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ABSTRACT

Relations between schools and the adults within their surrounding communities are often problematic in inner city, low socioeconomic status neighborhoods. This paper analyzes features of the intersubjective structure of a group of working-class residents who took over and illegally ran their secondary school in Liverpool (England) for the 1982/83 school year. The school, Croxteth Comprehensive School, was occupied as part of a community movement to protest its closure. The paper analyzes the common sense assumptions held by the community about knowledge, pedagogy, classroom authority, school certificates, and other features of schooling. It finds evidence of a structure through which residents' views mutually implicate each other, though this is not apparent to the residents themselves. This intersubjective structure consists of two forms of implication: paradigm and homology. These forms of implication are related to two different forms in which systems of routine behavior are integrated. Social integration (the coordination of routines through face-to-face interactions) is associated with paradigmatic intersubjective structures, while system integration (the relationships between routines separated in time and space) is associated with homologous intersubjective structures. The study's results expand understanding of school-community relations, and of human rationality in relationship to routine social practices. (AF)

Intersubjective Structure and Systems of Practice in School-Community Relations

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Abstract

Relations between schools and the adults within their surrounding communities are often problematical in inner city, low SES, neighborhoods. Such relations are mediated by culture: by the cultures of the school personnel and the cultures of local residents. Where there is a mismatch between the deep seated assumptions made by teachers and administrators, on the one hand, and parents, on the other, school-community relations become problematical. This paper provides an in-depth analysis of the commonsense assumptions held by a working class community in Liverpool England about knowledge, pedagogy, classroom authority, school certificates, and other features of schooling. The author has discovered a structure through which the views held by these residents mutually implicate each other, though this structure was not consciously apparent to the residents themselves. This structure, which the author calls an 'intersubjective structure', consists of two forms of implication: paradigm and homology. The distinction between these terms is clarified in the text of the paper. Moreover, these two forms of implication are related to two different forms in which systems of routine behavior are integrated. Social integration, or the coordintion of routines through face to face interactions, is associated with paradigmatic intersubjective structures and system integration, or the relationships existing between routines separated in time and space, is associated with homologous intersubjective structures. The results are useful for expanding our understanding of school-community relations and, on a more general level, of understanding human rationality and its relationship to routine social practices.

This paper analyses features of the intersubjective structure of a group of working class residents who took-over and illegally ran their secondary school for the 1982/83 school year. The school's name is Croxteth Comprehensive. It was illegally occupied as part of a community movement to protest its closure[1]. In what follows I shall provide a brief description of the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive, a description of the interpretative

frameworks through which participants in the occupation developed their social routines, and then analyse these in terms of:

1) their intersubjective structure

2) corresponding systems of practice both within the school and between the school, home, and workplace.

The analysis will disclose relationships between forms of intersubjective practice and modes through which routine practices are integrated. Intersubjective structures linked through what I shall term 'paradigmatic implication' support modes of social integration in which behaviors are coordinated through face-to-face interactions. Intersubjective structures linked through what I shall term 'homologous relations' support modes of system integration in which routines separated by spatial and temporal barriers mutually reinforce each other[2].

I Introductory Comments

The story of Croxteth Comprehensive is the subject of a forthcoming book and will only be sketched in extreme brevity here[3]. Croxteth Comprehensive school was the only non-religious secondary school in the peripheral Croxteth Council Housing Estate of Liverpool, England - an estate of roughly 12,000 residents. The Liverpool city council voted to close Croxteth Comprehensive down in January of 1981, ostensibly because of its declining rolls. Residents organized a protest movement which successfully reversed the council vote in March of 1982 - but the British national

Department of Education and Science (DES) refused to recognize the city's change of mind and ordered the closure to go through. Croxteth Comprehensive was thus officially terminated as a school in July of 1982.

A few days before the official closing date residents forced their way into Croxteth Comprehensive, gave the teaching staff a limited amount of time to leave, and barricaded the windows and doors. An overnight picket was created and the school secured with all its equipment for community use. Although the occupation was illegal, the local council decided not to send police to clear the buildings for fear of a poor public response. The campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive had attained frequent and sympathetic media coverage before the take-over, and use of police was unlikely to be a vote winner.

The local activists next invited volunteer teachers into the school and ran it, with their help, for an entire school year. Many interesting political and educational conflicts took place between the essentially middle class group of teachers and the working class activists from Croxteth, and a form of education resulted with some valuable lessons for educators concerned with the production of curriculum and pedagogy in working class urban schools. At the end of this time a newly elected city council with a Labour Party majority managed to reinstate the school by including it within a package of city-wide reforms which the national DES approved and desired on the whole. Croxteth Comprehensive continues to run to this day.

For the purposes of this particular study it is necessary to note several things explained in more detail in my other studies of Croxteth Comprehensive.

1) This school traditionally had rates of examination passes and rates of pupils continuing into higher education which were similar to most secondary schools in British working class areas - i.e., few passed examinations and few went on to higher education. Reasons for this are complex, but lack of cultural capital seemed to the be greatest one.

2) The school under occupation developed unique social relations with large numbers of parents working in the school each day and a staff of highly motivated and progressive-minded volunteers. Yet these unique social relations, for the most part, simply reconstituted long standing conditions of action to deliver similar educational results (low continuation rates, few examination passes) and in most fundamental terms a similar educational experience for the pupils as existed traditionally.

Thus the occupation, while pointing the way forward for the development of more effective working class schooling did not manage to make fundamental alterations during its single year of existence. This paper examines the cultural, intersubjective, conditions of action which most influenced the form taken by the school under occupation. These conditions were sharply revealed under the unusual condition of an occupation and through the frequent disputes which broke out between Croxteth activists and their middle class teacher volunteers but they are undoubtedly conditions common to ordinary schools in working class urban

environments.

II Format and Theory

Format

I will describe the interpretative framework of the Croxteth residents as it existed at the very beginning of the school occupation, before interpersonal conflicts between teachers and parents began to draw portions of the framework into critical disccurse and began to actually alter them. I also indicate the relationship of this framework to systems of practice.

The format consists of a descriptive section in which the interpretative frameworks of the participants is laid out, followed by a section of analysis in which the interpretative framework is analysed for its relationship to systems of practice. At times I play off the views of the teachers against the views of the local activists in order to highlight the specific natures of the latter, but on the whole the intersubjective framework of the teachers is ignored[4].

The iceberg model of action

I call the model of action used in my theory the 'iceberg' model. Icebergs have hidden and visible portions and icebergs are three dimensional. Action has both hidden and visible conditions which are linked together into a loose structure - a 'virtual structure' in Anthony Gidden's[5] terminology because it is essentially an intersubjective structure implicated in each act. Action also has three dimensions: normative, dramaturgical, and goal-rational dimensions[6]. All action is conditioned by factors within the awareness of the actor which form the basis of the

accounts which actors can provide for their behaviour. Yet at the same time, these visible factors frequently imply conditions which are not within the actors' awareness and conditions which could be said to be within their awareness but on an unarticulated, non-discursive or tacit level.

Interpretative frameworks and ideological themes

Much of the description and analysis to follow concerns structures of intersubjective orientations of which actors had varying modes and degrees of awareness. I use two terms which fall within the general category of 'intersubjective orientation': 'interpretative framework' and 'ideological theme'.

'Interpretative framework' or 'scheme' will refer to clusters of assumptions, values, norms, and rules for the maintenance of acceptable identities which influenced the interpretations made by participants. These clusters existed primarily at tacit levels of awareness but contained certain elements which entered into the discourse of participants. They were initially, before interpersonal conflicts problematised them, features of the common sense of the activists.

'Ideological theme' is used to refer to specific and identifiable modes of interpreting events and justifying practice. While I avoid any attempt to delineate an entire interpretative scheme in this paper, I do identify and label a number of ideological themes. A single interpretative framework consists of several, possibly many, ideological themes which are related to each other in a structure. I call these elements of interpretative schemes ideological *themes*, rather than simply ideologies, because

they served as generative structures for lay theories and were not themselves articulated theories. A single theme could and did produce different personal theories of the occupation and its goals. Those activists who held to the same themes agreed on the appropriateness of similar or identical practices while sometimes disagreeing on the discursive form in which these practices were justified.

Intersubjective structure

The manner in which conditions of action are related to each other is variable. This study examines several sorts of relationships which can be said to constitute an intersubjective structure. In other publications[7] I have distinguished between relations of tension and relations of reinforcement between intersubjective elements - in this case 'themes'. It is possible for actors to simultaneously hold two or more orientations at low levels of discursive awareness which shape contradictory practices. This is called a relationship of tension. It is also possible for actors to hold a number of orientations which support or reinforce each other. Because this latter form of relationship tends to be associated with long standing patterns of action I will be giving careful attention to it, - to (1) chains of reinforcing intersubjective elements which pattern systems of action within schools during a given period of time, to (2) systems of action between home and school during a particular time, and to (3) systems of action between diverse temporal locations within the life cycle of groups of people. Relations of tension will not be

discussed in this paper, though they played a prominent role in the integration of routines within Croxteth Comprehensive.

I shall distinguish between reinforcing intersubjective conditions of action which take a subjective form of paradigm, in which terms logically imply other terms, from those taking a subjective form of homology in which terms display similarities of abstract form. Both types of subjective relationships correspond to practices reaching social integration within the school and to practices reaching system integration between schools, homes, workplaces, and temporally across points on the life cycle. However, paradigmatic relations tend to predominate in the case of social integration because this type of integration depends upon face-to-face negotiations and accounting practices and thus must conform more tightly to rules of rational form[8].

III Interpretative Schemes and Intersubjective Structure

Croxteth Comprehensive was run during its year of occupation by a stable group of roughly 30 adults from the Croxteth estate and a shifting group of volunteer teachers. Over one hundred teachers taught for some time during the course of the year but only 27 of these served long enough to be considered part of the core staff. In what follows I will focus almost entirely upon the Croxteth volunteers, but will at times make contrasts between their perspectives and those of the teacher volunteers coming from outside the estate to highlight the views.

Political perspectives

While most teachers volunteered to work in occupied Croxteth Comprehensive because they viewed the school take-over as an end in

itself - as a way of gaining control over the decision making processes and ultimately the purposes of a service institution, Croxteth activists viewed the situation conversely as an effort to win back, not alter, a state funded provision. Their orientation was identical to what Castells calls 'trade union consumerism'[9]. It is an orientation which emphasises the duties and obligations of the state but which maintains a client-administrator relationship dependent on the expert-professionals of the state.

Elsewhere I have characterised this orientation as 'the social wage'. This is the first ideological theme to be discussed. Just as trade unionists tend to organize in order to negotiate over conditions of work and its financial remuneration rather than to gain power over the logic of production, so trade union consumerism does not challenge the administrative rationality which controls the form of welfare services, only the amounts and 'quality' (where quantitative state definitions of quality remain unchallenged) of services being supplied. The key relationships involved are not challenged by these movements. The social wage is a normative orientation towards the state emphasizing moral obligations and limiting the goal-rational field of action to an insistence on being served. It is supported by a differentiation of identities into professionals and clients which is itself supported by ideological themes discussed below.

Knowledge, resistance, jobs, and control

It may seem unsurprising that the local volunteers from Croxteth felt dependent on educational 'experts' supplied by the state, - to take for granted the state definitions of the purposes

of schooling and to have no articulated critique of schooling practices in working class communities. These adults had all left school at the earliest age allowed, had for the most part not taken examinations and thus had no formal qualifications. On immediate appearance, it would seem that a sense of incompetence would be 'natural'. However, when one considers the memories this group retained of their own schooling years one may well wonder why they had such an uncritical view of schooling. The feeling of incompetence was, in fact, a constructed one, - constructed from a number of interlocking cultural conditions, including a particular conception of knowledge, and a culturally mediated interpretation of resistance activities. In addition, the uncritical attitude of the local activists to the form and content of schooling was supported by an instrumental view of the purposes of schooling - a view which emphasized employability and the control of youth. This section will consider each of these views or ideological themes in turn.

In addition to having been 'school leavers', those who leave school without taking the British secondary 'O level' or 'CSE' examinations at the earliest legal age, most of the community activists reported unpleasant memories of secondary school. Usually these memories of an unpleasant experience were associated with the authority exercised over pupils by teachers. As one activist commented:

I never liked it. I never took the 11+. ... See, when I went to school, you only talk to a teacher when a teacher talked to you. You'd never be friendly with a teacher, you'd have to be

> frightened of a teacher. (Pat Brennen, local resident and activist)

Croxteth resident Mick Checkland recalled his first experiences as a pupil at Croxteth Comprehensive:

> I was terrified. The teachers were a lot sterner. It wasn't the way we do it now [during the occupation], now we can have a laugh with them, but they know that you're firm on top. They know that they're going to get a rollicking if they do something wrong, but you don't hold a grudge against them, whereas the teachers when I first came, if you ever did anything wrong I mean that grudge was held against you for the full five years. All my brothers came to this school and (pause), I was in classes which my worst brother had been in you know, and so I got terrible stick right from when I started. The first day I came here a huge teacher spotted me in the corridor and came right over to me, picked me up by the lapels and said that he didn't take it from my brothers and he wouldn't take it from me either. I was really frightened, it was completely terrifying.

Moreover, many activists indicated the negative identities which schools had consigned them. They had been considered 'slow' and 'thick', and they sometimes continued to refer to themselves with these terms. At the same time, most of the male volunteers interviewed reported both their dislike of school authority and their involvement in much resistance activity during secondary school. They'd been 'lads'[10], and had retained some pride over the fact. Kitchen helper Marty McArdle had been expelled from three

schools for hitting teachers. P.E. teacher and former resident Mick Checkland had played truant and gotten drunk 'as much as you possibly could'. George Knibb, a local resident who worked in the school corridors, had ripped up school books and had concealed them in a hole in the school floor.

Thus the secondary schooling experiences of most of the community volunteers had been unpleasant and/or characterised by active disruptions of classes. This gave the community volunteers an understanding of the frequent disruptions which Croxteth pupils were to partake in during the occupation - as George Knibb said in a typical comment: 'I can understand them'.

Yet these memories of a negative schooling experience, of what was in many cases a rejection of the norms and values of the school during their schooling years, did not lead to a critical attitude towards schooling in their adult lives. None of these local activists initially questioned the validity of course contents, assessment procedures or, aside from Mick's comments, teacher-pupil authority relationships (and even Mick only questioned one aspect of the authority relationship). It seemed instead that these negative memories of school actually contributed to a feeling of inadequacy in adult life - a feeling of incompetence for judging school practices. These activists had left school and in their adult lives expressed an unquestioning trust in those who had remained to get qualifications for their competence in decision making over the purposes and objectives of education. There were several reasons for this.

One reason why personal experiences in secondary school of a negative nature did not immediately lead to a critical attitude to schooling processes is the lack of a clear and widely available critique of educational practice in the labour movement. The campaign for the school was easily interpreted by Croxteth activists in terms of the social wage and much of the terminology and the slogans of the labour movement reinforced and further justified this type of interpretation (the fight against cuts). But the British labour movement has not yet generated widely known policies on educational experience - it has kept the political aspects of schooling within the framework of provisions fought for, within social wage politics, and hasn't deeply questioned the nature of educational provision itself. A way of criticising schooling practice isn't readily available to working class people having negative experiences in schools. There is no 'counter hegemony' with respect to the form and content of educational practice in the British Labour Movement.

More fundamentally, however, the volunteers in Croxteth seem to have absorbed and interpreted their negative schooling experiences in conjunction with two features of their local culture: 1) a particular view of school knowledge (which is clearly a result of school practice itself), and, 2) the customary pattern of adult-youth authority relationships on the estate (which is the result of a reinforcing relationship between cultural traditions and traditional school practice). I will look more closely at each of these.

1) Croxteth activists made a tacit distinction between learning and knowledge and 'school learning' and 'school knowledge'. One of the most striking processes I observed during the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive was the vast amount of learning and knowledge acquisition undertaken by the local activists. They were mastering the complexities of local political processes, educational law, building maintenance, record keeping, democratic meeting procedures, even public housing law when the campaign for the school spilled over to smaller campaigns for better housing conditions on the estate[11]. But this learning process and the knowledge being acquired was not seen as anything similar to the learning which is supposed to take place within schools. School knowledge was rather viewed as something beyond their grasp and competence. Moreover, it was seen as something external to life activities which results in a fixed possession which one either has or doesn't have. School knowledge, in other words, was viewed in a reified way - as 'commodity knowledge', whose value lies solely in its transferability into jobs[12].

A key ideological theme shaping the attitude and practice of local adults in the school was thus reified knowledge. Reified knowledge is a view of school knowledge as something external which can be possessed and which is not in an obvious relationship to the sorts of knowledge all people master in conducting their daily lives. This latter type of knowledge is rarely called 'knowledge'. A reified view of knowledge contributes to several other ideological themes. One involves the purpose of schooling and the

other the authority relationships considered 'proper' within schools and between schools and communities.

First of all, reified knowledge was conjoined to a belief in employability as the ultimate purpose of schooling. In a typical comment, Margaret Gaskell, a local activist with two children in the school, said:

> I didn't really take it [school] seriously. I'm sorry now I didn't, really. I didn't do any examinations. I did hate the school. I thought when you left school you'd just go and get a job and if you didn't like that job you could just change it, go from one job to another.

Margaret had regrets that she hadn't taken school very seriously because this had limited her chances for getting a satisfying job. She basically used a mobility argument similar to many liberal arguments about education. Many community volunteers, however, not only mentioned satisfying jobs but often simply jobs as a major feature of the purposes of education. They frequently noted that school qualifications are now something which is needed to get any job, unlike the time when they were leaving school. Thus reified knowledge was connected to another ideological theme, one labelled with the short hand of 'employability' here. A major purpose of schooling was seen to be to make youth employable. I shall continue to refer to the 'employability' theme as something which includes either mobility arguments or simply arguments about jobs. Although there are important differences between these two, they are not significant for the discussion in this article.

Secondly, reified knowledge was also linked to certain authority relationships taken for granted by the local activists. Those with school knowledge were entitled to access to the decision making processes in which schooling practices are determined - those without school knowledge were denied such access. In the following passage, George Knibb explains his lack of legitimate authority over educational issues in terms of his lack of school knowledge:

> Actually O levels and CSEs[13], I've never had them. And knowing that this day and age you need them. I'm not looking at that part. So actually as criticising educational standards, I couldn't do it. And I don't think there's anyone else in the school that can, on the Action Committee. The only thing we can criticise is the handling of the kids. I don't think we can criticise anyone on work standards, I don't think we have the authority to.

As the above passage makes clear, this view of school knowledge is bolstered by an acceptance of the examination system. The 'authority' George speaks of is indicated and legitimated by the possession of formal qualifications. Croxteth activists, unlike many of the volunteer teachers and unlike a number of vocal groups in England, accepted the British national examinations as valid assessment procedures measuring the extent to which one does or does not possess school knowledge and designating certain authority relations. The possibility that examinations may serve more as indicators of ones' membership, or lack of membership, within dominant cultural groups[14] was excluded by this perspective.

However, George does indicate his confidence in making judgements about the state of discipline in the school and was correct in speaking for the local activists as a whole in this matter. All local activists felt free to judge the discipline policies of teachers and the pedagogic practices which relate directly to the control of pupils. The feeling of competence with respect to judging teacher-pupil relationships is related to the second cultural factor which mediated the negative experience of secondary schooling reported by most of the activists: adult-youth authority relationships in Croxteth.

2) Many of the volunteer teachers in Croxteth noted with dismay the 'coercive' means by which adults contained the behaviour of youth in Croxteth. Daily observations of interactions between Croxteth adults and Croxteth youth did indeed indicate a coercive quality. Rough language, threats of 'boxing ears' or punching noses, and occasional incidents in which youths were visibly cuffed backed up this impression. Yet a careful examination of adult-youth relations indicated to this rough style was primarily a language in which consensus to authority was won, skilfully and often in a manner mixing humour and affection with gruff behaviour. I was particularly struck with the failure of a few adults to win the consensus of youth to their authority even though they used extremely coercive sanctions. Their lack of success was the result of a lack of skill with an over-all style in which coercive themes are but one symbolic element. Sociologically, an authority relationship existed rather than a relationship of pure power.

Youth in Croxteth are to a certain extent expected to challenge adult authority and this formed the basis for the interpretation most of the adults gave to their memories of resisting school authority when they were themselves pupils as well as their interpretation of resisting youth within the occupied school. George Knibb, Mick Checkland, Marty McArdle and other adults from Croxteth hadn't liked the harsh way in which school authority was exercised upon them when they were students and they challenged it very frequently. But they didn't interpret this behaviour as a resistance to schooling authority in a way which could have led to a critique of school authority. Their dislike of school, displayed in disruptive and defiant activity, was expected cultural behaviour, especially expected of youth. The existence of authority was accepted as given and the way in which they had resisted it as pupils was a way in which youth were expected to act. Hence when these individuals crossed the cultural line between youth and adult, they looked upon their past behaviour as behaviour typical of youth. As adults they could understand pupils within in the occupied school carrying out the same sorts of disruptive activities but they opposed it just the same, in their role as adults. Most significantly, they didn't see the behaviour as justifiable in terms which would have criticised schooling but in terms which related the behaviour to expected cultural roles.

The style of teacher-pupil relationship which had worked in Croxteth Comprehensive before the occupation, - a style which made use of the cane, lines, and detention, - worked because it was in harmony with the adult-youth relationships on the estate. The two

reinforced each other. They reinforced each other not only in the sense of a continuity, or homology, between adult-youth and teacher-pupil styles of interaction (a subjective reinforcement which pupils could understand and respond to), but in the sense of the school actually bolstering efforts of parents to extend authority over youth (a reinforcement of practice which parents desired). The challenge of youth in Croxteth to adult authority is not always contained within the cultural style of interaction. There is in Croxteth a high rate of crime, vandalism and now drug usage. Hence, as one teacher observed:

> Most of them see it [discipline] with the onus being on the teachers because if they themselves can't control the kids for one reason or another, and there're a lot of one-parent families around, ... they probably believe that their kids are being influenced by their mates and the place where they're being influenced most is at school. And if the teachers; the teachers have got to crack down on discipline in the school, because whether or not our discipline (pause), If they perceive it as bad, you know, as not as strict as other schools, then I don't believe that they'll be too keen on sending their kids here. (Tony Gannon, geography teacher)

Adult-youth authority relations in Croxteth were an ideological theme because of their strong normative nature. They prescribed the style of adult-youth interactions considered correct and the forms of youthful behaviour considered proper. They shaped the attitudes of the local adult activists towards the occupation by precluding certain criticisms of schooling practice which may

have otherwise arisen through a negative and resisting school experience. At the same time, they gave support to yet another ideological theme shaping the local activists' view of schooling purpose. The control of pupils was seen as a goal in itself, not just a means for educating pupils.

I call this ideological theme 'schooling for discipline and control'. It had both normative-value components and goal-rational ones. In the normative realm, it was a view of schooling which emphasized the 'correctness' of disciplining youth. Strong school discipline was believed to help shape good character and to maintain the acceptable identities of adult, teacher, and youth. In the goal-rational realm, discipline was seen as a deterrent to juvenile crime and drug abuse, which had frightening rates in Croxteth.

There are many illustrations of the importance which parents in Croxteth put upon discipline for its own sake. Several parents took their children out of Croxteth Comprehensive during the occupation and sent them to other schools, explicitly not due to any worry about how much they were learning in the school, but because of their fear that their sons or daughters were not being disciplined enough. In one especially dramatic incident, a single mother came to the school to severely scold the teaching staff for not disciplining her son enough. Teachers had threatened to expel her son for his extremely disruptive behaviour which infuriated this mother. Responsibility for her son's behaviour, in her eyes, was the school's - not the family's. An expulsion was an admittance of incompetence by the school. In front of four

teachers, she slapped and hit her son several times to demonstrate how it ought to be done and then begged and scolded us to allow him to remain.

IV The intersubjective structure and its relation to practice

A chain of reinforcing terms

To summarize so far, I have described a number of ideological themes which shaped the ways in which adult residents in Croxteth interpreted their protest campaign and the nature and purposes of schooling. These were the social wage, reified knowledge, employability, an unquestioning acceptance of examinations, adult-youth authority relations in Croxteth, and schooling for discipline and control. Each theme consisted of normative orientations and were connected to identity structures - some of which emphasized a distinction between 'ordinary' and 'not ordinary', some a distinction between adult and youth. In turn, these normative and identity structures prescribed and proscribed realms of goal-rational action within the school: teachers, not local activists, were expected to make decisions on curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment, - yet these were not to deviate too far from traditional practice. Teachers, not local activists, were expected to uphold school authority over pupils - yet this authority was expected to take a form which corresponded to local expectations. The campaign itself was to be conducted by the local activists, not the teachers, and conducted in a way corresponding to the social wage, making the occupation a holding operation rather than an end in itself.

Above all, local forms of power - both those mustered through the political campaign for the school and those based upon adult-youth relations in the community, were to be used to maintain what was essentially a class relation between the community and the state, the teacher and the local adult.

There were a number of incidents which took place during the occupation which made the class implications of the subjective orientations of the local residents explicit. One was the ambiguous status which certain teachers had in the school. A very few teachers (four) came from Croxteth and didn't have formal qualifications. This group of four were not easily classified by other Croxteth participants according to the structure of roles which formed within the school. Because they were from Croxteth, spoke like people from Croxteth, and were known by other local activists in the school, it wasn't clear whether they should be classified as 'teachers' or 'helpers' (the term applied to Croxteth volunteers who were not on the Croxteth Community Action Committee), even though their job was clearly that of teaching. This took a concrete form when it came to the school lunches and to whether or not they should pay teachers fees or 'helpers' fees, - teachers' fees were lower. Disputes broke out over it. The irony of this situation was that these four teachers were better at controlling pupils than were most of the volunteer teachers from outside the estate. The ultimate basis for school authority in the local activists eyes, however, was possession of school knowledge (as indicated by qualifications), and this was usually also associated with the status of the 'outsider' - a geographical and

to a certain extent a class, 'other'. Hence the position of these teachers was ambiguous.

Teachers in Croxteth were outsiders both literally and subjectively. They came from outside the estate, from a different cultural world, and they weren't 'just ordinary' as were people from the estate. Their status as outsiders contributed to their status as teachers. Volunteer teachers were very aware of the different status accorded them by the local activists. Angela Cunningham, history teacher, commented:

> The parents here think of teachers as a caste and a class apart from them and have greater respect, in a sense, for teachers than perhaps did the parents of the kids I was teaching last year [a private boarding school]. I feel that a lot of what the parents expect is rooted in this assumption of difference, that teachers should behave differently from other people.

There were several ironies in this situation. Local residents had considerably more power than the teacher volunteers over this particular school. They had taken it over and had managed to establish control over the resources needed to run it - finances, food, and fuel. They completely controlled access to the school. Volunteer teachers volunteered to serve under the local action committee's direction. And within the school it was the local adult, not the volunteer teacher, who could control the behaviour of pupils. In every immediate respect, local activists, not volunteer teachers and not the local government, had power in the situation. Yet this power was used to force pupils, as much as

possible, to defer to teachers and to respect school authority. Order was maintained in the school through the use of local cultural norms governing authority between youth and adult. This authority was not used to alter a traditional authority relationship which few of the local activists had liked but on the contrary to bolster it where it was found to be sagging through the unsuccessful progressive pedagogic styles of the teachers. Politically, in a community in which examination results were traditionally poor, levels of student discontent fairly high, and chances of getting jobs after school with or without examinations extremely low (unemployment was 90% for 16-19 year olds, over 40% for all adults), nearly total power over the school was used to restore the school to its former status, the occupation used as a holding operation until state professionals could be forced to once again staff it.

The reason for these ironies rested upon the ideological themes through which local activists viewed their school and upon which they constructed their practices. These themes supported each other and supported long-standing relationships between the community, the school, and the occupations of Croxteth residents. The themes linked together into a reinforcing chain - the social wage theme supported by a distinction between the professional and the client which was in turn supported by a distinction between the teacher and the 'ordinary' adult, which again was supported by a reified view of knowledge, the possession of which was believed to be unproblematically indicated by the possession of examination passes. A critical consciousness of education was blocked by the

interpretation of resistance activity through the cultural form in which adult-youth relationships were established and through an unquestioning belief in the primary purpose of schooling as providing currency for jobs (this was in itself a form of resistance or protective distancing, however, -- a point I cannot elaborate upon in the space available here).

Forms of reinforcement, modes of integration

The links in this chain varied in nature. Homology and paradigm can be used as limit cases to distinguish between the nature of links, some approaching one and some the other. Adult-youth relations in Croxteth, for example, were similar in form, or homologous, to expected teacher-pupil relations in the school. These two themes did not logically imply or suggest each other, - in accounting practices one could not easily be drawn upon in a discursive way to logically support the other, - but they reinforced each other in this case through the generalization of the broad normative principles of the first. In addition, they helped to covertly reinforce class relationships through the 'ordinary', not-ordinary identity distinction which was homologously similar to authority forms within the local culture generally, based on deference and unquestioned decision making rights. School authority was subjectively constructed not only as a relationship between teachers and youth but as one between working class residents and the state as well. These links in the chain corresponded to the system integration of community (or home), school, and occupation.

System integration involves the maintenance of relations of reciprocity between collectivities 'locked' together over larger spatial and temporal distances than social integration. In the case of this study, the intersubjective chain described above supported long term relations between the school, home and work site and ultimately between classes and the state. The intersubjective links are not ones requiring accounting practices which must consistently negotiate between two or more terms in the chain. The links are there, but present according to the looser requirements of homology rather than paradigm. Instead of logical implication, we have rules of a normative and identity-forming nature applied across large boundaries.

On the other hand, the relationships between reified knowledge, examinations, teacher status, and schooling for jobs, were more tightly linked subjectively into something approaching a paradigm, in which terms logically suggest each other. An unquestioning acceptance of examinations implies a reified view of school knowledge as something which is politically and culturally neutral, as something possessable and measurable. A discursive defence of examinations will pull up arguments about the nature of knowledge. A focus upon employability as one of the primary purposes of schooling, rather than personal growth or social-critical awareness, implies in turn an emphasis on certificates. Hence, for example, George Knibb, in the passage quoted earlier, discursively indicated a connection between possession of qualifications, possession of knowledge, and possession of authority - all features of a general paradigm.

These themes, along with schooling for discipline and control, featured most prominently into the social integration within the occupied school - the development of routines which determined the educational experience of the pupils. Social integration, unlike system integration, occurs through face-to-face interactions in which accounting practices become important. One could speculate on the origin of certain ideological themes as themselves occurring through processes of social integration - as the designation of separate but logically implied features of deeper normative and identity-based themes into semi-autonomous elements. Accounting practices and interpersonal negotiations require varying degrees of conformity to rational form, depending upon the degree to which they are acknowledged and articulated [15]. Such conformity requirements may result in the separation of elements.

The chain may thus be broken down and analysed for its relationship to practice in the manner schematized in figure one. The reader must bear in mind the distinction between intersubjective structure and system of practice here. While it is appropriate to speak of paradigm and homology in the case of the former, the latter will be simply a set of contingent relationships. There is no necessity in the linkages between practices, no linkage of paradigm or homology or logical relation. They are rather explicable through coincidence alone - coincidence which, however, is supported by the intersubjective structures corresponding to them. For example, most pupils in Croxteth don't do well on examinations because features of their community and home culture are in disjunction with their school culture - they

lack 'cultural capital' to do well in school. This is a contingent feature of the relationships of practice I am discussing which is absolutely essential to the way these practices work in Croxteth. Another contingent condition of absolute importance to understanding this system of practice is the conjunction of the style of adult-youth and parent-youth relationships in Croxteth the style of 'visible'[16] teacher-pupil authority relationships which were traditional in Croxteth Comprehensive. Within the bounds of this study, these were both contingent conditions which underlay the systems of practice I have outlined.

Figure One:

I) FEATURES OF CHAIN PERTAINING TO SOCIAL INTEGRATION:

a) reified knowledge / examinations
b) examinations / schooling for employability
c) reified knowledge / teacher authority
d) teacher authority / schooling for discipline and control

Subjective form of chain:

paradigm = terms logically suggest each other

Association of chain with practice:

intended consequences: social integration resulting in

- control of pupils inside school,
- success of some pupils in getting qualifications/jobs.

unintended consequences:

- resistance of many pupils to school,
- failure of many pupils on examinations
- subjective orientation of many pupils as knowledgeless, as 'just ordinary'.

II) FEATURES OF CHAIN PERTAINING TO SYSTEM INTEGRATION:

a) Between sites bounded temporaly by the extended present:

social wage / school authority (school) / adult-youth relationships in Croxteth

b) Between sites bounded temporaly by the life cycle:

home and school of pupil / occupational future of pupil/ class relationships

Subjective form of chain: homology = similarities of form

- Schooling as an authority relationship,
- Youth status as an authority relationship,
- Class position as an authority relationship

Association of chain with practice:

Unintended consequences:

reproduction of certain features of class relations.

V Summary

To summarize, in this paper I have constructed a model for understanding intersubjective conditions and their relationship to systems of practice through the analysis of perspectives on schooling held by working class residents of Croxteth, United Kingdom. I have modelled only one type of structure of intersubjective conditions - a reinforcing structure. There are also structures in which tensions between elements dominate over reinforcements. I have further taken two limit cases to distinguish between types of subjective reinforcement: the homology and the paradigm. I have suggested that the relationship of intersubjective structures to forms of integration account for the difference between these two: social integration will tend to correspond to paradigmatic relationships and system integration to homologous ones. Lastly, following Giddens[17], I have stressed the need to distinguish between intersubjective structures and systems of practice - the former displaying connections which are related to formal rationality requirements in accounting practices and the latter displaying conditioned but contingent relationships with no necessity involved. What I couldn't do in this short piece was to elaborate on the ontological basis for the distinction between intersubjective conditions, which bear a relationship to formal rationality requirements, and systems of practice which must be viewed as contingent. This distinction is rooted in the relationship of human awareness to human activity. Awareness of conditions of action and their structure is itself a condition of

action. In longer studies of the Croxteth occupation[18] I have been able to bring human awareness into the picture by exploring alterations in both intersubjective conditions and practices within the occupied school which resulted from an expansion of the critical consciousness of the actors.

NOTES:

1 For the entire story of this school occupation, see Carspecken (in press).

2 For a full explanation of the difference between system and social integration, see Giddens (1979).

3 Again, see Carspecken (in press) for the entire story of the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive. This paper elaborates portions of my analysis in that book in new directions.

4 I analyse the teacher's interpretative framework in some detail in Carspecken (in press).

5 See Giddens (1984).

6 Here I follow Habermas's analysis of action. See Habermas 1981.

7 See especially Carspecken (in press).

8 Habermas 1981, McCarthy 197

9 Castells 1977, 1978).

10 In the same sense that Willis's working class, anti-school, males used the term. See Willis (1977).

11 Carspecken 1985.

12 See Everhart 1983 and Whitty 1976.

13 British secondary school leaving examinations, used prior to Kenneth Baker's reform bill of the late 1980s.

14 As in Collins' argument -- see Collins 1979.

15 Habermas 1981, Giddens 1979, 1984)

16 See Bernstein 1977.

[17] Giddens 1979, 1984.

[18] Carspecken, in press.

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