.

Although its use has identified considerable difficulties and shortcomings, it should be emphasised that many of these are because of the inherent dilemmas which surround the role and which have been prescribed by extra-advisor agencies, and not only because of internal factors. Whilst one can point to desired improvements in team management, it should not be forgotten that political acumen is likely to prove quite as important a factor as professional expertise, if advisory teams are to survive and prosper.

(1) Some of the ideas developed in this paper were first identified in "The Advisory Function" NAIEA Journal, Summer 1976, Davies, J L and Lyons, G. and "Analysing the Effectiveness of the Advisory Team" NAIEA Journal, Spring 1977, Davies J L and Lyons, G.

(2) For the sake of simplicity the argument is restricted to schools and does not include colleges, although many of the points made will be equally applicable.

(3) See E, Hoyle, Research in Education "Planned Change in Education".

(4) See Fordyce and Weill

STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN COLLEGES OF FURTHER EDUCATION

SOME ORGANISATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

P. Harding & G. Scott.
Bolton College of Education (Technical).

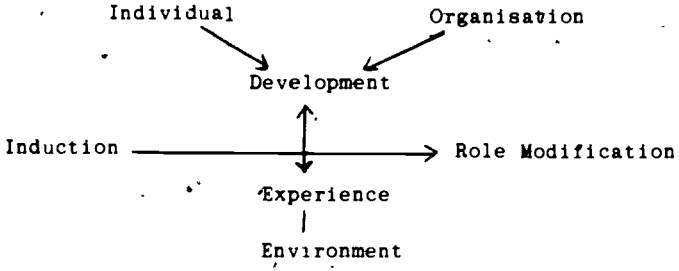
The importance of staff development as an aspect of Quality Control in Further Education can hardly be overstated. Manpower, in the form of academic, administrative and ancillary staffing provides the sector with its most costly resource. To underline the point, the percentage costs of manpower in the average college budget is more than 80% of its expenditure, exclusive of debt charges. Such costly manpower obviously requires careful management if cost effectiveness is to be achieved, and as yet little attention has been paid to staff development within the F.E sector.

There has not, of course, been a total neglect - a number of formal developments are discussed below. A major push was provided for the development of staff development schemes in July 1976 at the DES Short Course Staff Development/Inservice Training for HFE at Oxford. One of the major outcomes was the setting up of Regional Staff Development Study Groups and the work of the North-West Region Group is considered later. More significant perhaps, at the start of this discussion, is the working definition of staff development that developed from the distillation of the ideas worked out in the Conference study groups, namely that

> "Staff development was seen as an on-going process designed to maximise human resources in order to achieve the objectives of an organisation. Its emphasis was upon raising effectiveness and its concern for the professional and personal development of staff including those involved in teaching, administration, clerical work and ancillary duties. It was important, however, to see staff development as one contributor to the development of the total organisation. the development of students, curriculum, other resources, etc. were of equal concern."(1)

Staff development, we would argue starts at the stage of interview and selection. Obviously new members of staff being recruited into a college will have a variety of experiences - including in many instances teacher training and teaching experience. Thus SD needs will vary with the members of staff concerned. An ideal model can be developed to represent the process.

MODEL



As is indicated in the model the process is an ongoing one, the implication being that it applies to all levels of staff including those in "Top Management" positions. Managerial and organizational development is thus facilitated through the provision of staff development strategies.

To state that SD is a continuing process is to adopt the position taken in the James Committee Report (2) which argued the case for a recognition of training needs on the basis of a cyclical process. In a sense, such an approach is particularly appropriate in F.E. where the developmental needs of staff are more continuous than in the school sectors, the process being more dynamic because of the changing needs of courses and their development. Witness developments in TEC and BEC, the demands of CNAA, and in addition the variety of organizational change required as a result of amalgamations between colleges.

Turning now to the context of the further education college as an organization. It is apparent to us that the provision of SD - at whatever level within the institution - is sporadic, often unco-ordinated and for some members non-existent.

Little consideration has been given to intrinsic SD - of the kind suggested by the Oxford Conference - precisely because of the limited interpretation of it and therefore value attached to it. Many senior staff members within colleges - as well as the employing authority - are indifferent about SD, and fail to appreciate the positive contribution it can make to the college as an organisation, e.g. raising effectiveness and individual commitment. We argue too that SD had much to offer and so should occupy a more central position within the ongoing provision of activities in colleges.

If this is to be more than mere rhetoric, then provision should be made for SD to take place within the organisational structure of the college. However, most colleges are

typically bureaucratic, the chain of command starting with the Principal, who in turn delegates a degree of authority to his Heads of Department. Colleges are characterised by tendency towards central control, delegation often grudgingly passed to subordinates.

Concern here for the formal hierarchical structure is important for SD (3) for it underlines the need for its application to all members of the college organization, and not just, as it is typically regarded, for the lower participants (4). For it is not difficult to imagine a situation where the occupants of power roles lose touch with their subordinates causing for them, alienation and dissatisfaction. As this occurs, then it becomes apparent that the goals of the college, however ill defined, may be subverted - or more extremely, sabotaged (5).

The hierarchical, vertical segmentation of individuals from each other, whilst necessary, is not necessarily destructive. The fact that most colleges (admittedly applying Burnham) utilise the departmental structure is evidence enough of its appropriateness. The danger is that departments can quickly become independent compartments each striving to achieve not the college's aims/goals/objectives, but those of their own (6)

Lateral communication - as well as vertical - can often suffer, and the horizontal framework of the college organizational structure - which perhaps ought to override departmental boundaries - can display the same kinds of inadequacies as the hierarchical vertical structure. Communication becomes a key work for both up, down and across the college's structure. Effective college organization - in terms of staff morale and quality of output - depends, to some extent on adequate communication, which in turn depends on the quality of the relationship between colleagues (7). The pecking order of status between departments obviously affects the esteem of staff members - especially at the extreme. High status departments will display an increasing number of high grade staff and courses, whilst the opposite will be the case for low status departments This contrast could be extended to include disparities in accommodation, level of departmental budget, access to resources and so on. Another way of looking at it is to see some departments as essential and central to the raison d'etre whilst others can be seen as peripheral to the main task of the organization - however this is defined. SD, rather than being an additive, should be utilized to combat these inherent weaknesses in the organizational structure of colleges of further education (8). More people - other than and in addition to the Principal and Vice-Principal - ought to be concerned with the college as a whole.

In many instances colleges in the N.W. region have established staff development committees either as a subcommittee of their Academic Boards or as a distinct task.

There are also a number of instances where separate appointments of Staff Development Officer have taken place where they operate within a Staff Development Unit. In colleges where such appointments have not been made the role is performed by either Principal or Vice-Principal Indeed it is usually the latter who is given the responsibility for what Owen has termed the 'Personnel Function' in further education (9) Activities at college level will obviously vary However, at the Regional level the experiences of staff involved in promoting SD are shared in the context of the N W Region Staff Development Study Group

We have attempted to outline some of the major issues in SD The emphasis has been placed upon SD programmes as they affect individuals in the organisation The process, as we have attempted to show, is a two way affair - development is of individuals but not just for their sake, behind each aspect of development is the corporate need(s) of the organisation The process is not confined to the provision of more effective producers - teachers, administrators, ancillary staff - but includes the development of the organisation in a functional sense through improved communications, staff morale and what M B Miles (10) defines as organisational Health

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Department of Education and Science (1976), Inservice Training for H.F E , a report arising from a short course held at Oxford, July 1976

2 James Report (1972), Teacher Education and Training, a Report by a Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, under the chairmanship of Lord James of Rusholme
London H M S.O

3 All the differences we point up in this paper between departments, together with the structural effects of college organizations, have definite consequences for staff Walton, R E. and Dutton, J.M (1969), 'The Management of Interdepartmental Conflict A Model and Review', Administrative Science Quarterly, 14 1 pp.73-84, have suggested that 'role dissatisfaction and ambiguity are related to the more basic organizational variables, including growth rate, organizational level and hierarchical differences' It has also been noted elsewhere that dissatisfied units act aggressively and defensively - see Landsberger, H.A. (1961), 'The Horizontal Dimension in Bureaucracy', Administrative Science Quarterly, 6 pp.298-333.

4. The term 'lower participants' is used here as defined by Mechanic, D. (1962), 'Sources of Power of Lower Participants in Complex Organizations', Administrative Science Quarterly, 7 3 pp.349-364.

5. See Mechanic (ibid) for a full and interesting discussion on the power options open to lower participants.

6. It is a major problem for educational organizations to identify objectives - either from an organizational perspective or from an educational viewpoint. For Turner (1977) goals for colleges represent problematic preferences, since the organization is always uncertain as to what to do. Turner, C. (1977), 'Organizing Educational Institutions as Anarchies', The Journal of the British Educational Society, 5 2 pp 6-11.

7. Thompson, V.A. (1961), has indicated that marked hierarchical differences in status - both of individuals and units - generates lateral conflict - prompting the individual to higher positions in order to obtain power and status, rather than aiming to increase co-ordination. Administrative Science Quarterly, 5 (4) pp.485-521.

8. Interdepartmental differences can be reduced where organizational members derive social satisfaction from work associates, possess high job interest with good prospects for promotion,
See Seiler, J.A. (1963), 'Diagnosing Interdepartmental Conflict', Harvard Business Review, 41 Sept-Oct, pp.121-132.

9. Owen, R.E. (1973), 'The Personnel Function in the Large Technical College', The Technical Journal, May 1973.

10 Miles, M.B. (1975), 'Planned Change and Organizational Health', in Harris, A. et al (1975), Curriculum Innovation, Croom Helm.

SUBORDINATES' STRATEGIES OF INTERACTION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS

Simon Pratt
University of Bristol School of Education

Throughout the nineteen seventies we have been interested at Bristol in thinking about the various strategies which might be available to a "manager of change" in education. Writings of Miles (1965), Jones (1969) and of Benne and Chin (1970 and 1976) have been absorbed by our students and we have made much of Hoyle's observation that the sets of three principal strategies for bringing about change in human systems identified by those writers bear a peculiar resemblance to one another (Hoyle, 1970). We have invited our students to examine the potential of these strategies - power-coercive, empirical-rational and normative-re-educative - in the context of Havelock's 'RD and D', 'social interaction', 'problem solver' and 'linkage' models of innovation processes (Havelock, 1971) and we have stressed that these processes can be helpfully seen as interactions between three systems, those of the change agent, of the innovation itself and of the client or host system (Bolam, 1975), the change process over time we see as one of mutual adaptation between these three interacting systems, and we have explained 'failures', following the case study of Gross, Giacquinta and Bernstein (1971), in terms of lack of understanding not only of the nature of changes proposed but also of the settings in which they were to have been implemented and institutionalised and of the change agent systems responsible for their introduction. We have written about these things for other students as well as our own (Bolam and Pratt, 1976).

In a world eager for educational reform with the necessary resources relatively easy to find we might have left it at that, regarding 'innovation' and 'change' as synonyms, interchangeable in our writing in pursuit of literary style. But then came the holocust - the oil crisis and strikes of 1973/74, rising underemployment of school and college graduates, local government reorganisation, the Tyndale affair, the threat of falling rolls in the secondary schools, college closures, cash limits, teaching career prospects sharply curtailed, Callaghan's "Ruskin speech" and increasing militancy among the teachers....the convenient assumption that 'planned change' was synonymous with 'desirable innovation' was no longer tenable. Senior management in schools now began to find collaboration, as distinct from compliance, less easy to come by from their junior colleagues who grew understandably less ready to risk their vital interests in the cause of change which took the form of contraction of their service. We had advised heads to lean as far as they could, while retaining the confidence of those (superordinates) to whom they are themselves accountable, towards the adoption of a participative

managerial style, employing influence rather than control strategies and inviting collaboration rather than compliance from their subordinates (Bolam and Pratt, 1976). There are schools (and hopefully there always will be) where this advice we offered in the mid-seventies to heads still holds good. But there are other schools (far too many of them) where this advice must now be called into question. Today the interests of senior management (or of those to whom senior management is responsible) are often apparently directly opposed to those of assistant teachers. Change strategies which are intendedly influence-based rather than reliant upon sanctions are increasingly suspect. More subordinates respond to managerial initiatives not so much with offers of collaboration as with compliance, resistance or even by ignoring the superordinate move.

In three Avon secondary schools earlier this year, faced with mid-year cuts in staffing which could not be implemented without significant revision of school time-tables, members of the National Union of Teachers took industrial action in protest. Although this was at first sight unsurprising, there were a number of features of particular interest about the strategies which the teachers employed. First, it was evident that they did not necessarily regard themselves as having withdrawn from participation in the work of their schools - they made themselves available in school to teach classes on the 'old' timetable and, in at least one case known to the writer, an active NUT member had agreed to prepare the revised timetable but without commitment to participation in teaching it, they regarded their action as being in support of the case argued with the LEA by their heads among others, that damage inflicted by the proposed cuts upon their pupils' education would far outweigh any savings achieved. They therefore refused to participate in the LEA's planned change and, instead, set out to get it renegotiated. In pursuance of this objective the teachers in the three schools initially concerned adopted tactics which could be interpreted as 'regrouping' - or, in political science terms, the formation of new coalitions - once their early protests had brought no result. Action was organised on a rota system, involving many more schools with aims which included maintenance of a high level of protest while minimizing the impact upon individual children. Teachers from one school were shown on television organising alternative educational activities outside the school premises. Appeals were being made to the public not only over the heads of the heads, but also over the heads of the LEA. The eventual outcome? This still looks different from different viewpoints. In negotiation the LEA gave little, if any, ground in terms of restoration of teaching posts during the current academic year but no-one can ever know to what extent the strength of the protest and its surrounding publicity will have conditioned the future handling of teaching staff deployment. Many will believe, and act on the belief, that employer-employee relations will never be quite the same again and that, should the issue ever come up again, what was once regarded as a purely managerial issue could now be

seen as a proper subject for delicate "political" negotiations. In this context it is interesting to observe the possible development of a managerial technique, in which the staffing ratio for each school would be derived from curriculum considerations rather than the curriculum from the pupil-teacher ratio. Whether this will be enough to establish new legitimated routines and so to take the issue back out of politics into the managerial sphere, or whether political negotiations over staffing ratios will be transformed into political negotiations over the organisation of the curriculum - and whether such negotiations, if they come to pass, will be contained within the schools or extended to the LEA or beyond - only time will tell

The key issues no longer surround the question as to whether teachers can be helped to respond, in their own self-interest, to the initiatives of enlightened benevolent heads. Today we need to understand the interactions between superordinates defending the interests of the providers of the education service, and subordinates defending their opposing interests. Common interests remain, or so it is claimed on all sides, although they seem to have slipped down the agenda of priority matters for attention. Such interactions are indeed 'negotiations' in the sense of the word adopted in the recent monograph "Negotiating the Curriculum" (Weston, 1979) which develops the idea in explaining pupil/teacher transactions in the classroom, thus

> "Negotiation implies that there are different interests to be reconciled. But it also implies some element of common interest on which the parties can agree"
>
> (ibid. p 41)

One response to recent trends, and it is indeed the response of some teachers, is to turn to their union at the first sign of difficulty. Another is to eschew the use of strike action in particular, even in the last resort, and to seek 'professional' recognition through taking this stand. But most teachers, I suspect, fall somewhere between these positions in their feelings and in their behaviour. Can we identify a range of 'response' or 'interaction' strategies, complementary to the change strategies available to management, which we would expect these teachers to choose from? Can we even move towards associating a teacher's track record, in the perception of those to whom he is responsible, with a concept of 'managerial style' which we proposed five years ago?

> ....."but in choosing his administrative strategy (i e his intended combination of control and influence strategies) for dealing with such a problem, the head is not a free agent, he is contrained not only by the nature of the particular task in hand and by his own personal inclinations, but also by the social and professional context in which the change is to take place and by his staff's perception of his own past record as a

> manager ... In the short term he is a captive of his own managerial style, the head who suddenly adopts an uncharacteristic administrative strategy invites scepticism - indeed he courts disbelief and distrust".
>
> (Bolam and Pratt, 1976, p.19)

Since the concept of managerial style was built up from subordinate perceptions of superordinate strategic choices, this may be the best point from which to develop these ideas.

We may perhaps assume that, in one kind of ideal world, superordinates only use 'pure influence' strategies, that these are perceived by subordinates as intended and that collaboration duly follows, whether a superordinate initiative is accepted or rejected appears to be of secondary importance to the spirit of the interaction which, if advice offered is seen as rejectable without penalty, is one in which trust is built up and in which the prospects for subsequent collaboration are enhanced We can also envisage another ideal or polar type of situation in which all superordinate strategies are intended as, and are perceived as, acts of control, inviting compliance as the response - but being met sometimes by active countermoves or by what may be best called passive resistance.

Here are the first elements of a range of 'confront-comply' strategies which might be adopted in response to superordinate control strategies But before analysing these any further we should perhaps turn our attention away from ideal types to the real world in which 'compounds' of confront-comply and collaborative strategies are to be found These compounds (of which that adopted by the time-tables in Avon cited above appears to be a good example), can then be regarded as subordinate negotiating strategies complementary to the earlier concept of administrative strategies as used by Hoyle (1970) and discussed by Bolam (1975) in suggesting that the use of incentives rather than sanctions can be seen as a significant variant on the power coercive strategy We can for the sake of consistency, now relabel both 'managerial' and 'administrative' strategies simply as superordinate (negotiating) strategies Similarly, following Weston (ibid p 42) who sees negotiation

> "lying on a continuum somewhere between confrontation at one end, and at the other committed co-operation",

we can envisage subordinate negotiating strategies which are compounds of co-operating with confront/comply. So it is the propensity of a subordinate to attach weight to considerations of common purpose (i.e. to collaborate rather than merely to comply) which is seen by superordinates as determining that subordinate's negotiating style.

INFLUENCE STRATEGIES AND COLLABORATIVE RESPONSE

Two main types of influence strategy have already been identified, by Benne and Chin among others, i.e. those which rely primarily on mutually recognisable expertise, irrespective of its source, to resolve essentially technical problems and those which rely on the acceptance by both change agent and client that effective innovation requires a change of attitudes, relationships, values and skills on the part of any or all concerned. The response, in either case, may be made by an individual or a group and may or may not rely on resources which are contained within the span of control of the superordinate in question. Thus, from a superordinate perspective, we can recognise four main possibilities

- collaborative/individual/contained - e g. the response of a trusted confidential adviser
- collaborative/group/contained - e g when the response to the head comes from a group of staff within the school
- collaborative/individual/extended - e g the trusted adviser with out-of-school resources
- collaborative/group/extended - e g . this is the characteristic response of the 'problem solving group' with external linkage which 'progressive teachers' of educational administration have advocated, indeed eulogised, in the 1970s (see, for example, Baker, 1980)

CONTROL STRATEGIES THE RANGE OF RESPONSES

Although the variety of control strategies appears to be less than that of influence strategies, most of the argument centring on the question of whether the recognition of some classes of sanctions is to be regarded as 'rational' or as 'compliant' behaviour, the range of responses appears to be wider As in the case of influence strategies it seems important to recognise that the response may come from individuals or from groups and that respondent(s) may or may not call upon resources outside the span of control of the superordinate The added complexity comes from the recognition of three modes of response to a perceived control strategy, rather than one . These appear to be made by complying, by passively resisting the superordinate move, or by actively confronting it The twelvefold typology generated is exemplified below

RESPONSE STRATEGY	EXAMPLE
Mode/ scope/ level	(as perceived by superordinate)
comply/individual/contained	The response of a 'yes man'
comply/group/extended	A group such as a subject department in a school might use significant external resources (e.g. contact with an adviser) in choosing to comply.

passively resist/individual/extended	The response of an individual who has sought advice from his union, but has been advised that his case is 'unwinnable'.
confront/individual/extended	Adviser or union invoked by individual teacher (who may be bluffing) resisting what he claims is an instruction to behave 'unprofessionally' (The invoking of the head or a deputy in a dispute between an individual teacher and his head of dept. would also fall within this category.)
confront/group/extended	'Official' action in which outsiders are involved, leaving the superordinate unable to settle the issue by negotiation without prior reference to others to whom he is accountable (e.g. CEO., LEA., Chairman of Governors, or if superordinate is, say the CEO., the possibilities multiply again - DES., ACC., Chief of Executive of LEA., etc.)

So what? For the present there is little to add, except to note the possibility of further variants such as apparent collusion between superordinate and subordinate who may 'forget' and 'ignore' an instruction respectively in the shared but unstated recognition that 'hassle' is hardly conducive to creative teaching. Nor do effective managers look for Pyrrhic victories, as many canny teachers know - but few wise teachers risk calling the bluff of a superordinate who doesn't seem to know what it would cost him to win. It is, of course, the last two strategies which are of particular interest. Why do particular teachers in particular circumstances respond in these ways? Do we know? Is it researchable? Could the results of such research be used to clarify, and therefore improve, relationships within school hierarchies even where interests are conflicted? These are for the moment open questions, well worthy of our attention.

A final point concerns the vexed conceptual relationships between 'management' and 'politics' and between 'participation' and 'negotiation'. Is it the case that in 'managerial' thought not only the fact of hierarchy is treated as a given, but also many facets of its form? Is 'participation' then granted as a concession by those with access to legitimated control strategies to those without such access? Is it the case, by contrast, that in 'political' thought the form of hierarchies, if not the fact of hierarchy, is regarded as problematic, as potentially renegotiable at any time or place? Can 'counter' strategies be understood as a

rejection not only of compliance, but also of the managerial notion of participation, in favour of negotiation between parties neither of which is capable of completely controlling the actions of the other?

Seen in this light the behaviour of subordinates who seek to form coalitions (a political activity if ever there was one) to negotiate with their members' (managerial) superordinates cannot be regarded as perverse, it is only to be expected. But so too, should superordinates who are threatened with outflanking be expected by subordinates to seek to join strong coalitions. Whether such escalation improves the quality of decisions negotiated, or whether it merely serves to make less satisfactory compromises stick a little longer, is a moot point which can probably only be answered instance by instance. But perhaps all parties to disputes could usefully think through issues prior to their escalation?

If they do so, it seems that questions of 'autonomy' will come quickly to the fore - autonomy of teachers in schools, of schools in LEA education systems, of education committees in local government, of local government in the national context and, increasingly I suspect, of pupils and their parents in relation to the whole gamut. Those institutions which survive with their autonomy more or less intact seem likely to be those which can develop internal political systems, using locally available knowledge, expertise and political clout to resolve problems which are incapable of 'managerial' resolution without escalation. Is it schools not school systems, and teacher-learner relationships not organised classes, which ought to be the focus for development? Would the adoption of such an approach necessarily entail an unacceptable (i.e. non-legitimate) forfeiture of control by the higher echelons of government? If, as the growing insistence on accountability seems to indicate, this does seem to be the case in practice, what can be done?

Surely the problem will not go away? The crystal ball is but dimly lit, but perhaps real progress might be made by developing frameworks within which everyone, even the child, counts as a potential negotiator. It is in this sense that I believe politics, with a small 'p', should be a central activity in education - but perhaps it already is, although many of us in our managerial roles find this hard to recognise or to accept. It is more comfortable to think of oneself selectively granting rights of participation to others than it is to come to terms with our partial dependence upon them, especially where these 'others' are people we regard as less expert than outselves. But if we are to be truly accountable for the things we do in their interest, then I believe we have to be willing to negotiate with them, thus simultaneously recognising their legitimate interests and expressing our accountability. The problem of accountability will not go away, but it can be worked through.

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A VIEW OF PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

Ron Stenning
Anglian Regional Management Centre

As the title of this paper implies there are a wide variety of perceptions about 'participative management'. The central concern here is with collective bargaining and its sovereignty over most other forms of participation in the conduct of institutional affairs.

In support of this contention, reference will be made both to the British experience of school governing bodies and an American model of 'shared governance', which will serve a number of purposes. Firstly, a comparative review of ostensibly distinctive systems of school governance will enrich the debate. Secondly, the comparative approach will provide insights into a number of concepts of participative management. Thirdly, a cross-cultural review of school governance illustrates parallel concerns about the quality of education and the impact of participative management. Fourthly, on the basis of the UK and American experience of school governance, judgments can be made as to the adequacy of the participative structures chosen and their future relevance in the quest to enhance the quality of education.

It is clearly beyond the scope of a short paper to attempt an examination of the bewildering array of participative management schemes. However, since the American model of school governance embraces a number of notions of participative management it is perhaps useful to begin with a case history of the system of 'shared governance' adopted in Salt Lake City, Utah, USA.

In 1973 the Board of Education of Salt Lake City School District was faced with a crisis as a consequence of a steep decline in school rolls and the attendant reduction of State funds. The Board's problems were compounded by rising tensions between teachers and administrators and the vocal criticisms of parents and the wider community about the quality of education provision. It was made clear to the Board that the established pattern of unilateral decision-making was no longer acceptable, and teachers, ancillary staffs, parents and administrators, demanded the right to participate in the decisions that hitherto had been the exclusive province of the Board of Education.

In response to mounting criticisms about the management of the School District, the Board of Education consulted with representatives of the teachers' association and other groups concerned and five main problem areas were identified.

- the legal responsibility of the Board
- declining school enrolments
- maintenance of fiscal integrity
- low morale among teachers and administrators
- loss of public confidence in the schools

The Board's initial, and overriding, concern was to establish an acceptable institutional mechanism which would enable representatives of the interest groups concerned to participate in the decision making process for the district which would not be in violation of the Board's legal duties. The solution to the Board's dilemma proceeded through a number of stages. In the first instance, representatives from the teachers, administrators, and ancillary staffs were invited to participate in the District Superintendent's staff meetings with full voting rights

The apparent success of this venture led to the notion of 'shared governance' at the level of the school, and subsequently an institutional arrangement was devised comprising a School Improvement Council and a School Community Council. The former was established in each school from its faculty and administration. Under the terms of its constitution this Council was authorised 'to establish and implement procedures and programmes for the individual school consistent with the policies of the Board of Education and subject to ratification by the faculty of the school and approved by the Superintendent' (1). The School Community Council, with membership drawn from parents and the wider community, is also based at each school and under its terms of reference may make recommendations on school policies and programmes.

The School Councils are ostensibly separate entities but in reality this only applies to their composition. In all other respects their spheres of interest are essentially the same. This is exemplified in their common duty to enhance the quality of educational provision and to raise educational standards at the school. The precise functions of the School Councils are not delineated in their respective constitutions, and it may be inferred from the absence of such provisions that these agencies enjoy considerable autonomy in their decision-making In practice they have very fine discretionary powers and their decisions are largely confined to relatively mundane matters of school administration.

Critics of the Salt Lake City system of school governance argue that school councils merely serve to legitimise the Board of Education's policy decisions and at a superficial level of analysis there is some validity in such claims. Thus, the Board of Education may persuade the school councils of the desirability of reviewing a particular aspect of education and to recommend a course of action, which, because of the terms of reference given, may replicate the Board's undeclared plans. The Board of Education's authority is also underpinned by the constitutions of the school councils which require them to act in accordance with the Board's strictures on the

following major areas of professional and administrative concern -

- education policy
- education finance
- ethics
- Federal and State laws.

However, there is another dimension to the processes of shared governance in Salt Lake City which effectively inhibits unilateral action by the Board of Education and therefore merits attention. Collective negotiations are an integral part of the system of shared governance. Thus all matters pertaining to the terms and conditions of teachers are subject to negotiation between the Board of Education and the teachers' union. The outcome of such negotiations is a comprehensive collective agreement which is legally binding on both parties Significantly, the collective agreement reflects wider societal pressures and concerns about the quality of education provision and scholastic attainment Provision is made in the agreement for teachers to be evaluated against a detailed list of criteria and the relevant clauses are included below since they are an important feature of this analysis.

Procedures for Evaluation and Remediation

Article 9 of the collective agreement states that -

- each teacher in the district shall develop his/her own Educational Accountability Plan in consultation with the principal and related to the district objectives
- the plan shall be completed no later than October of each school year,
- the principal shall have an individual conference with each teacher prior to the implementation of the Accountability Plan,
- subsequent conferences shall be held with the teacher as needed At such time, if the objectives are not being met or teaching performance is unsatisfactory the principal may suggest revision of the objectives or assistance with the teaching performance ..
- when a principal requests remediation of a teacher, the teacher shall be informed of his/her right to be represented by an Association member. After such information has been given to the teacher, the form "Referral for Remediation" should be completed and sent to the central office;
- the Remediation-Assistance Team shall consist of the school principal, Association co-ordinators,

grade/subject assisting teachers,

- two school months after the remediation plan has been put into effect an evaluation meeting of the teacher and members of the Remediation Assistance Team will take place. If remediation is successful, the remediation process will be terminated and the records destroyed, Should remediation be unsuccessful at the conclusion of the first two months, there shall be an additional three months of remediation,
- when termination is necessary because of an individual's failure to meet remediation standards, notice shall be given at least 30 days prior to the proposed date of termination ...

The criteria for evaluating teachers' proficiency are appropriately referred to in the collective agreement as "Teaching Expectancies" and they are included in full as follows -

1. Determines standards of expected student performance
   - (a) Pre-assessment (diagnosis)
   - (b) Competencies expected at a given level
   - (c) Determine individual needs
   - (d) Expected goals for student achievement
   - (e) Evaluation of goals
2. Provides learning environment
   - (a) Availability of resources personnel
   - (b) Availability of variety of resource materials
   - (c) Physical organisation and learning process
   - (d) Positive attitude toward student
   - (e) All students can learn
   - (f) Teacher shows enthusiasm and commitment for the subject taught
   - (g) Student behaviour demonstrates acceptance of learning experience
3. Demonstrates appropriate student control
   - (a) Evidence that student knows what to do
   - (b) Evidence that student is working at task

(c) Evidence of positive responses from students because of adults' demonstration of fairness, acceptance, respect, flexibility, etc.

(d) Appropriate control in crisis situation

(e) Anticipate and avoid crisis situations

4. Demonstrates appropriate strategies for teaching

(a) Demonstrates techniques that are appropriate to different levels of learning

(b) Adjusts techniques to different learning styles

(c) Uses variety of techniques to teach specific skill or concept

(d) Gives directions that are clear, concise and appropriate to the student learning level

(e) Establishes two-way communication with students and utilises feedback to determine teaching strategies

(f) Demonstrates that a purpose has been determined for the instruction (2).

It is not our primary concern here to enter into a discussion on the merits or otherwise of the criteria used to evaluate teachers' performance. In the specific context of participation in decisions on matters directed at improving the quality of education, such collectively-determined provisions serve to highlight the preeminence of the collective bargaining forum within the institutional framework of school governance. It was indicated above that the spheres of influence and powers of decision of the School Councils are circumscribed by the Board of Education's policies. Action stemming from such policies is largely determined by the negotiations between the teachers' union and the Board in the first instance and only subsequently do they become a matter of direct concern to school councils which maintain a monitoring role on educational standards. However, even here the council's role is effectively neutralised. Theoretically, teachers set their goals in conjunction with the Head in the light of the evaluation criteria, but in practice teachers tend to set their goals in isolation and inform the Head of their level of attainment at the end of the school year. Suffice it to say that the outcome of this process is the general elevation of the teacher's competence. Thus, while the School Councils undoubtedly perform an advisory function they also serve to distance parents and the wider community from where the important decisions are made, which is the collective bargaining arena.

Now, the phrase 'institutional participation' implies a

form of 'suffrage' usually associated with the political processes in wider society. Thus on a strict interpretation the term suggest that participants may change the management of the institution by some form of electoral system or to determine directly organisational decisions. However, in practice, and this is sharply illustrated by the Salt Lake City scheme, institutional participation is frequently associated with much narrower concepts including joint consultation with employees and representatives of other groups concerned, collective bargaining, and participative styles of supervision. The School Councils are essentially consultative organs, collective bargaining is exclusive to employers and unions and preserves the status quo, and teacher evaluation is an exercise in participative supervision On empirical grounds, therefore, the Salt Lake system of 'shared governance' is hardly the unique venture that first impressions would seem to suggest

The pragmatic concerns of the senior education administrators continue to be the dominant force in the Salt Lake City District of Education exemplified in the Collective Agreement which incorporates the procedures and processes of 'school governance'. Head teachers and Senior Administrators are enthusiastically committed to shared governance, but this stance is in sharp contrast to many parents and representatives from the wider community who view with scepticism the participation processes and their contribution to decisions on education issues *

The latter view is a familiar one in the UK. Indeed, the Report of the Taylor Committee (3) is indicative of the level of public concern about education standards generally and the role of school governing bodies in particular. Taylor reminds us that under the 1944 Education Act, '... the functions of secondary school governing bodies must be set out by the local education authority in articles of government which have to be approved by the Secretary of State. The responsibilities allocated to governors cover all or some aspects of the appointment and dismissal of teachers and other staff, the admission of pupils, internal organisation and curriculum, finance, the care and upkeep of the premises, and the fixing of certain school holidays' (4). Such an impressive list of responsibilities seemed to offer a charter for parents and the wider community to participate in the management of schools

However, in common with the school councils in Salt Lake City, the actual decision-making powers of school governors were effectively limited by centralised financial controls and executive management structures that remained outside the scope of the 1944 Education Act 'The consequence was that any functions assigned to governing bodies were shared by other and more powerful partners, themselves increasingly limited in their freedom by national policies and agreements' (5) In response to growing public pressure local education authorities have attempted to reform the structures of school governing bodies mainly by widening their representative base

to include teachers and a higher proportion of parents than was the general practice. Such changes are reflected in the 1980 Education Act, where the provision relating to school governors seems to be based largely on existing practice.

While the 1980 Act may have given legislative expression to the existence of a broad consensus about the organisation and composition of school governing bodies, there remain considerable differences of opinion as to what the guidelines in respect to the functions of school governors should contain. In this connection, Davies and Lyons (6) offer a way to proceed when they identify a number of key processes involved in school management and allocate responsibilities for such activities among governing bodies, teachers, LEA staffs and so on. However, a significant omission from the model advanced by Davies and Lyons is the function of teachers' unions, but they are perforce involved in decisions that affect their members. Thus, included in the key processes suggested by Davies and Lyons are goal setting and performance evaluation, and in so far as such activities imply a change in the terms and conditions of teachers' employment, then their unions will demand that the matter be resolved through the collective bargaining mechanism. In such cases, school governors' responsibilities can only be determined by reference to negotiated agreements between employers and unions.

The force of this observation may be judged by reference to current negotiations between employers and teachers' unions throughout the country about such issues as deployment of teaching staffs, extra curricula activities, teacher redundancy and so on. Teachers' terms and conditions of employment are ineluctably bound up with the quality of education provision and in the light of wider societal pressures for an improvement in education standards it is extremely likely that teachers' competence will increasingly be a major focus of attention. But if teacher evaluation is introduced, its form and oversight will almost certainly be determined in the collective bargaining forum where school governors are excluded.

This dimension of school management underlines the dilemma confronting the architects of the guidelines for school governing bodies. While the preference may be for guidelines which are sufficiently flexible to accommodate the richness and diversity of local traditions and modus operandi of schools, there are powerful pressures for uniformity. The desire by successive governments to exercise central control over education budgets, and the strength of the collective bargaining tradition, effectively relegate the decision-making powers of school governing bodies to a very subordinate position in the conduct of educational affairs. While it is conceded that collective bargaining represents a narrow view of 'participative management' there seems no other viable alternative given the political philosophy which has dominated societal affairs in the 20th century.

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*The research into the Salt Lake City system of shared governance was undertaken while the author was a visiting lecturer at the University of Utah, Spring, 1980.

QUALITY CONTROL IN HIGHER EDUCATION

TWO IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR CORRELATES

Rob Cuthbert
Further Education Staff College,
Coombe Lodge.

I take it as self-evident that it is possible to assess quality in higher education. Every day, people make judgements about the quality of a student's work, of a teacher's performance, of a degree course, of a department, of an institution, and even of the higher education system as a whole. This is not to say that these judgements are necessarily consistent, systematic or objective. It is merely to argue that people find it possible, indeed unavoidable, to assess quality as a normal part of everyday activity in higher education. The nature of that assessment varies with the context, the purpose and the values of the assessor. In this paper I shall explore some of the questions of value which condition judgements about quality.

Quality control is a concept borrowed from manufacturing industry, where it denotes a routine part of the production process. What are the 'products' of higher education? From some perspectives HE does have a definable 'product', such as the trained graduate, or the research report. From other perspectives HE is a process, such as personal development or the pursuit of knowledge, which is its own justification. Either perspective may be valid, depending on the context. In an expansionist era the argument that HE is a process, good in itself, is often sufficient to increase the flow of resources to the system. In more troubled times the focus switches to the products of HE and to arguments about value for money. To sustain expenditure on HE we must point to the value of our products in social and economic terms, and emphasise the dangers of a decline in quality. Debated about cost and quality are often conducted in confused and ambiguous language. For example, the reflex reaction of some academics to a cut in resources is a cry of 'declining standards'. We need a better explanation of quality than this, and to get there we must refine the terms of the debate.

What are the terms most often used in judgements of quality in HE? Some assessments merely involve a threshold of acceptability, as in pass/fail grades for student assignments, or in CNAA validation of a proposed course. Other assessments involve finer discrimination, as in the classification of student degrees, or the selection of staff for promotion. The assessment of quality is often cloaked by an academic mystique. The purpose of this mystique is

an attempt to reserve judgements about quality in higher education to academics, and an unfailing indicator of the attempt is a reference to 'academic standards'.

What is an 'academic standard'? Various respectable definitions might be advanced, dealing with such qualities as balance in the treatment of subject matter, rigour in method, logic and comprehensiveness in approach, openness to challenge, capacity to promote understanding, and so on. My dictionary defines 'academic' as meaning ' of no practical importance'. Certainly there is a tension between practicality and validity, as Broady (1978) pointed out in an article entitled 'Down With Academic Standards''. Broady suggested that 'intellectual criteria' would be more helpful than 'academic standards' in assessing quality because this

> '. . makes it easier to recognise that academics - the bureaucrats of HE - are not doing something totally different from the practical man, but that we are all engaged in intellectual activity . ' (p 6)

Indeed, to refer to 'intellectual criteria' would make the academic mystique harder to sustain. As Broady argues, it would force quality control to be explicated in terms of rigour, balance, understanding or whatever. Academics talking about academic standards rarely descend to such vulgar specifics. The explanation is much simpler. Academic standards are what academics agree to be the standards.

This 'definition' need not be as vacuous as it appears. At the least it tells us that academic quality control is achieved by academics. And furthermore it suggests that we should investigate which academics are involved in control, and how they come to agree. The remainder of this paper develops two alternative answers to these questions. These alternatives are polar opposites, perhaps ideal types, which reflect different value preferences.

To discover these differences we must return to the definition of 'academic'. The orthodox view is expressed by Moodie and Eustace (1974, p.58):

> '(There is) a wide range of questions which may be labelled academic. These include questions like who shall be admitted as a student, awarded a degree, appointed to the staff, or promoted, and according to what standards of judgement? What courses will be provided, in what subjects, by whom, for whom, and leading to what qualification? and, what research projects will be undertaken, by whom, and subject to what provisos? Decisions on these questions are, of course, subject to overriding constraints imposed, above all, by the availability of finance.'

This view of the meaning of 'academic' has particular implications for the way in which quality is and should be assessed. Moodie and Eustace, in their treatment of power and authority in British universities, discerned various models of decision making - oligarchic, democratic and republican. Of these they argue that the republican model dominates, and rightly so in their view. This dominant model rests on two propositions that decisions on any issue should be taken by those who know most about it, and that those who know most will vary according to the issue. This leads to the proposition '... that some university decisions, but not all, should properly be taken by (or be representatives of) a particular group of competent professional scholars' (Moodie and Eustace, (1974, p.231)

This amounts to a claim for a special kind of academic freedom. Minogue (1973) distinguishes three types of academic freedom. The first arises solely through the 'inadvertence of a despot', being thus fortuitous and fleeting. The second type exists 'where it is clearly recognised that academic inquiry requires certain specific immunities from the ordinary law' (p 49), and the third type is found in a liberal state where 'Academic freedom ceases to be wider than freedom of speech' (p 50). These last two types correspond to the 'special' and 'general' theories of academic freedom whose origins are traced by Searle (1972, pp. 169-193)

The 'special' theory of academic freedom is essentially rooted in a concept of individual, personal academic authority. This individualised conception of academic authority is congruent with a philosophical view of higher education as a process which is its own justification - the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, or the pursuit of education for personal development.

I have already contrasted this process view with the 'product' view suggested by the term 'quality control'. I suggest that the distinction is mirrored in different concepts of academic authority and academic freedom, depending ultimately on different definitions of 'academic'. Our first was a limited notion, holding that some, but not all, issues arising in a higher education institution are properly 'academic'. Against this some, such as Arblaster (1974), suggest that in one sense all issues arising in an academic institution are academic. This extended notion of the 'academic' leads to a democratic model of academic decision making, in which all institutional constituencies are represented on all issues. This model is more congruent with the 'general' theory of academic freedom, and with an essentially collective view of academic authority. This 'democratic' model is consonant with the view of higher education as a production line.

In brief, I contend that there are two sets of ideas about the meaning of academic, the proper nature of academic government, academic freedom, academic authority, and the

purposes of higher education. These amount to alternative ideologies. The first which I will call the ideology of superior academic competence, embraces a restrictive definition of 'academic', the special theory of academic freedom, the republican model of academic government, an individualised concept of academic authority and a view of higher education as a self-justifying process. The second, democratic ideology, rests on the extended definition of academic, the general theory of academic freedom, and a democratic pluralist model of academic government which is based on the idea of a collective academic authority, congruent with a view of higher education as a producer of graduates, or of knowledge, for external purposes.

The two ideologies have different implications for quality control. For example, superior academic competence suggests that senates or academic boards should comprise mainly the senior or most accomplished academics. Such boards should in any case beware interfering too much in the preserves of individual academics and departments. In contrast the democratic ideology sees academic boards as the institutional parliament in a pluralist democracy, representing senior and junior academics, students and non-teaching staff alike. Such boards might extend their control of academic quality to lengths undreamt of in the ideology of superior academic competence. I have suggested that quality control is often discussed by reference to academic standards. This portmanteau term may conceal very different ideologies. If academic standards are what academics agree to be the standards, then we need to explore which academics are involved, and how they come to agree. Pure research and pursuit of knowledge and understanding for their own sake are processes whose quality is most likely to be assessed according to the ideology of superior academic competence. This means quality in such processes is controlled by a limited number of senior academics who make their own rules about quality. On the other hand, the conduct of applied research, and the production of undergraduates to supply needs for skilled manpower, is more likely to be assessed in the context of a democratic ideology. This allows that many other interested parties, within and outside the institutions, may validly influence judgements of the quality of such products. My main purpose is to demonstrate that quality control in higher education is an essentially political process. It may matter little that the criteria for the assessment of quality are difficult, even impossible, to explicate. However it is vitally important to recognise that valid perspectives on higher education coexist. In higher education there are different kinds of academic quality. Different qualities must be assessed by different people in different ways. We cannot sustain the quality of higher education while we confuse these differences by ambiguous references to academic standards.

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AMALGAMATION OF SCHOOLS - EFFECTS ON QUALITY OF WORK

Dr. John Isaac
Oxford Polytechnic

Introduction

Most education organisations are facing a reduction in size and amalgamation one with another, carried out in a variety of forms and at different levels. The new arrangements rarely provide the promotions which the growth of comprehensive schools offered to motivate teachers to meet the challenge of change. Several others such as Fiske (1980) and Biault (1980) have commented on the ways in which falling rolls may influence the structure and patterns of work within schools. Here I am concerned with amalgamation and the teachers whose lives are affected.

The importance of the somewhat intangible, albeit scorable, feature sometimes termed 'climate' is referred to by documents such as "Ten Good Schools" and research studies like that of Rutter (1979). Industrial and commercial studies indicate that the effectiveness, shown, for example, in the speed of recovery from operations in hospitals (Revans 1964), and the quality of life as felt by those involved, is related to feelings of people at least as much as to the structure or financial support available. The research commented on here takes some steps towards stating factors felt to be important by teachers and lecturers involved in amalgamations and suggests that aspects of these often debilitating feelings can be managed in order to reduce their negative influence on the quality of life in schools.

The purpose here is to concentrate on the factors and their management with the intention of helping teachers to avoid the worst extremes of reaction which have included a number of cases of mental ill-health and great personal sacrifice.

The Factors

Four major factors were supported by the teachers at most of the feedback meetings and all had support in the literature although this varied in quality and depth. The factors were:

1) Self Esteem
2) Anxiety
3) Role
4) Territory

These will be developed and managerial aspects considered but it seems important to make it clear that an understanding of the relationships in these factors in amalgamations does not so much give the administrator a lever which he can use to press amalgamation forward but rather gives a map of factors through which the amalgamation must travel.

Self Esteem

There is a wealth of support in the literature for this particular factor and it is spread from Mead (1934) to writers like Maslow (1954) and Strauss (1959). Possibly the most relevant contribution is that of Argyris (1973) when he puts forward the view that over-staffed organisations tend towards the infant aspects while the under-staffed lead to a more adult approach. The views of these writers were reflected time and again in the schools as the individuals moved towards a definition of themselves in their new organisations.

There seems to be a variety of situations which caused a loss of self-esteem with resulting defences.

1. A direct visible loss of status as when someone who had been a Head of Department was one no longer.
2. A loss of esteem in relation to others as when one was promoted and another was not
3. A feeling of loss of mastery over the situation as when skills people had were not fully used but other skills were demanded.
4. A loss of rewarding contact with significant others due often to changes in rooms or organisational structure.
5. A loss of self-actualisation when people felt that they were being restricted in contributing to their full potential.

The more obvious of these cases are noted by Head Teachers or Heads of Departments and efforts made to help by giving people jobs leading Working Parties or conducting assemblies. The organisational difficulties arise from less obvious examples where teachers may be demotivated and lower their level of aspiration

Defence against loss of mastery may be to refuse as far as possible to take on new tasks and to make the new position the same as the old. The danger is then that the most flexible or the least resistant may have to absorb all the change.

The lowering of self-esteem can rarely be helpful in developing quality of response to the demands in the new situation as even if an individual has to be retained for a new function he is likely to be more successful if he approaches the work with some confidence. The importance of the merger managers in reorganising the existence of each member of the staff is perhaps under-estimated. A practical difficulty tends to arise as Head Teachers become more involved with the Education office just at the time in an amalgamation when some staff need reassurance to support their self-esteem.

Attacks on self-esteem are also related to the next factor of anxiety.

Anxiety

This is a subjective state which may result in objective responses. If the teacher construes the position as anxiety provoking he will react in certain ways, but it is impossible to define the anxiety situation as it varies from one teacher to the next.

As Kahn (1964) points out, at one stage it is the emotion itself which is the problem. Anxiety is not one state but a range of conditions with a common element that there is felt to be a chaotic and uncontrollable aspect in the organisational condition. The way in which the individual copes with the anxiety is varied. Sweating fits at night, headaches, irregular heart beats, and tranquillisers were examples of symptoms and a way of coping. There is a range of literature about this aspect, some of it resulting from studies of extreme situations as in concentration camps, which has proved interesting to teachers involved in amalgamations. (May 1950, Tischler 1969, Bettleheim 1958).

Anxiety seems to be related to the following categories.

1. Anxiety and self-esteem.
2. Anxiety about spreading responsibility.
3. Career implications.
4. Anxiety related to close supervision and increased visability.
5. Stress and the general atmosphere of change.

Fear that the self-concept of the individual was not recognised in the new organisation led to some of the anxiety. A degree of competition is inherent in amalgamations linked with contraction and a history of competitive advancement through Burnham scales has become established in the field of education. This aspect is connected with the career element as anxiety is aroused by the seemingly random - out of control - individual career movement at times of amalgamation. Career is often dramatically influenced by where the teacher happens to be. Visibility tends to be needed for career advancement but for many teachers working alongside strangers is in itself anxiety provoking. The general influence of an increased rate of change has been well described by Toffler in 'Future Shock'.

The main managerial point which is derived from the anxiety factor is that over anxious people find it difficult or impossible to learn new things. The anxious teacher is in a state where the fact that he needs to learn new skills makes him anxious but that then inhibits his ability to learn.

The Head Teacher can help by dealing at an early stage with the issue of the policy of the new school towards punishment and the control of pupils. Willower (1969) had indicated the importance of pupil control to teachers and this research would support his views. The U.S. war studies (Tischler 1969) showed that one common reaction was to find a leader close to you who knew a bit more about the scene and follow him or busy oneself with routine work. Both of these reactions were common in the schools.

Role

Teachers talked a great deal about their role in the new organisation. The question which arose frequently was, "What will I be doing in the new school?" For all the staff amalgamations involve changes in role as even those who carry on in what seems to be the same job do so with new colleagues. Managerially this aspect tends to be thought of as solved when appointments have been fixed in the new structure. While the appointments are important the issues related to roles are not solved at that point. Categories concerned with the role included:

1. Acquiring new roles.
2. Leaving old roles.
3. Influences of personality.
4. Formal and informal role.
5. The influence of the group.
6. Roles in settings which are changing.

The acquisition of a new role is complicated in amalgamations as schools are coming together usually because they are not viable as separate units. Thus, you have the opportunity either to establish 'offices' to fit the teachers that you have in post in the two schools, or draw up a structure with the roles and then audition for the parts.

Even with identical job descriptions people take up roles by a system of negotiation and the end result is different. Linked with the taking of new roles is the losing of old and in amalgamations there are examples of groups from each of the units clustering round a senior member from one of the schools. In these cases the adaptability and personality attributes of the individuals is of great practical importance. Informal aspects can also be important and as there is often a tendency for the two units to keep apart in the stages leading up to the joining together - usually seen as a takeover by one and an amalgamation by the other - inaccurate information is often all that is available. The last category making for difficulty with roles is that a further drop in numbers may mean that any role acquired is now only temporary as posts disappear due to further shrinkage.

From the administration or managerial view an early essential is for all staff to have as much information as possible based on actually meeting people. Then roles, that can be viewed as adaptable on an annual review basis, need to be established as soon as possible and be made clear to all. A difficulty to be avoided is that caused by robber baron role-holders who in the unsettled times extend their empires at the expense of others who are often too deeply concerned with the pupils to guard their castles. The other issue is the person who fails to be accorded the type of role that he aspires to and has to be 'cooled out' as described by Goffman (1952).

Territory

The issues about role lead into the last major factor of territory. There is evidence of two types, that which is based on courses taught and that which is physical. The social science literature basis for this factor is less abundant and more suspect. Territoriality in animals is well researched but there are few studies in educational settings and the whole concept is one of some debate. Research in the six sites showed that the concept is certainly a useful one for merger managers to consider. The second question asked in amalgamations is "Where will I be teaching?". Territoriality is the basis which enables science and craft teachers to establish themselves so quickly in these situations. Their territory has to be established at an early stage and once established is relatively unchallenged. Other teachers are more vulnerable. What studies we have indicate that illness or high anxiety increases the defence of territory in disturbed children (Paluck and Esser 1971) and this behaviour is also seen in amalgamations. Aspects of territory include

1. Physical territory.
2. Social distance.
3. Quality of space.
4. Psychological territory.

One of the interesting aspects is the way in which the actual spaces are valued differently by those involved. Often when classrooms are exchanged both those concerned feel they have the worst of the deal. In any amalgamation which is centred on a building in use the strangers to that site are immediately at a great disadvantage. Simply knowing your way around a building as well as the children does allay some of the feelings of insecurity. Those who are able to stay in the same rooms or buildings gain immensely in the early stages and it may be an advantage to insist that everyone moves. This also may help with the relationship between social groupings and territory. Distance between people in a new organisation influences communication, visibility and importance. The telephone links give another aspect to territory. The operation of this factor in staff rooms is usually obvious but still has implications for the new organisation (Smetherham 1979). Psychological or curriculum territory is also an item of importance in the new units. Integrated courses result in a very different allocation of this form of 'area' which has managerial implications.

As with role the effective amalgamation will guard against those who add to their territory at the expense of others or of the effectiveness of the total school. However, having some territory gives most teachers confidence and they need to feel it is theirs by right rather than by conquest if energy is to be put into teaching.

Conclusion

The quality of work in an amalgamated school will reflect the degree of morale and motivation present in staff and students. This relationship seems to be established (Rutter 1979). The four factors considered here have been found to be major concerns of teachers during amalgamations and the successful managing of these is highly likely to contribute to the raising of quality at a time when such can go down with the seeming destruction of some schools. The degree of change and movement offers opportunities for certain characters to gain at the expense of others and this often seems to be those who are the least creative and professionally oriented. It is critical at these times that the managerial team ensure that those who are busy working with the pupils do not lose in the adjustments to others who may place the acquisition of a place for themselves in front of the demands made by pupils on these occasions. In the six sites studied it was clear that attention paid to the four factors helped in the rapid development of a new organisation.

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THE COSTS OF AN LEA'S "CONTROL" OF QUALITY

T. M. Hinds
Senior Education Officer, Berkshire

1. The following text should be seen as jottings from the table-talk of a Chief Adviser and a Senior Education Officer, seeds of thought that may be worth raising further. Statistics come into the discussion as starting points, as factors that shape questions (notwithstanding the detailed analysis ideally necessary to ensure that statistical like is matched with like). These particular statistics are drawn from the columns of the CIPFA Education Estimates 1979-1980. The LEA's quoted are, of course, only a sample for purposes of illustration.

2. The Advisers, Inspectors, Organisers of an LEA relate to staff and to institutions, who in turn are composed of pupils and students. The ratio of pupils (column 48) to one member of the Advisers, Inspectors, Organisers (column 151) raises at least one question:

Berkshire	3716.1	English Counties	3555:1
Buckinghamshire	4882	London	2319
Oxfordshire	4774	Met Districts	2834
Surrey	4035		

What is the difference to the staff and the institutions?

3. The costs of an Education Department and the recharges to it from other servicing departments add up to an indirect cost that is additional to the in-school direct cost of a pupil's schooling:

Berkshire	£29.0 per	English Counties	£20.1 per
Buckinghamshire	£29.6 pupil	London	£54.7 pupil
Oxfordshire	£30.4	Met Districts	£30.6
Surrey	£42.2		

(columns 379 + 380 ÷ 48)

What particular quality of service comes in Surrey and in London?

How is this related to the quality of schooling?

4. What is the time and cost factor involved in a full visitation of a school by the advisory staff? 12 specialist advisers for half a day each in a secondary school of a thousand pupils? and a further 12 single days of various advisers' time? 18 adviser days at £5[illegible] a day (£10,000 ÷ 200 days? [illegible]o it inadequately? ("inadequately" because such a [illegible]ale omits the

the prior discussion, the negotiations with the school, so that school and advisers know where they are going and what help they are trying together to draw from the exercise). Half as much time again to do the exercise reasonably? £1,500 in total? How small this is in comparison with the capital investment, and how small in comparison with the annual revenue costs - less than the unit costs of three pupils -, and yet which advisory staff is strong enough in number and developed enough in the skills of consultancy, to give help in these terms to the several hundred schools of a medium-sized shire county LEA?

5. What is the time-and-cost factor in strengthining the qualities in a probationer-teacher, or in a teacher who feels ~~himself~~ to be having difficulty despite experience, and asks for advice and support? What does the 'good' probationer receive (quite apart from 'what would be beneficial')? half a day over a year? £25 of the cost of an adviser or advisory teacher? What does the probationer receive who needs much support? three days over the year? £150? and what is that in the context of three or four years training at £2,500 a year and an average teacher-cost of £6,000 a year?

6. The school-leaving examinations themselves are regarded as one symptom of the health of the service, yet we may not seriously assess their cost in time and money, relative to the information and lessons gained. (Even those lessons we do gain are limited by the absence of data on the pupils when younger, from which to assess the degree of growth in knowledge, skills and understanding). Three quarters of the age group? each involved in 5 examinations? with the final term of the year spent in examinations and post-examination drift? with the whole previous term, or its equivalent, spent in the techniques of "clearing the hurdle"? with one teacher's time dedicated to 20 pupils in preparation?...

800,00 15 year-olds x $\frac{3}{4}$ in examination, x 5 entries each at £10 each + 40,000 teachers x $\frac{2}{3}$ of teachers-cost for the year?

= £30,000,000

+ £160,000,000

every year?

7. By contrast, what do we give to the articulating and recording of a verbal assessment of the person leaving the education service after 11 years as a beneficiary of it? 5 minutes by each of 10 teachers on each pupil? 50 minutes? and what about the assessment of that person's fulfilment since entering the school at age 11?

8. From the teaching staff of a secondary school with 60-70 teachers, may we suppose that there might be 2 teachers whose hearts were no longer in the service, who were counting the years (?) and dreading the minutes in the classroom, and without whom the school would be no worse off (PTR's excluded) and might indeed be better off. And the same proportion, 3%, among primary school teachers?

Berkshire	6,[illegible]2 qualified	English Counties	265,241
Buckinghamshire	5,200 teachers	London	67,042
Oxfordshire	4,564	Met Districts	121,631
Surrey	8,390		

(column 86)

3% of the total LEA groupings on the right of the table is 13,617 teachers (at £8,500 annual cost each?) or £115,744,500.

And may there be the same 3% (or 764 persons) among the Advisers, Inspectors, Organisers, Education Welfare Officers, Administration and support staff of the Education Departments (columns 151-153).

Berkshire	239	English Counties	12,986
Buckinghamshire	279	London	5,188
Oxfordshire	203	Met Districts	7,301
Surrey	423		

What is the cost of generous redundancy? What is the time to effect the moves without fear and bloodshed?

What incalculable value lies in the morale of those surviving as the enthusiastic and the fit?

(This would appear not to be an annual opportunity nor annual cost!)

9. The responsibility of developing staff may mean in a few cases reaching the conclusion that they should leave, with what dignity and security as is reasonable. More usually, development means shaping opportunities for staff and allowing staff to shape development for themselves. Seconded teachers on approved training, with other inservice training of teachers, may be seen in relation to the number of teachers:

	£'s per teacher		£'s per teacher
Berkshire	60	English Counties	66
Buckinghamshire	101	London	151
Oxfordshire	94	Met Districts	77
Surrey	32		

(C I P F A 374 + 375 - 86).

What does this say about LEA's confidence in the quality of recruitment, and about the vitality of the teachers after (for example) 10 years.

10. And finally, what about those "to whom the Headteacher is responsible for the conduct and curriculum of the school", or "in consultation with whom ...", namely, the Governors. The lay-governors are entitled to time off work, without pay, for their duties, but the Headteacher, the teacher-governor, and the Clerk (be he clerical officer or education officer) are there professionally, what value does the Local Education Authority attach to this form of "control" if no more than 3 staff spend no more than 2 hours on no more than 3 occasions a year in its exercise 18 x £5 an hour? £90 for a secondary school of 1,000 pupils and an annual expenditure of £600,000? and what does it represent in cost-terms if we include all fourteen governors 84 at £5 an hour? £420.

11. If we want quality-control we must be prepared to pay for it.

COST-EFFECTIVENESS ANALYSIS AS A METHOD OF MONITORING A-LEVEL PERFORMANCES WITHIN INSTITUTIONS

H.R. Thomas
Department of Social & Administrative Studies in Education
University of Birmingham

"Quality control" in education must, in part, be related to the objectives of improving or maintaining the quality of performance of educational institutions. Such objectives must, however, face the continuing problem of scarce resources. Yet, whilst resources in education are scarce, it is doubtful whether these resources are always deployed with maximum efficiency (optimally) and it follows that, so long as resource allocation is sub-optimal, opportunities are being lost for improving quality with existing resources.

This paper outlines the use of cost-effectiveness analysis as a procedure for monitoring efficiency of performance in a selected area of the educational system. The technique is proposed because it can be applied to circumstances where the inputs into a process, such as the cost of a teacher's time, can be priced but where the nature of the outputs, such as educational attainment measures, cannot be convincingly evaluated by prices fixed in the market.

The institutions from which the data was drawn are as follows.
School A is a mixed comprehensive of 1100 pupils, with 158 in the sixth form and Colleges B and C are sixth form colleges with expanding rolls, recorded as 515 and 454 respectively in January 1976.

Calculating the cost-effectiveness of the group performance of the four sets of students in the three institutions reported requires both the specification of inputs into the learning process and of the outputs from that process. The input measures are grouped in two categories. first, those resources to which money values may be assigned and, second, a measure to differentiate the quality of the candidates. The output measure employed is the A-level performance candidates.

The measurement devices

The measurement devices proposed by the author are outlined below.

(1) $\frac{a + b + c + d}{s}$ $\frac{f}{s}$ is the ratio of inputs with money values to the A-level output. It will be described as a Cost Performance Ratio.

and

(2) $\frac{e}{s} : \frac{f}{s}$ is a ratio of weighted 'O' level scores of candidates to the weighted A-level output. It will be described as an Academic Performance Ratio.

where

a = Institutional Support Costs;
b = Expenditure on materials from capitation,
c = Teachers' salaries and related costs,
d = Students' earnings forgone,
s = Number of students in a group,
e = 'weighted' O-level scores of candidates,
f = 'weighted' A-level output.

Each group of input and output measures will be indexed to facilitate comparison as between institutions and, over time, comparison within institutions. The following two sub-sections discuss the input and output components of the measuring devices.

Inputs with money values

Factors a, b and c have money values assigned to them in the market and normally form the basis of unit cost calculations of educational provision. Table One summarises these costs and also includes students' earnings forgone (d) which is normally excluded from unit cost studies.

Institutional support costs ('a') is the product of total institutional support costs and economics as a percentage of the timetable (See Table One). It includes those items which cannot be attributed directly to a particular teaching programme. They are

> Salaries and wages of non-teaching staff, salaries and wages of caretakers and cleaners, labour charges incurred providing school meals, repair, alterations and maintenance of buildings and grounds; fuel, light, cleaning materials and water; furniture and fittings; rent and rates, school transport.

The items listed include those listed by Smith (1970) and Cumming (1971) but omit teachers' salaries and expenditure on educational supplies which are presented separately. These Institutional Support Costs were allocated to teaching programmes on the basis of a timetable analysis on the assumption that a school or college exists because of its teaching/learning function and that the timetable embodies this function.

TABLE ONE INPUT COSTS

	School A		College B Gp 1		College B Gp 2		College C	
	74-76	%	74-76	%	74-76	%	74-76	%
Institutional Support Costs (based on economics as a percentage of the timetable) (a)	663	7 8	643	7 0	643	9 4	948	10 1
Expenditure on materials from capitation (b)	74	0 9	38	0 4	38	0 6	14	0 2
Teachers' salaries(t)	1895	22 2	3140	34 2	2209	32 2	2116	22 5
Students' earnings forgone (d)	5914	69 2	5370	58 4	3979	57 9	6328	67 3
Totals	8456	100 1	9191	100 0	6869	100 1	9406	100 1
Average input cost (£ per candidate)	777		766		763		627	
Input costs indexed for comparison	100		99		98		81	

Note (1) All Prices In £

(2) The financial data for 1975-76 has been deflated to 1974-75 prices. The index used was the DOE U.K. General Index of Retail Prices.

Expenditure on materials from capitation ('b') was either analysed by looking at records of expenditure or by a pro rata division according to numbers of subjects and teaching groups in a department. The small size of this element in the total resources committed to A-level education is noteworthy and can be seen on line 2 of Table One.

Teachers' salaries ('c') were calculated from data obtained of the experience, qualifications and status of the staff involved. Any responsibility allowance for work not connected with Economics was deducted from the salary and the remainder assumed to be paid for the teaching undertaken. The proportion of salary attributed to Economics was the contact time with the group studied as a proportion of the teacher's total class contact time. There is an assumption that out-of-class preparation is in direct proportion to the time allocation on the timetable.

The calculation of earnings forgone ('d') was accomplished using Midland Bank salary data for 16+ and 17+ entrants and the data is used as an approximation for output forgone. The choice of a bank was guided by the similarity between the entry qualifications they require and the average number of O-levels obtained by the students in the study, which were: 5.5 subjects per student in School A, 7.1 subjects in both

sets in College B and 5 subjects in College C. Allocation of the earnings of each student was based upon Economics as a proportion of an individual's total class contact time.

The Educational Attainment Measure

The following paragraphs consider, first, the use of O-level results as a measure of the input quality of candidates and, second, A-level results as the sole output measure. Allowance must be made for difference in the quality of candidates in the different institutions and O-level results were used for this purpose. (1) At the time of this study O-level performances were published on a scale ranging from 1 to 9; these results have been weighted in reverse order, where a grade 9 = 1 point to grade 1 = 9 points. C.S.E. grade 1 was scored equivalent to the bare O-level pass grade and given 4 points. The data records the weighted scores of only the O-level passes of the candidates in the four institutions. Rows two and three of Table Two show the weighted O-level input scores of the candidates and these are also indexed for comparison.

TABLE TWO THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT MEASURES

	School A	College B		College C
		Group 1	Group 2	
No. of Economics Candidates in June, 1976	11	12	9	15
Average O-level input score for candidate (factor 'e')	31.8	45.4	41.4	29.2
O-level input scores indexed for comparison	100	143	130	92
Average 'weighted' A-level output (factor 'f')	3.6	2.7	2.8	2.5
A-level output scores indexed for comparison	100	75	78	69

The legitimacy of using A-level performance as the sole output criterion might be contested. Yet, the six teachers involved in this study took the view that their overriding objective was to assist candidates to achieve their best possible grade. No other primary objective was offered.

The validity of this grade orientated measure of output would be further enhanced if 'best possible grade' reflected also the objectives of the learners, as it would if some form of higher or further education was their aim. A record of the post A-level placement of the forty-seven candidates shows that thirty went on to further or higher education and only five of the remaining seventeen had grades which could probably have obtained for them some form of further education. Given the argument that the highest possible grade is the objective, it is necessary to have some measure of weighting for the A-level grades. The method adopted is the same as that used by Christie and Griffin (p. 63, Hoyle, 1970), ranging from 'O' grade = 1 to A = 6. The weighted A-level output measures are also shown in Table Two.

The Performance Ratios

The data required for the components of the measuring device having been presented, it is now possible to re-present the data in the form of the ratios described above.[5] Table Three enables comparisons to be made using the Cost Performance Ratio criterion which relates inputs with money values to the A-level output. The final column is calculated by standardising the ratio to an output index of 100.[6] This final column allows us to make comparisons and to produce an ordinal ranking with A performing best and B1 poorest.

TABLE THREE - COST PERFORMANCE RATIO

Institution	Average input cost per candidate (£)	Index of average input cost	A-level output per candidate	Index of A-level output	Input-Output Ratios
A	777	100	3.6	100	100.100
B. Group 1	767	99	2.7	75	132 100
B Group 2	763	98	2.8	78	126 100
C	627	81	2 5	89	117 100

Table Four shows the performance on the Academic Performance Ratio which relates the weighted O-level scores of candidates to the weighted A-level output. The ratio in the final column again allows us to make an unequivocal ranking of performances.

TABLE FOUR: ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE RATIO

Institution	O-level input per candidate	Index of O-level input	A-level output per candidate	Index of A-level output	Input-Output Ratio
A	31.8	100	3.6	100	100:100
B: Group 1	45.4	143	2.7	75	191:100
B: Group 2	41.4	130	2.8	78	167:100
C	29.2	92	2.5	69	133:100

Table Five is included, not only to present the final ratios together, but to emphasise that any decision to combine the ratios to produce a single measure of performance is contingent upon a policy decision on the relative weighting of the ratios. Thus, if they were given equal weight the ratios could be added to produce a single measure of cost-effectiveness. By not offering pre-determined weighting in the measuring device the policy maker has the opportunity to determine his own weighting, contingent upon the relative importance he wishes to attach to the two ratios.

TABLE FIVE. PERFORMANCE SCHEDULE

Cost Performance Ratio	Institution	Education Performance Ratio
100:100	A	100:100
132:100	B: Group 1	191:100
126:100	B: Group 2	167:100
117:100	C	133:100

Discussion of results

One of the most important features of this study which should be discussed is not the results as such but the measuring devices being proposed. The Cost Performance Ratio is proposed as an acceptable measure in an educational context because it relates costs to an objective agreed by teachers and, indeed, by learners. The second measure uses O-levels as the measure of input; these may often be maligned by

schools but are, in fact, often used by them as a measure of performance schools are normally happy to be judged by them when the results are good and they tend to be despised only when results are poor. Certainly, the measures are not perfect. It is acknowledged that O-level is effectively a proxy for a measure of general ability (for which there is no wholly convincing direct measure). It may also be objected that the best grade at A-level is not the only objective of A-level teachers. However, to await perfection may be to wait for ever and in the meantime do we continue to use the existing and wholly inadequate measure of performance?

Whilst this study compares groups in different institutions in a single year it is also possible to use the procedure to monitor performance over time within institutions. Thus, in School A performance in subsequent years could be related to the measures established in the base year.(6) The ratios could act as a management aid, indicating areas of persistent poor performance so that remedies may be sought, or conversely, rewarding areas of performance which are consistently good. Head teachers and principals do monitor performance within their institutions this procedure quantifies certain areas of performance so as to aid judgement. The Academic Performance Ratio, for example, would be useful in focusing attention on those classrooms where learning appears to be progressing successfully. Case studies of successful classrooms (and unsuccessful classrooms) might then be instructive on <u>how</u> success is obtained.

An unusual feature of the input costs is the inclusion of students' earnings forgone. They are a substantial proportion of total costs ranging from 58% (College B) to 69% (School A). Their inclusion in an analysis of educational costs should be a matter of priority since it would act as a recurrent reminder of the importance of using learner time to the maximum. It might also lead to a more rigorous investigation before allowing an individual to begin a course such as A-level. An extra class member is not simply a comparatively small increase to a teacher's work load, but a very large commitment of resources in terms of forgone output by the individual and society. A more rigorous entry procedure would involve some attempt to assess the nature of the returns to that individual (and to society) of two years of A-level study. This approach may make entry into A-level and post-16 years study more difficult, but it may also prevent the gross mis-allocation of resources which could occur if ill-advised 16 year olds spend two years studying A-level, only to fail. The foregoing should not be taken to suggest that A-level courses should be open only to candidates who are likely to do well. The suggestion is that there should be sounder advice, but an individual may still wish to enter an A-level course despite advice to the contrary. There is a consumption element in education and it is the individual who decides the consumption/investment content of a course an economics course may be undertaken for pure consumption purposes by some individuals but for predominantly investment motives by others. Thus, the

attraction of A-level studies for some may be the consumption benefits of the process rather than the investment potential of a marketable output.

A problem exists in relation to the data needed for this kind of assessment procedure. The problem is not that the data does not exist or is even very inaccessible it is that data tends to belong to different sub-systems. Examination results, staff timetables and the records of courses being followed by students are held in schools and colleges. The financial data, on the other hand, is held by education offices and there is a further problem of confidentiality over the salaries of individual teachers. This data would best be combined at the level of the institution enabling schools and colleges to monitor their own performance, as well as making the results available to the LEA. A consequence of institutions collating this data may be a demand for virement over the allocation of resources faced with information showing the existing distribution of finance between resources such as teachers and capitition is it possible that heads may question the likelihood of ever achieving optimal output with the existing mix of inputs?

References

1. Christie and Griffin (1969-70) used O-level results as a means of comparing the later performances of candidates at A-level.

2. The choice of the group in Institution A for the base index is arbitrary the ranking order of the results would be the same if any other group had been used as a base

3 viz. for Group 1 in Institution B the index of average input cost (99) and the index of A-level output (75) were both divided by the latter and the result multiplied by 100 to produce the input-output ratio, 132 100.

4. Using a base year as a yardstick produces Interval and not Ordinal Scales.

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SUMMARIES OF ADDITIONAL PAPERS READ AT THE CONFERENCE

Towards a Policy of Staff Development and Staff Appraisal

Harry Ashmall,
Morrison's Academy, Crieff.

Having made a case for "development" the speaker outlined a number of programmes which had been used in different school settings and referred to the theoretical work done by A.J.Light. He emphasised that formal programmes could only be a part of a wider process which involved other school activities and other institutional inputs.

The main emphasis of the paper and the subsequent conference discussion was on the need for staff development to be a way of professional life rather than a mere programme. Staff development cannot be seen as a gimmick to improve an organisation which is not in good health; staff development will better take place in an institution where participation and dialogue are real elements in the school's operation.

Staff appraisal (and a number of methods were discussed) will be more readily handled when a policy of staff development is an important feature in the organisation's life.

Evaluating Examination Results

A.S. Cross,
Caludon Castle School.

The results of public examinations are being evaluated both within schools and by parents and others on the outside. If the evaluation is to be worthwhile it must lead to remedial action by the teachers and satisfy the following three criteria:

(a) It must be systematic. Account must be taken of results rather than just passes.

(b) Recognition must be given to the fact that examination results reflect decisions about entry made by teachers based on their assessments of pupils' abilities and potential.

(c) It must primarily be concerned with decisions and assessments rather than [illegible] pupils' performance.

Examination entries are a decisional dilemma. Teachers use three main criteria:

i) The course the pupil is following. Hence a pupil on a GCE course is generally more likely to be entered for GCE than a pupil of similar ability on a CSE course.

ii) The pupil's chance of 'passing' in the examination.

iii) The pupil's attitude:

Staff Appraisal and Staff Development in a Centralized School System: Issues and Prospects

A.M. Ejiogu

Unlike the British system of education, education in most of the third world countries is basically centralized and its schools essentially run as bureaucratic institutions. The teachers rightly or wrongly see themselves as professionals and this perception points to a potential conflict between the professional and the bureaucratic authority. Staff welfare in such school systems is looked after by the bureaucratic officials who in most cases are not themsleves teaching professionals. The teachers themselves could be grouped into the 'ascriptive professionals' and the 'achievement professionals'. Whereas the ascriptive professionals may welcome staff development programmes especially if participation in such programmes enhances their promotion, the achievement professionals, already well trained before joining the school system often consider such 'orders' as unacceptable or at best on the border line of acceptability. This paper examines more closely such intra-group strains and conflicts and then offers some suggestions.

Self-Evaluation Procedures in Primary Schools

Lyn Gray,
Anglian Regional Management Centre.

Self-evaluation is one form of quality control in education which can help participants in the assessment of their own organisation's effectiveness, and can assist them in responding to external evaluation procedures.

The paper examines the processes whereby the head teachers of the forty largest primary schools in one large rural local education authority in England established a framework for evaluating the effectiveness of their own schools, and considers some of the problems encountered in developing, implementing and evaluating the use of such a framework.

Alternative modes of self-evaluation are considered, including the 'check-list', the use of 'critical success factors', and the comprehensive goal-based participatory instrument. Issues arising from the development and use of such procedures include the identification of responsibility for their implementation, and for action arising from their use, which in turn raises the issues of the leadership role of the head teacher and aspirations for more participatory modes of management by the staff.

School Quality Control in Practice
Contrasting Approaches to Evaluation and Staff Development

M.Hewlett, Heart of England School and
K.Lambert, Great Barr School.

Approach 1 Affective, personal needs emphasis through staff development

Argument: A precondition of an effective school (i.e. one which achieves its basic 'strategical' goals) is an effective teaching force, to obtain this attention must be given to teachers' personal and professional needs (e.g. job satisfaction, confidence, morale).

Approach 2 Instrumental, goal orientated emphasis through product evaluation and systematic staff appraisal

Argument: Rigorous evaluation involving precise monitoring of educational product (e.g. examination results) and systematic staff performance appraisal will lead more directly to achieving basic strategical goals and at the same time improve teacher's job satisfaction, confidence and morale by improving professional competence and enhancing personal self image.

Synthesis Determining the best approach

The two approaches may be seen as lying at opposite ends of a spectrum suggesting that a combination of approaches is likely to be adopted. A school management audit indicating organizational health and specific weaknesses, will suggest which combination of approaches is most appropriate.

Quality Control in Education The Span of Control Controversy - Some Practical Considerations

Glyn Rawlins, Lings School
Rob Sindal, Robert Smyth Upper School.

In 1938 Urwick enunciated the principle that 'no superior can supervise directly the work of more than five or, at the most, six subordinates" and thus initiated the concept of the span of control.

Using examples from secondary schools the arguments in favour of broad spans and narrow spans were examined. The factors affecting the individual Headmaster's or Head of Department's span of control included the aims and objectives of the school, the training required and possessed by subordinates, the communication system, the personal contact required, the similarity and geographical relation of functions, the co-ordination and planning required of the supervisor and the organizational assistance received.

The "span", the authors believe, is not a single generalisable number, but must be calculated for each individual in a particular post in an educational institution.

Survey of Testing Activities of Local Authorities in England and Wales

Robert Wood and Caroline Gipps,
University of London Institute of Education.

The aim of the SSRC funded project is to evaluate the impact of testing programmes on school practice and educational policies.

Eighty-nine LEAs have supplied information on their testing programmes via a questionnaire. Over 80% of all LEAs have testing schemes, 14 testing at one age only and the remaining 63 at two or more ages. The majority cover reading, almost half maths (an increasing trend), whilst 31 LEAs still use verbal and non-verbal reasoning tests, usually at 11+. Most testing takes place at primary level.

Since 1975 there has been an increase in LEA testing programmes but they seem more concerned with screening exercises and concern for individual achievement rather than looking at overall school standards. Only 9 LEAs are overtly concerned with monitoring by light sampling.

Part of our brief is looking at the APU and work is progressing on an account of the Unit.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

E.G. Archer	Lecturer in Education, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow.
H. Ashmall	Rector, Morrison's Academy, Crieff.
Prof. G. Baron	Emeritus Professor of Educational Administration, University of London Institute of Education.
R.H. Bird	Under Secretary, Department of Education and Science, Elizabeth House, London.
Dr. R. Bolam	Research Fellow, University of Bristol, School of Education.
Dr. T.R. Bone	Principal, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow.
D. Boorman	Academic Secretary, University College of Swansea.
Prof. H.J. Boulter	Director, World-Wide Education Service of P.N.E.U., London.
P. Browning	Chief Education Officer, Bedfordshire County Council.
J.B.A. Burridge	Principal Lecturer in Educational Management, Ulster Polytechnic.
R. Carter	Senior Lecturer, Avery Hill College of Education, London.
I. Collie	Director of Education, Central Region, Stirling.
A.A. Coulson	Senior Lecturer in Education Management, North E. Wales Institute of Higher Education
E. Crawley	Senior Lecturer, Educational Management, Bolton College of Education (Technical), Bolton.
A.S. Cross	Housemaster, Caludon Castle School, Coventry
G. Cunningham	Education Officer, Association of County Councils, London.
R. Cuthbert	Staff Tutor, Coombe Lodge, The Further Education Staff College, Blagdon, Bristol.
J. Davies	Assistant Dean and Director, Higher Education Management Programmes, Anglian Regional Management Centre, N.E. London, Polytechnic.
A.M. Ejiogu	Research Fellow, University of Lagos, Nigeri

Dr. F.B. Fidler	Research Fellow, University of Birmingham.
H.A.J. Garnett	Education Adviser, Knowsley Education Authority.
Prof. R. Glatter	Professor of Educational Administration, The Open University.
D. Gordon	Depute Director of Education, Borders Regional Council.
J. Grant-Wood	Headmaster, Firhill High School, Edinburgh.
L.S. Gray	Senior Lecturer, Education Management, Anglian Regional Management Centre.
G. Hacker	Senior Lecturer in Educational Studies, Avery Hill College of Education, London.
P. Harding	Senior Lecturer in Education Management, Bolton College of Education (Technical), Bolton.
C.W. Harvey	Joint Secretary, School of Education, University of Bristol.
J. Havard	Director, Scottish Centre for Studies in School Administration, Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh.
R.H. Herbert	Senior Lecturer in Educational Studies, The Polytechnic, Wolverhampton.
M.W. Hewlett	Headmaster, Heart of England School.
T.M. Hinds	Senior Education Officer, Berks L.E.A.
R. Hornung	Secretary, Middlesex Polytechnic.
A. Inglis	Principal, Telford College of Further Education, Edinburgh.
Dr. J. Isaac	Head of Education Department, Oxford Polytechnic.
H.O. Jenkins	Principal Lecturer in Education Management, The Polytechnic of Wales.
K. Lambert,	Headmaster, Great Barr School, Birmingham.
D.A. Lewis	Principal Lecturer in Education, Garnett College, London.
M. Locke	Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Institutional Studies, N.E. Polytechnic; representative of 'Education'.
Lyons	Principal Lecturer in Education Management, Anglian Regional Management Centre, N.E. London Polytechnic.

Dr. A. MacBeth	Senior Lecturer in Education, Department of Education, University of Glasgow.
E. McColl (Mrs)	Head Teacher, Park Primary School, Oban.
D. McCreath	Lecturer in Education, Notre Dame College of Education, Glasgow.
J. Macgregor	Professional Assistant, Fife Education Authority.
G.A.R. McHugh	The Open University, Milton Keynes.
Dr. F. MacIntosh	Chairman of the Scottish Association for Educational Management and Administration
E. McKeown	Principal Lecturer, Ulster Polytechnic.
A. Mailer	Senior Lecturer in Organisational Behaviour (Educational Management), Anglian Regional Management Centre.
W. Marker	Assistant Principal, Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow.
L.C. Martin	Assistant Secretary, East Anglian Regional Advisory Council for Further Education.
M.F.G. Mathewman	Head of Department, Great Barr School, Birmingham.
A. Mauchan	Professional Assistant, Leeds Education Dep
G. Meaker (Mrs)	Senior Administrative Assistant (Staffing) County of South Glamorgan Education Office
R.H. Mercer	Principal Lecturer in Education Management Sheffield City Polytechnic.
Dr. C.R.J. Moyle	Director, Institute of Educational Administration, Melbourne, Australia.
J.B. Oliver	Deputy Headmaster, Great Barr School, Birmingham.
J. Phillips (Mrs)	Head Teacher, Brookvale Comprehensive Schoo
S. Pratt	Lecturer in Education, University of Bristol
H.A. Ramsay	Lecturer in Educational Management, Department of Inservice Training, Jordanhi College of Education, Glasgow.
G. Rawlins	Remedial Organiser, Lings Upper School, Northampton.
P.M. Ribbins	Lecturer in Education (Administration), University of Birmingham.
C.R. Riches	Lecturer in Educational Administration, Faculty of Educational Studies, Open Univ.

A.T. Ringguth (Mrs)	Senior Administrative Assistant, Polytechnic of North London.
Dr. R. Saran	Principal Lecturer in Education, City of London Polytechnic.
G. Scott	Senior Tutor in Education Management, Bolton College of Education (Technical), Bolton.
D. Semple	Director of Education, Lothian Region.
J.P. Shipstone	Depute Headmaster, Everton High School, Blackburn.
T.J. Simkins	Senior Lecturer in Education Management, Sheffield City Polytechnic.
N.J Small	Staff Tutor, Educational Studies Yorkshire Region, Open University.
D.M. Smith	Lecturer, School of Education, University of Nottingham.
E.G Smith	Depute Headmaster, Forrester High School, Edinburgh.
R. Stenning	P.L., Anglian Regional Management Centre. N.E. London Polytechnic.
R. Sturge	Curriculum Officer and Programme Director, Schools Council, Bristol.
Dr. W. Taylor	Director, University of London Institute of Education.
H.R. Thomas	Lecturer in Education (Administration), University of Birmingham.
G.P. Thompson	Education Officer, The British Council, London.
H. Tomlinson	Head Teacher, Birley High School.
G.E. Walster	Head of Home Economics Department, Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh.
Dr. J. Welton	Lecturer, University of London Institute of Education.
N.E. Whiting	Visiting Fellow, Sheffield City Polytechnic.
R.O. Williams	Principal Adviser (Secondary Education), Lothian Regional Council.
Dr. R. Wood	Senior Research Officer, University of London Institute of Education.
P.E. Young (Mrs)	Lecturer, University of London Institute of Education.

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Journal of the British Educational Management & Administration Society

Editorial Correspondence should be sent to:

Dr. R. Bolam,
Research Fellow,
University of Bristol School of Education,
19 Berkeley Square, Bristol BS8 1HF.
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Book Review Correspondence and books for review should be sent to:

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D P J Browning Chief Education Officer County Hall Bedford

J L Davies Head of Department of Management in the Public Service Anglian Regional Management Centre North East London Polytechnic

Professor R Glatter Professor of Educational Administration The Open University

M Hewlett Headmaster Heart of England School Coventry

H O Jenkins Department of Management Studies, The Polytechnic of Wales, Pontypridd

J F Mann Secretary, School Council for Curriculum and Examinations

G A R McHugh Senior Research Officer The Open University

D L Parkes Further Education Staff College Coombe Lodge, Blagdon Bristol

L E Watson Head, Department of Education Management and In-Service Education, Sheffield City Polytechnic