

THE CHANGING PRACTICE OF  
PARENT-SCHOOL RELATIONS:  
A TRADITION CONTESTED

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between parents and schools in the context of reformed public policy. Following a loss of public confidence in the state system of schooling, reformed systems of school governance and arrangements for the involvement of parents in their children's schools have been introduced which champion the consumers of education rather than the producers. In order to understand the present relationship, the thesis argues that we need to understand its origins and how it has evolved over time. It is argued that current relations are shaped by a dominant tradition based on an alliance between the state and professional groups which kept parents at arm's length. The thesis uses structuration theory to explain how practices and beliefs inherent in the tradition continue to reproduce that tradition unless beliefs are challenged and new practices introduced into institutional structures which support parental agency. The thesis draws upon quantitative survey data and qualitative case-study data to investigate the parent as consumer, co-educator and citizen in comparison with the dominant tradition and draws the conclusion that there is evidence of practices and beliefs which support all of these but that the repositioning of the parent as 'active-consumer' provides evidence for a new emergent tradition.

To Jenny and Sarah  
with thanks  
for their love and understanding.



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## **PART ONE**

### **THE LINEAGE OF THE DOMINANT TRADITION**

## **Introduction**

### **The Lineage of the Dominant Tradition**

Parent-school relations have been at the centre of education policy reform over the past twenty years, since reformed structures of school governance introduced parents onto school governing bodies in 1980. For much of that time academic research has been focused upon the impact of parental choice on the quasi-market in education, introduced with local management of schools, whilst practitioners have been taken up with finding ways of accommodating 'parent power'. The notion of the parent-school 'partnership' has increasingly become common currency. At a time of rapid policy change affecting schools, this thesis seeks to explain and further understand the parent-school relationship.

The study adopts a historical perspective in order to understand the origins of that relationship and how it has evolved over time. Part One traces the parent-school relationship since the establishment of the current state education system in 1944. It is proposed that the relationship between schools and parents has been shaped by a dominant tradition, based on an alliance between the state and professional groups as providers of public services. In charting the career of this dominant tradition from 1944 until the 1990s it is suggested that the tradition put down deep roots over time, until it was challenged by new conceptions of public services, borne out of the values of a new era, which resulted in the state forming a new alliance with the public. It will be argued that that the dominant tradition developed and flourished in the post-war period, reaching its apogee in the mid to late 1960s, at which time the increasing flurries of assertion by individual parents and parent groups began the challenge. It will be suggested that the so-called 'crisis' in education was a manifestation of the

emergence of a new set of values about public accountability, in the face of much disenchantment with the abuse of power by the state-professional alliance. From the 1970s, from both sides of the political spectrum, a new alliance of the state and the public began to beat the dominant tradition into retreat (Martin 1998).

It is not my task here to attempt to explain the politics of changing public policy but only to describe it so as to illuminate the study of the parent-school relationship. I believe, however, that an understanding of the dominant tradition is important for that investigation. Not least because that tradition lives on.

It is proposed that parent-school relations are socially constructed. Structuration theory is used to analyse the current relationship in terms of the institutional structures, beliefs and practices through which the dominant tradition is reproduced or challenged. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods are used to gather survey data from secondary school parents and case-study data from one secondary school. The changing practice of parent-school relations is analysed by way of a typology of parental agency which repositions the parent as consumer, co-educator and citizen in comparison with the dominant tradition. The methodology is set out in Part Two and the empirical evidence is presented in Part Three.

The concluding analysis is set out in Part Four where the new configurations of power inherent in parent-school relations is explored and explained within a context of education policy change. It is concluded that there has been a repositioning of parents within the parent-school relationship but that there is confusion over how this is conceived by parents and schools. It is argued that this confusion may be explained by

the continuation of practices and perpetuation of beliefs which reproduce the dominant tradition, in spite of policy reform, enlightened professional practice and revised institutional structures. It is argued that whilst the reproduction of the dominant tradition may continue to limit the exercise of parental agency, there is evidence to suggest that more parents are relating to schools within a new emergent tradition of the 'active-consumer'.

Part One traces the lineage of the dominant tradition. It is organised into three chapters which periodises the parent-school relationship during the post-war period.

## **CHAPTER ONE : A TRADITION FLOURISHES**

This first chapter presents the case that a dominant tradition in parent-school relations marginalised parents. It describes how the structures of school governance, professional practice, and the role of parents in the post-war period sustained that tradition. The final section reflects on the development of tradition as a dominant social order.

### **1. The Dominant Tradition**

The establishment of the state education system we know today resulted from the 1944 Education Act. As part of a raft of measures setting up the welfare state, the role of the social-democratic state was to provide a national system of education - free, compulsory schooling up to the age of fourteen by which children would be educated according to age, aptitude and ability - locally administered through local education authorities supported by a system of local governance. The system which post-war public policy authorised was strongly underpinned by values of meritocracy and equality of access. As such it embodied the ideals of the professional society and resulted in 'closed' public institutions, the dominance of institutions by professional bureaucracies and a passive public. In practice, this meant closed systems of government for schools, the dominance of teachers and educationalists in local authorities, and the marginalisation of parents in their children's education.

#### ***1.1 Institutional Structures***

The establishment of free compulsory secondary education for all after the 1944 Act brought with it a new notion of a public service in the social democratic tradition. The

break with the old class traditions, on the face of it, was nowhere more self-evident than with the sweeping away of fee-paying education in grammar schools and the provision of a tripartite system in which pupils were to be given an education based on aptitude. The equality of opportunity built into the system provided the fundamental challenge to the old class-based entrance requirements of birth and wealth (although these persisted in the independent sector) and brought associated expectations of social and economic advancement for all. The structure of school governance, as part of systems of local governance, reveals much about the relationship between the public service and the public it served.

The 1944 Act was concerned with setting up a system of schooling. As such it established a power structure whereby decisions about the infrastructure of the system were taken by the Minister - how many schools, types of school – and decisions about administering the system were taken by local education authorities as the employers of teachers who had power to make decisions about provision in the classroom. Whilst there had been a long tradition of school governing bodies nominally including local people in the management of schools, such bodies were largely ignored in the establishment of a state system of schooling which emphasised the management of a system rather than its governance. Indeed the ambiguous nature of the legislation failed to detail who was precisely responsible for which areas of decision-making and, consequently, who was accountable to whom and for what. Moreover, that Act clearly demonstrates public policy at the time, investing power as it does within a so-called partnership between professional groups acting on behalf of the public they serve. Such faith in the professional ideal, a faith adhered to by the public at large,

negated any specific requirement for the direct involvement of the public, in this case parents, in the governance of education.

The 1944 Act ascribed statutory rights and responsibilities to local education authorities which gave them powers to make provision and manage the system in each locality. Although the Act established new structures which concentrated more power at the centre, creating a minister for education for the first time with defined powers, it allowed for a three tier system of governance with power residing with central government in the Minister, with officials and elected members in the local education authorities regionally, and with governing bodies with regard to individual schools. The lack of clarity in detailing decision-making powers, however, implied partnership and was in practice developed as a partnership; between ministers, councillors and governors and between officials, officers and teachers (Ranson and Tomlinson, 1986). However the responsibilities residing with the local education authority, as the providing authority with control of secular instruction, placed them in the position of senior partners. The professional partnership between the local authority and teachers reinforced their dominance of the management of the system locally. The power of parents was reduced to objection and appeal (Section 13 and Section 76 of the 1944 Act).

James (1980) suggests that much of the post-war settlement hinged on the democratic nature of local government which in turn depended upon the responsiveness and outward looking attitude of local councils in satisfying local needs. However, the terms of the 1944 Act, reinforcing as it did the establishment of a national education

system locally administered, potentially cast the democratic function of local authorities in a subordinate role to their planning and implementation functions, with implications for public consultation and participation. Closer investigation of the provision of the Act indicate not only the corporate nature of the system, reinforcing a strong state, but also what we would now regard as a functionalist/administrative view of the local provision of public services, implying the necessity for only limited mechanisms of local, public accountability.

The '*powers of the local education authorities formidable enough to ensure its ultimate supremacy in the locality*' were subject to scrutiny through the submission of development plans to the Minister, who had overall responsibility (Fenwick and McBride, 1981 p70).<sup>1</sup> They were also subject to scrutiny by a local education committee. Alongside Sections 13 and Section 76 of the Act whereby LEAs were required to have regard to parents' wishes and objections, which brought limited influence, the requirement to form an education committee became the main mechanism for public consultation. The statutory obligation to form an education committee comprising; '*persons of experience in education and persons acquainted with the educational conditions prevailing in the area... ...at least a majority of which shall be members of the authority*' from whom a report must be considered prior to taking any decision, (Schedule I, Pt II) implied a very strong commitment to local accountability within the professional ideal which prevailed. Professional educational officers were to be held to account by still more experts, although the rights of 'local government electors' to be represented by their councillors, in the majority, nods towards local democratic accountability. The relationship between parents and the



local education committee, as the only mechanism for representation or consultation in a positive sense (for other parental rights were limited to objection and appeal) could be regarded as the forerunner of parental representation on school governing bodies, particularly as it became the case in many LEAs that the education committee was the governing body for all schools in the vicinity.

There is no evidence to suggest that parents were in any way formally represented other than through their local councillors. It was the case that the representation, consultation or participation of parents in the local governance of education would have been on a 'need to know' basis, framed by the legal requirements of the 1944 Act. Indeed, as the later commentary on comprehensive reorganisation will show, the emergence of parents as political actors depended upon their statutory right under Section 13 of the 1944 Act to be consulted, as well as their ability to organise themselves into single-issue collective action groups.

In terms of allocating a role for parents as contributors or participants in the formal systems of governance of education, the 1944 legislation was not specific. Schools were required to have a governing or managing board (for the first time in the case of maintained county secondary schools) and the rules of management were to be drawn up by the local education authority. According to Fenwick and McBride (1981) the Minister intended secondary schools to exercise considerable powers over the curriculum, finance and the appointment and dismissal of teachers, but many local authorities were determined to minimise this. Individual school boards were more common practice in Church schools as a result of particular responsibilities for the

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<sup>1</sup> See Fenwick and McBride (1981) for a good summary of the powers of the LEA under the 1944 Act.

employment of staff allocated to the school board, which was usually controlled by the local parish. Membership of school boards was unspecified in the 1944 Act and, indeed, an amendment to the Bill proposing that at least one governor should represent parents was resisted by the Government (James 1980).

Structures of school governance provided the framework within which power relations would be exercised through dominant practice. The manner in which professional practice developed within that framework was a crucial factor in the evolution of closed institutions of school governance and a minimal role for parents.

## ***1.2 Professional Practice***

The education system established in 1944 was set up as part of a welfare state 'contract' entered into by the state and the public. The interdependence of the public sector professionals, with a vested interest in the state provided services, and successive post-war governments with a duty to deliver to the public, created a corporate alliance underpinned by the consent of the public. Perkin (1989) regards such corporatism '*as the institutional framework of professional society*' within which the driving force is '*the collective self-interest of professional hierarchies seeking to expand their status and span of control*' (p.288). It would seem to be the case that the teaching profession, and the educational bureaucracies which grew up within local education authorities, acted in ways which sought to continually reinforce the professional social ideal through their public service. Indeed, Perkin (1989) describes the post war period as the:

*'plateau of professional society' - a society 'which accepted in principle that ability and expertise were the only respectable justification for recruitment to positions of authority and responsibility' - a society 'in which every citizen had the right to a minimum income in times of distress, to medical treatment during sickness, decent housing in a healthy environment and an education appropriate to his or her abilities.'* (p.405)

The 1944 Education Act had the support of all the political parties, all the local authority associations, the TUC, the CBI and the main teacher trades unions (Kogan 1975). Indeed the support of the teacher unions; the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the Joint Four (Associations representing teachers and heads in predominantly selective secondary schools) and the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS) for policy during the period 1944 -1974 was an important element in maintaining the consensus (Kogan, 1975). They constituted legitimate interest groups who had formalised roles in the policy-making process through the Central Advisory Councils advising the Minister. The best interests of teachers, so Kogan (1975) suggests, were synonymous with the best interests for the education service which allowed the NUT to argue, for example; *'that it is predominantly concerned with the advancement of teachers' standards of work and with the establishment of professional standards which will distinguish their members, by virtue of qualification and training, from those who are not members'* (p.106). During this 'Age of Professionalism' the expertise of the teacher was regarded as a 'critical resource'. As Ranson (1994) suggests:

*'Only the professional judgment of teachers in the classroom could identify the learning needs of each pupil, and release his or her talents and capacities. Other partners needed to support this fragile relationship. Young citizens had to be nurtured in a caring environment by professionals dedicated to public service.'* (p.29)

The organisation of teachers at the time of comprehensive reorganisation, through their Unions, influenced decision-making in order to protect that critical resource, *'the most valued professional expertise required to give effect to a curriculum designed to fulfill diverse individual needs'* (p.31).

It was the high degree of professional autonomy of the individual teacher in school over the taught curriculum which, as much as anything else, defined the relationship between teacher and parent. As Musgrave (1965) acknowledges,

*'Despite the possibility of inspection the teacher is trusted to have almost complete freedom in his classroom to practice his vocation. As in all the professions the exact balance between the teacher's duty to children and parents and his own interest is difficult to assess.'* (p.215)

Whilst decisions over the type and adequacy of provision in terms of schools (and substantially over school admissions) were taken by the local education authority, provision within the school in terms of the curriculum became the responsibility of the teacher. The 1944 Act refers to 'secular instruction' rather than curriculum and in fact allocates responsibility for this to the local education authority. In practice, however, curriculum matters rested with teachers in schools, apart from guidelines on religious instruction. The unwritten contract between teachers and local authorities, which tacitly approved the split of responsibilities, was further cemented, as the local education authority was the employer of teachers and had responsibility for appointments and dismissals.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This was not the case in voluntary aided schools where the governing body remained the employer.

The professional autonomy enjoyed by teachers was even more prominent amongst grammar school teachers who were subject specialists. Although the profession was by no means dominated by graduates, the higher status accorded to those teaching in the grammar schools further underlined hierarchies of expertise and merit. It is interesting to note the way in which the impact of such professional hierarchies on the teacher-parent relationship was interpreted in terms of a class analysis. As later studies suggested, there appeared to be a 'social fit' between teacher and taught in that the social origins of teachers in public schools and universities were more middle-class than those in maintained schools (Kalton, 1966; Perkin, 1967). It seems also to have become the case that teaching assumed the mantle of a middle-class occupation to which many working-class graduates were attracted (Kelsall et al, 1970). The classless ideal of the professional society based on merit rather than birth and wealth to that extent was being fulfilled (Perkin, 1989). However it is suggested that the middle-class culture assumed by teachers contributed to the marginalisation of working-class parents from their children's education. Referring to the work of Bernstein on elaborated and restricted codes, for example, King (1977) suggests there are indications '*that middle-class families tend to be in better cultural continuity with the school than working class families*' (p38)<sup>3</sup>.

The development of the teaching 'profession' from 1945 onwards does nothing to deny the aspirations of teachers to professional status. Their collective organisation in teacher unions, in particular the National Union of Teachers, established criteria for teachers as an occupational group traditionally used by more established professions such as medicine or law, and their career structure developed along traditional

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<sup>3</sup> The work of Douglas (1964) also provides evidence to support this.

bureaucratic lines.<sup>4</sup> Through the Unions the professionalism of teachers was recognised through their legitimate rights to consultation and participation in policy-making, although their actual influence was questionable.<sup>5</sup> Kogan's (1973) interviews with Chief Education Officers clearly expresses the partnership between teachers and the LEAs:

*'...it is right that teachers should have a powerful influence on decision-making and a good authority takes teachers into its confidence... It is importance that the teachers should be seen in the education office, as for example, members of working parties and playing their part in policy discussions.'* (p91)

It can only be surmised that the instinct to guard professional status may have been a significant factor leading to the virtual exclusion of parents from schools. But it is worthy of consideration in the context of the introduction of compulsory education which represented a significant reduction in the power parents could exercise over the life-chances of their child. It does seem, however, that the practice in schools was to keep parents at arm's length. Relations between parents and teachers, as has already been mentioned, was typically structured through Parent-Teacher Associations. Writing in 1965 about the work of J B Mays (1962) on urban education, Musgrave sums up what was taken to be common practice:

*'Teachers and parents alike are dedicated to the interests of the children. In theory therefore disagreement is impossible. In practice, however, it is very likely since in this country the parents' wishes are usually held to be subordinate to the teacher's idea of what is good for the child. The teacher assumes that he knows better than the parent, and thus few heads in this country have established any form of parents' association since this would allow the parents a direct influence on the running of their schools.'* (p.232)

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<sup>4</sup> On this see King (1977) pp.115-118; Musgrave (1965) Chapter 13 and Hoyle (1969) pp. 80-90

<sup>5</sup> See for example James (1980) Chapter 4 on comprehensive reorganisation.

He goes on to sum up the relationship between parents and teachers by *'the feeling so often expressed in staffrooms that we could do so much better a job if only the parents would not interfere'* (p.233).

This quotation suggests that there was a good deal of parental interference. However, other commentators indicate the lack of opportunity for communication. Hoyle (1969) says:

*'The class teacher in Britain has very little contact with the parents of his pupils. He may meet them once a year on Open Nights but otherwise any contacts which they have with school will be through the headmaster. It is not unknown for there to be a white line painted across the entrance to a school with the legend: 'No parent is allowed to cross this line within permission' painted above it. Thus, although the British teacher is insulated to a large extent from the interference of parents with his professional activities, he is, conversely unable to have a great deal of influence on them.'* (p.71)

Whilst the influence of research linking family background to education was beginning to gain recognition by the mid-1960s, with commentators increasingly acknowledging the extent to which social class seemed to effect the relationship between teachers and parent, the resistance of teachers to more open access for parents remained clear.<sup>6</sup>

Musgrove and Taylor (1969) observed;

*'... in English education today, what is still remarkable is not the power of clients (whether pupils or parents) but their impotence. The twentieth century has been remarkable for the exclusion of parents from direct contact with teachers and schools. Partly, the parents have abdicated; but probably more important, the teachers have skillfully protected themselves from 'interference'... ...This is not surprising. The teachers never intended that parents should actually exercise power - over anything that mattered. They could meet the mentors of their children in order to hear what*

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<sup>6</sup> See Douglas (1964); Floud (1956); Newson and Newson (1965) and (1970)

*was being done, perhaps to give material aid for doing more and to ratify what the teachers had in any case decided... ...Parental 'interference' in the curriculum, teaching methods, staff appointments (and dismissals) is unthinkable to teachers in English maintained schools. ' (p.11-12)*

The metaphor of the parent as a client is used by others to reinforce a relationship between teacher and parent which underlines the service of the professional. Hoyle (1969) addresses the potential for conflict in the relationship with the advice that teachers:

*'...must determine the degree to which his professional judgments are to take precedence over the wishes, or perhaps even demands of his 'clients'. ' (p78)*

He goes on to describe the possible impact of closer relations with parents in terms of the professional and his client:

*'The professional consults his client and becomes aware of his needs, but then bases his action upon a body of professional knowledge. He is able to retain relative ascendancy over his clients because their knowledge of medicine, law, architecture etc. is relatively limited and is also assumed to be limited. A closer relationship with the parents of his pupils would enable the teacher to pay greater attention to the particular needs of his clients, but as parents are more likely to assume a knowledge of appropriate teaching methods than of, say, appropriate medical treatment, the teacher must take care to protect his professional independence and affairs, the theoretical foundations of his practical skills of which the layman will have little awareness.' (p.79)*

Much has already been written about the professionalisation of local government in the post-war period which resonates with the protection of professional status evidenced within the occupation of teaching (Fenwick and McBride, 1981, Chapter3; Kogan, 1975, Chapter 6) and the influence of Chief Officers is clearly documented in policy processes which have relied heavily upon professional expertise (Bush and Kogan, 1982; David, 1977 Chapter 2).



Both structures and practices in school governance produced a school culture which kept parents at arm's length. This would have considerable impact on the subsequent development of the parents' role.

### ***1.3 Parental Involvement***

The involvement of the parent as 'consumer' emphasised in legislation during the 1980s only reflects the minimal legal rights accorded to parents in 1944 to choose the type of school for their child. As a consequence of 'the right to choose' being well established, the role of the parent has been 'apart' from the school and thus excluded as 'producers' of education. The social-democratic philosophy upon which the welfare state was founded, that the state would provide welfare institutions administered by professional bureaucracies and practitioners, emphasised the role of the specialist/expert educationalist. The public consent legitimising the post-war settlement underpinned a way of working which held for twenty years until the first generation from that system found their voice and a global economic recession caused a general loss of faith in what the education system could deliver.

In 1944 the education system was structured in such a way that parents had no formal role to play in the governance of education. The establishment of a national education service as part of the post-war settlement defined the role of parents in three clauses of the Butler Act. Section 76 imposed a general duty upon the Minister and local education authorities that children be educated according to the wishes of parents (Buxton, 1973). Section 35 imposed a specific duty on the parent to ensure school

attendance (Saran 1973a). Section 13 gave parents (as members of the public) the right to object to LEA proposals to reorganise the local system through opening, closing or significantly changing local schools (Ranson 1990). Such a legislative context acknowledged the important role of the parent and, on the face of it, ascribed legitimate authority to parents regarding the education of their child.

At the time of its inclusion in the 1944 Act, it seems that Section 76 was included as a palliative for the Church school authorities, as well as for the parental lobby anxious about the impending abolition of school fees in grammar school, in order to assuage fears about loss of parental choice of school. It stated:

*'In the exercise and performance of all powers and duties conferred and imposed on them by this Act the Minister and local education authorities shall have regard to the general principle that, so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents.'* (Section 76 1944 Education Act)

In a parliamentary answer in response to anxieties put to him, R.A. Butler himself replied:

*'...as to whether parents who desire a particular type of secondary education could influence the authority, (this) is covered on the same footing as the point about children of different denominations. It may be that a child is suitable, or not suitable, for a particular form of secondary education, there may be a block of parents who desire a form of technical education, or ...boarding education. All these demands will be very easily met by the insertion of this general duty.'* (quoted in Saran, 1973b p34)

Although the clause appears to imply broader parental rights, in practice the evidence shows that the clause was interpreted in terms of parental choice concerning school admission and as early as 1946 a Ministry of Education circular entitled 'Choice of

Schools' offered guidance to LEAs.<sup>7</sup> Saran's (1973a) detailed account of discussions taking place amongst politicians just prior to the Act indicates that the issue of parental choice of school with the imminent introduction of the tripartite system was paramount:

*'...the principle that the parents' choice, unhampered by financial considerations, should be regarded as the most vital element in deciding to which school a child should go, whatever system is adopted for determining the entries to the different types of schools.'* (p35)

The ambiguous wording of Section 76, however, gave scope for LEAs to act without due regard for parent wishes. As Buxton (1973) points out:

*'...this section proves to be yet another example of an Act of Parliament stating an ideal of administration in general, and vague, terms, without providing any means of ensuring that its principles are in fact put into practice.'* (p.109)

Indeed, what might well have been intended as a significant legal right proved to be of little consequence in practice. When tested in the Courts in 1955, the judgment stated that:

*'...Section 76 does not say that pupils must in all cases be educated in accordance with the wishes of parents. It only lays down a general principle to which the county council must have regard. This leaves it open to the county council to have regard to other things as well, and also to make exceptions to the general principle it thinks fit to do so.'* (Denning L J in *Watt v Kesteven County Council*, 1955, 1 QB 408 at 424 quoted in Buxton, 1973 p.109)

There is no evidence to suggest that parental rights and duties as embodied in the 1944 Act were disputed in the years immediately following, but the legislation was tested in

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<sup>7</sup> For a fuller discussion on this see Saran (1973a and b)

the 1960s and 1970s when proposals were introduced for the reorganisation of the secondary sector and the introduction of comprehensive schooling. A later legal challenge to Section 76, for example, was also ruled out in a case brought against the London Borough of Ealing in 1967 as the judge ruled that '*Section 76 must refer to the curriculum ... and not to the size of school or the conditions of entry.*' (Quoted in Buxton, 1973 p.109)

Parental involvement in schools mainly developed through Parent Teacher Associations. Whilst these groups have existed under the auspices of national associations they were never intended, nor became, vehicles for any sort of parental influence. Indeed, as an indicator of the political influence of parents they serve as a clear illustration of a certain deference to the dominance of professionalism.

The first national association of parents was formed in the 1880s - the Parents' National Education Union (PNEU) - the initial purpose of which was to '*spread among parents the principles of physiological psychology*' (Beattie, 1985 p.168). The organisation existed to convert less well educated parents to the cause of education. By the 1930s, however, this organisation had become marginalised and the development of Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) resulted in a National Confederation of Parent Teacher Associations (NCPTA). Both the strength and the weakness of PTAs is that they exist primarily to support individual schools. Thus the strength of each association depends on the motivation and enthusiasm of particular sets of parents and teachers. Similarly those schools which do not have the support of parents may have less effective PTAs or none at all. The development of PTAs has thus been patchy, dependent upon localized parental support and the approval of

teaching professionals. PTAs have always been perceived as supporting schools and the professionals, usually in a fund raising function. The focus of each PTA was the individual school and no strong regional links ever developed. Despite the formation of the National Confederation, to which the majority of PTAs are affiliated, this has not developed a recognised voice of the parent, nor is it able to claim real grass roots support. PTAs have become standard practice in schools but are not compulsory in any sense. At the time, the Plowden Committee (1967) reported that 17% of primary schools had PTAs.

In England and Wales it seems that the culture of parental associations maintained a distance from any political power or influence. As Beattie explains, '*the PTA movement as it had evolved over half a century or more was not a precursor of parent participation in any modern sense*' (p. 172). Indeed the evolution of parental participation in England and Wales is not so straightforward, as Beattie observes from a comparison with European countries where '*parent participation emerged from more obviously politicized cultures and for more directly political reasons.*' (p.172).

The structures and practices of school governance emerging post-1944 served to reinforce the power relations which shape the provision of education. That a consensus existed within the polity explained the stability of that system for a generation. It also enabled the dominant tradition to put down roots out of which, through those same structures and practices, parent-school relations developed.

## 2. Understanding a Tradition

The definition of a tradition is often avoided by social theorists who use it in a variety of contexts. As Thompson (1996) points out, it is used as a *'kind of blanket term, to refer to beliefs and practices which were allegedly widespread in the past'* (p92). That the notion is attached to things past is clear; Shils (1981), for example, defines it as *'anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past'* (p.12).

Such definitions, however, beg further questions. How is it that particular systems of beliefs and practices coalesce around particular traditions? How are such beliefs and practices transmitted? By whom and in what way? How do past beliefs and practices impact on current social action - if at all? How long do traditions persist and what causes their demise?

I want to suggest that a tradition is a mode of belief and practice which is constructed and has life for as long as it is a legitimate vehicle for a dominant social order. In this sense a tradition is imbued with authority by virtue of the consent manifest through the adoption of routine practices within the tradition. Indeed I would suggest that it is a loss of legitimacy which effectively marks the demise of a tradition - although this is not to also suggest that a tradition cannot be adapted or refashioned from residual components. Thompson (1996) for example puts this case in the development of the communication media in an attempt to rebuff the arguments of those detraditionalists who argue that traditions have disappeared from the modern world.

There are two key points to be made about a tradition which provides the conditions for a dominant social order.

Firstly, as I have already suggested, a tradition implies a set of beliefs and practices which have a sense of history, it takes on a form which has endured over time and has roots in the past (Hobsbawm, 1983). Thus the beliefs and practices of a tradition are justified - or have legitimacy - because they are so grounded. When beliefs and practices form a tradition they have become part of the fabric of the social life and provide a focal point for social groups who identify with that particular set of beliefs and practices.

Secondly, the practices of a tradition, which are the mechanisms for transmitting a tradition - handing it down from generation to generation - become routine and habitual. In this 'taken for granted' manner, the practices of a tradition serve the function of helping individuals (and groups) to understand and order their world and their identity within it. To this extent a tradition is a powerful social mechanism for selectively producing and reproducing a dominant social order (Williams, 1976).

Such an explanation is helpful in understanding how parent-school relations have been dominated by a tradition rooted in social-democratic values and beliefs, the practices of which established and sustained the predominance of professional knowledge in the education of children. Indeed, as Halpin and Moore (2000) have recently suggested, there have been and continue to be a number of competing traditions which shape education.

There are many examples of traditions which come to dominate a social order: for example, the Catholic tradition; the democratic tradition; or the conservative tradition. Employed in this way a tradition is precisely a fusion of beliefs and practices which has

its roots in the past but which continues in and has continued relevance for the present. Conversely it is the beliefs of a dominant social order which comprise the tradition and which are perpetuated through the practices of the tradition. Thus we can deduce that the practices of a tradition, routinely and habitually, serve to reproduce the beliefs of the dominant social order. The strength of the tradition depends upon the continued relevance of those beliefs to society. In this sense, traditions may fade, lie dormant, or be revived and reformed depending upon the socio-political context in which they are situated.<sup>8</sup> However, the practices of a tradition, given their taken for granted nature, often continue long after the beliefs have been shrouded in the mists of time as a result of their being institutionalised in the fabric of social life. It is only when the beliefs are called into question - thus losing their legitimacy - that practices may be challenged or adapted. So it is that the democratic tradition is increasingly called into question. In such circumstances the dominant social order is called to account and challenged to restate the ground on which it stands.

The centrality of beliefs to the notion of tradition becomes clear. And yet the centrality of practice is also paramount for it is through practices that the tradition is transmitted. I want to suggest that it is the relationship between beliefs and practices which lies at the heart of the matter - and that that relationship is determined by particular sets of knowledge. Different traditions, such as religious or political traditions, are predicated on different sets of knowledge. They rely on power relations based upon who are the knowledgeable. To understand a tradition as a dominant social order is to understand that the knowledgeable are dominant and they influence the production and

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<sup>8</sup> For example see the current debates about the monarchical tradition and the socialist tradition respectively.



reproduction of knowledge through practices to form a tradition. So long as a consensus remains unchallenged the tradition is reproduced through practice. In this way the tradition has an authority of its own and at the same time legitimises the dominant social order. MacIntyre (1981) highlights the centrality of individuals and institutions as 'bearers of tradition' (p221) which is transmitted through practices:

*'To enter into a practice is to enter into a relationship not only with its contemporary practitioners, but also with those who have preceded us in the practice, particularly those whose achievements extended the reach of the practice to its present point. It is thus the achievement and a fortiori the authority of a tradition which I then confront and from which I have to learn.'* (p194)

He goes on to suggest that individual identities are embedded in both social and historical narratives.

*'...we all approach our own circumstances as bearers of a particular social identity. I am someone's daughter... I am a citizen of this or that city, a member of this or that profession, I belong to this class, tribe or nation. ... As such I inherit from the part of my family, my city, my tribe, my nation, a variety of debts, inheritances, rightful expectations and obligations.'* (p220)

Such a position appears to suggest, however, a self-perpetuating regime continually reinforced with no possibility for reinterpretation or challenge or contestation. If a dominant social order can maintain itself through a tradition this suggests only one tradition and no possibility of others.

This is not the case, because of the manner in which knowledge is transmitted through practice. Giddens (1994) refers to the traditional narrative of routine practices:

*'...tradition is necessarily active and interpretative. Ritual, one can propose, is integral to the social frameworks which confer integrity upon traditions; ritual is a practical means of ensuring preservation. ...continuity of practice – itself actively organised – is what connects the thread of today's activities with those of yesterday, and of yesteryear.'* (p.64)

If we accept the constructivist position that social actors are by virtue of their agency 'bearers' of knowledge and therefore in every sense the essential creators or recreators of the knowledge which sustains the tradition, then the way in which that knowledge evolves depends upon the degree of reflexivity with which actors utilise knowledge in practice. Such a position posits knowledge as a flexible resource in the hands of the carrier of the tradition and emphasises the problematic of sustaining tradition rather than mobilising resistance to it. Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action (1984) develops this discussion based on the dual 'worldviews' of 'myth' and 'reason' in accentuating the importance of 'open' critical reflection on the part of bearers of knowledge in the face of the 'closed' mythical element of a tradition. It follows, however, that a dominant social order must be intrinsically interested in not only the body of knowledge which sustains its position but in its smooth transition and inheritance. Thus it is the case that the political order i.e. the conditions by which power is distributed, must be inextricably linked to the social order.

Mouffe (1993) suggests that tradition is an element in political evolution because current activity is founded on past knowledge. She asserts:

*'Tradition allows us to think of our own insertion into historicity, the fact that we are constructed as subjects through a series of already existing discourses, and that it is through the tradition which forms us that the world is given to us and all political action made possible.'* (p16)

She makes the distinction between a tradition which allows for present and future change rather than 'traditionalism' which implies an adherence to past values for their

own sake. This view echoes that of Oakeshott (1967) who acknowledges that political activity:

*'...springs neither from instant desires, nor from general principles, but from the existing traditions of behaviour themselves. And the form it takes, because it can take no other, is the amendment of existing arrangements by exploring and pursuing what is intimated in them.'* (p123)

It is consistent with Gadamer's support for the notion of tradition as that which connects the past with the future in the construction of the political subject:

*'Even the most genuine and solid tradition does not persist by nature because of the inertia of what once existed. It needs to be affirmed, embraced, cultivated. It is essentially preservation such as is active in all historical change. But preservation is an act of reason, though an inconspicuous one. For this reason, only what is new, or what is planned, appears as the result of reason. But this is an illusion. Even where life changes violently, as in ages of revolution, far more of the old is preserved in the supposed transformation of everything than anyone knows, and combines with the new to create a new value.'* (Gadamer, 1975 p 250)

If a tradition has its own dynamic as different strategies may be pursued, making available different kinds of intimation, then the conditions for sustaining a dominant tradition become key. If a tradition is, therefore, sustained not merely due to an unswerving loyalty to preserving practices from the past, but rather depends upon the reflective transmission of forms of knowledge, then the notion of consensus becomes critical to a tradition as a dominant social order because consensus is constructed within political systems, not only to reinforce particular sets of knowledge but also to effectively leave little 'space' for resistance to that received knowledge. In this way individual or collective social action (praxis) in contradiction to the tradition (assertion) is minimised. Thus the maintenance of the dominant social order is assured and conflict confined to the margins in a form of hegemonic rule.

Such an analysis of hegemonic rule was developed by Gramsci who saw the importance of education as central to the development of civil society. The notion of a

tradition in the transmission of knowledge is pivotal to his thesis. As Entwistle (1979) observes:

*'Gramsci was clearly committed to the notion that there is a historical culture which is the basis for the development of good sense and the point of reference for radical political activity.'* (p40)

Gramsci (1971) regarded all individuals as a *'precis of the past'* (p353) and accentuated the importance of history as knowledge which would empower individuals for the future.

*'Knowledge is power. But the problem is complex in another way as well. It is not enough to know the ensemble of relations as they exist at any given time as a given system. They must be known genetically, in the movement of their formation. For each individual is a synthesis not only of existing relations, but of the history of these relations. He is a precis of the past. It will be said that what each individual can change is very little, considering his strength. This is true up to a point. But when the individual can associate himself with all the other individuals who want the same changes, and if the changes wanted are rational, the individual can be multiplied an impressive number of times and can obtain a change which is far more radical than at first sight ever seemed possible.'* (p353)

His critique of schools as hegemonic instruments of existing class rule identified a rule by intellectual and moral hegemony as a form of power which is stable due to wide-ranging consent and acquiescence. Such stability is inherent in a tradition as a dominant social order.

In summary, a tradition is a set of beliefs, forms of knowledge which become embedded in practices which the powerful are able to institutionalise in the fabric of social life. If successful, the forms of knowing, and the practices, become taken for granted. They become the habitus of everyday life. It follows that the greater the reach or scope of the tradition and the greater the extent of the consensus, then the

more the beliefs and practices of a tradition come to shape the whole social order and they become the dominant social order. In this way they become hegemonic.

In the post-war period forms of knowledge were developed and effectively maintained in the context of the dominant tradition which marginalised parents in the education of their children. I argue that this tradition held until there was a breakdown in the consensus which sustained it and a new political order challenged the prevailing hegemony. The breakdown of the consensus and the new alliances which formed to call for increased public accountability in education are the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO : A TRADITION CONTESTED

### 1. Shifting Alliances

The breakdown, in what has been described as the consensus in education since the 1944 Act, is generally recognised to have been sealed around the time of the fall of the Tory government in 1974, although increasingly vigorous and frequent skirmishes were manifest in the battle for comprehensive reorganisation. Commentators variously blame the breakdown on increasing parental dissatisfaction with the selective system - fueled by the aspirations of a new middle class (Simon, 1991) - exacerbated by the required expansion of education in response to demographic trends. Others attribute concerns with the education system stemming from student unrest in 1968 linked to so-called progressivism amongst teachers (Kogan, 1978). Dissatisfaction with education, fueled by the political movement towards greater equality, underpinned much of the political debate around at the time, not least the reactionary rhetoric of the right-wing Black papers (Cox and Dyson, 1971; Cox and Boyson, 1977). Kogan (1978) explains the political instability of the time when *'local government generally became more contentious and vital'* and when *'neither [political] party, after thirteen years of unbroken Conservative rule, could be certain of power for long'* (p 121-122). David (1980) attributes the moves to reform education which followed the breakdown particularly to deliberate attempts to deal with the early 1970s economic crisis. What is clear during the breakdown of the consensus, however, is that the role of parents in their children's education was becoming increasingly significant and would have serious implications for the future of school governance. Indeed, I want to argue that it is the supported assertion of parents during this period which began to challenge the dominant tradition.

From about 1964 to 1979 three factors emerged which would begin to beat the dominant tradition into retreat:

- a. A significant body of research, which subsequently influenced public policy, demonstrated the importance of the family and home background of a child's education. This redefined the contribution of parents as co-educators of their children and thus asserted the parent as a co-provider of education. This challenged the monopolistic role of the teacher-professional.
- b. Parents as individuals, and as localised collective groups, became increasingly assertive as a political force with the introduction of comprehensive reorganisation, although their influence on policy was questionable.
- c. Increasing concern with the apparent misappropriation of power by teachers resulted in public challenges to teacher autonomy, most famously at William Tyndale School in London which precipitated a shift in public policy towards public accountability. This led to calls to support the increased involvement of the parent in their children's education, in particular, in a reformed system of governance.

### ***1.1 Parent Participation in Schools***

In 1944 the involvement of the parent was effectively 'downgraded' with the institutionalisation of education. Parents had always been educators in terms of passing down skills and trades but not 'teachers'. This role was devalued when children's education became the domain of the expert. Moreover, educational institutions took

on a middle-class cultural environment with a formality which presented a barrier for the working class parent and child. As King (1977) suggests - *'Middle-class children may be socialised in such a way as to take greater advantage of formal education than working-class children'* p33.

Research studies in the 1960s by sociologists of education suggested that parent-school relations be redefined for it began to be firmly established that parental interest in education, that is to say positive attitudes and expectations, influenced pupil achievement. As early as 1956, Floud established an indication that *'the favorable attitudes of their parents to education distinguish the successful children from the unsuccessful children'* (p88). Using indices of the material and cultural environment, her work recorded the favorable and unfavorable views of parents towards education which she found correlated with social class. Fueled by the concern that the tripartite system was not, in fact, providing the equality of opportunity for all which had been envisaged as part of an educated society, a body of research investigated the link between home environment, in terms of social class indices, and the school. Douglas (1964) summed up the importance of parental interest for all children:

*'The parents who are most interested<sup>9</sup> in their children's education come predominantly from the middle classes, and those who are least interested from the manual working classes. Within each social class, however, the parents who give their children the most encouragement in their school work also give them the best care in infancy. The manual working class parents show this more strongly than the middle class parents; if they show a high level of interest in their children's school work, then their standards of care and their use of the services are also high, and they have middle class standards too in their views on the school leaving age and in their expectations of grammar school awards'* (p54)

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<sup>9</sup> Levels of interest calculated according to class teachers' general comments and the number of times each parent had visited the school to discuss their child's progress. See Douglas (1964) pp53-54



The overwhelming evidence from Douglas' work was that the children with interested parents achieved more highly in almost every case. The analysis showed that even after taking into account other factors which might necessary accompany parental interest, and which could therefore explain the high achievement, parental interest remains a significant factor: *'After these adjustments, the advantage of the children with interested parents is somewhat reduced but still considerable'* (p.86).

The main point at issue, in this and other reports on the influence of class and home environment, was the perceived lack of interest in education on the part of working class parents, which was regarded as a significant factor in the under-achievement of their children.<sup>10</sup> Much work was subsequently done to survey parental attitudes, nationally, as part of the work of the Plowden Committee on primary schooling (CACE, 1966). Representing as it does something of a watershed in the history of home-school liaison, it is worth drawing particular attention to the report of the Plowden Committee on four counts.

Firstly, it demonstrates the values underpinning public policy at the time which was to pursue the inequality of opportunity and achievement within the state system of education. The report of the Central Advisory Council for Education - a membership which brought together representatives from all parts of the education service - built

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<sup>10</sup> For example CACE (1954) (Early Leaving); CACE (1963a) (The Crowther Report); CACE (1963b) (The Newson Report).

upon social science research in order to make recommendations specifically to tackle the underachievement of working-class children.<sup>11</sup>

Secondly, it should be remembered that the Report was looking only at primary schooling. All the recommendations on working more closely with parents should, then, be considered in that light. Not only was it influential in considering how achievement could be raised in the junior school years in preparation for selection at the age of eleven, but also in placing an emphasis, which existed at the time, that parental involvement was predominantly a primary issue.

Thirdly, consistent with the values of equality of opportunity, the proposals for higher levels of parental participation in primary schools built on the existing good practice of middle-class parents and schools in an effort to raise levels of parental interest in schools more widely. Issues of class, gender and ethnicity, for example, were not addressed. It is interesting to note that the recommendations - for regular parents' meetings, open days, information booklets of the school, written progress reports and 'special efforts' to make contact with parents who do not visit the school - probably constitute standard practice in most schools today, nearly 30 years later.

Fourthly, the report had to acknowledge the potential difficulties for teachers consistent with the heavy professionalisation of the time. The strong public commitment to parental involvement is all the more significant:

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<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 5 which advocates the establishment of Educational Priority Areas to help to meet the educational needs of children living in deprived areas.

*'Much depends on the teachers. Every chapter could end thus - but perhaps it is even more apt here than elsewhere. Teachers are already hard pressed and nowhere more so than in the very districts where the co-operation of parents is most needed and hardest to win. We are aware that in asking them to take on new burdens we are asking what will sometimes be next to impossible. Forty children will seem enough to many, without adding 80 fathers and mothers. Yet we are convinced that to make the effort will not only add depth to their understanding of their children but will also bring out that support from the home which is still often latent. It has long been recognised that education is concerned with the whole man; henceforth it must be concerned with the whole family.'* (p48)

Whilst much of the research set out to highlight the influence of social class on education, all the evidence supported the importance of the link between home and school on children's achievement.<sup>12</sup> During this period, research began to establish the family as important prime educators of children, in terms of early socialization (Newson and Newson, 1965, 1970), and as an important influence concerning expectations over later achievements and eventual occupations.<sup>13</sup>

The evidence from the research, and its impact in practice, began to challenge the dominance of the professionals, since it began to establish parents as an important influence on their children's education and indeed as co-educators. That this position was being asserted through public policy, in the Plowden Report, merely supported the case. As the Report ventured to suggest:

*'A superficial conclusion from the National Survey might be that schools and teachers are less crucial to children's education than was formerly thought. Our inference is that teachers must enlarge their endeavors, and enlist parents' interest to a greater extent in their children's education.'* (p.311)

I want to argue, however, that it was the convergence of this position with the misappropriation of power by teachers which legitimated the call for increased public

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<sup>12</sup> See King (1977) pp 36-41 for a good critique of this work

<sup>13</sup> See for example Musgrave (1965) Chapter 3

accountability, through a reformed system of school governance, and a greater contribution from parents in their children's schools.

### ***1.2 Parents as an assertive public***

Evidence of the assertiveness of parents as a political force seems to cluster around the time of the introduction of comprehensive reorganisation around the mid 1960s to mid-1970s. Although, as Simon (1991) indicates, the origins of such disputes began earlier when parental dissatisfaction with lack of grammar school places was researched in Hertfordshire and Nottinghamshire, it has been noted elsewhere (David, 1977) that LEAs were the crucial agencies in this (policy-making) process and were afforded discretionary responsibilities. Thanks to Section 13 of the 1944 Act, however, a right to public consultation existed which was tested in the Courts in Enfield where the introduction of comprehensive secondary schooling was resisted by parents. Parents brought an injunction against the London Borough of Enfield *'for attempting to enforce comprehensive reorganization without complying with the consultation clauses of the 1944 Act'* (Beattie, 1985 p.184). In a second case, a change in the existing law resulted from the Secretary of State *'not allowing sufficient time for objections to changes in the articles of government for Enfield Grammar School'* (Beattie, 1985 p.185) which would permit it to take a non-selective intake. The Court ruled that this amounted to a denial of statutory rights.

Government guidelines issued to local authorities (DES, 1965) reinforced Section 76 in requiring them to consult with parents concerning their local plans for reorganisation. In many cases for the first time, parents became aware of their political

role. The strength of this role depended on localised collective action and indeed parents organised themselves effectively in a number of LEAs.

Much has been reported on the policy-making process at this time which centres on the role of the LEA.<sup>14</sup> An excellent overview of this body of research is given in James (1980) who summarises that public consultation, where it existed, remained at the level of a barren exercise, often in the light of apathetic public responses. Even where pressure groups had been formed by parents, as in Havering for example, he concludes that *'such alignments were not sufficient to impose much constraint on the parties who often saw other considerations as more important'* (p. 47). In other areas consultation with parents was perceived as poor (Gateshead) and in Darlington, where a Parents' Action Committee fought for reorganisation and provoked the formation of a 'Save the grammar school' group, it was hard to detect any point where plans were modified as a result of advice given (p. 46). Five studies of LEA policy-making do indicate more vigorous consultation procedures at the instigation of the LEA.

In Bath (White, 1974) where there was said to be an established tradition in the town of informed and involved public discussion of locally issues, public opposition caused the council to initially reject proposals for reorganisation - a process described by a Labour education spokesman as *'death by consultation'*.

In Middlesex (Saran, 1973a) officials conspired to keep from parents the facts of selection in the area, as they feared the wrath of parents in high ability zones who

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<sup>14</sup> See Enfield (Buxton, 1970) Banbury (Stacey, 1975) Gateshead and Darlington (Batley, 1970) Brighton/Leeds/Brent/Havering/Hounslow/Newham (Peterson and Kanter, 1977) West Ham

would have discovered how much harder it was for their children to win grammar school places.

In Manchester (Ranson, 1990) the Muslim community campaigned for an all-girls school, whilst the inner city community of African-Caribbean and white working-class organised campaigns in support of their existing schools. A campaign to save existing 11-18 schools - 'Campaign for the Retention of Eleven to Eighteen Schools in Manchester' (CREEM) had its roots in the affluent south of the city in schools which already had strong Parent Teacher Associations. Combined action from several schools in this area created successful collaboration between middle-class families and traditional working-class parents.

In Liverpool (Parkinson, 1972; Marmion, 1967) the most active group was the Liverpool Parents' Protest Committee campaigning against reorganisation. Here again collaboration took place between parents in several schools, in this instance parents of grammar school children and parents of secondary modern school children. Whilst this group was ignored by the ruling Labour Party locally, their petitions to the Secretary of State may well have been influential in causing him to reject half the Liverpool scheme in 1965.

In Tameside (Wright, 1977; Griffith, 1976, 1977) Tory councillors reversed the decision of the previous Labour administration to introduce comprehensive secondary education on the grounds that it would inhibit parental choice. This was an ironic

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(Pescheck and Brand, 1966) Birmingham (Isaac-Henry, 1970) Southampton (White, 1974) Outer London (Lewin, 1968)

decision given that 560 families had their choice rejected, while 240 were accepted (Wright, 1977).

In Sheffield (Fearn 1977; Hampton 1970; Bacon 1978; Baron and Howell 1974) the parental opinion mobilised on both sides of the comprehensive debate in 1965 may well have been an influential factor in the Labour controlled Authority which initiated individual governing bodies for each of their schools, on which they reduced party political representation and introduced elected representatives of parents, teachers and the local community.

The evidence does suggest that the involvement of the parent as a political actor emerged only in the form of localised collective groups aimed at the LEA - brought together at the instigation of statutory consultation procedures or through the mobilisation of quasi-professional parent groups. As Simon (1991) documents, advice to local government activists, entitled *How to Save your Schools* (July, 1975), was distributed by politicians Norman St John Stevas and Leon Brittan urging mass objections under Section 13. Often such groups were local branches of the Campaign for the Advancement of State Education (CASE) which was set up in 1960 in favour of comprehensive education.<sup>15</sup> Others might have been affiliated to other campaigning organisations such as the National Education Association formed in 1965 in Enfield to campaign against comprehensive schools. But elsewhere as in Manchester or Liverpool, for example, groups were single-issue, ad hoc organisations reacting to

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<sup>15</sup> See Sallis (1988) Chapter 5 'The Parents Voice' and Kogan (1975) Chapter 8 'New Parents Groups'

change. Indeed the majority indicate what has become a political tradition - the reactionary 'save our school' type of campaigning.<sup>16</sup>

Existing mechanisms of representative democracy through local councils had clearly not been used by parents in the examples I have given of political activity. The pattern rather would seem to have been single-issue direct action groups. Moreover it is clear that the involvement of the parent as a political actor has been contained at the level of parental preference for type of school - evidenced by the save the grammar school campaigns - not parental preference for a particular school. Despite some suggestions that 'sufficiently determined parents' have used statutory appeals procedures '*to obtain places for their children at the schools of their choice rather than at the ones offered by the local education authorities*' (Fenwick and McBride, 1981 p.121) and the examples given earlier where parents' groups have resorted to legal action in opposition to proposed systemic change, there is no evidence to suggest that parents, individual or collective, have been able to exert much influence within the political processes which made up the governance of education.

Viewed from the wider perspective of the politics of local governance, the accounts of these conflicts provide an insight into the relationship between parents and their elected councillors. Such accounts are necessarily specific which makes it difficult to generalise about parent activity in public policy-making, but they do go some way towards explaining the influence of respective actors. Saran's account, for example, of

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<sup>16</sup> See Simon (1991) p287 which underlines the point about parental opinion not easily finding an organisational form except around specific local issues and highlights the activity around save our school campaigns.



conflict in Middlesex (Saran, 1973(a) and (b)) indicates an alliance between councillors and parents against LEA officers trying to introduce rationalisation. She explains:

*'There was a clear division of opinion between officers and councillors...  
...Councillors held that continuance of, or even an increase in, such places (LEA fee-paying school places) was nevertheless justified, quoting Section 76 of the 1944 Education Act which safeguards parental choice.'* (1973b p136)

She goes on to highlight the influence of parents:

*'...it is often suggested that they (councillors) are in the hands of their officers. This may be true for much of the time but this case study shows that it need not be so. In fact councillors whittled away the cuts in fee-paying school places proposed by their officers. The principal reason must be sought in the influence of vocal or potentially vocal parents.'* (p136/7)<sup>17</sup>

Whilst LEAs in some parts of the country were involving parents in school governance, for example in Sheffield, the evidence suggests that the public were slow to respond to increased public consultation and participation (Bacon 1976). It seems rather that practice was strictly limited to legal requirements (Section 13 of the 1944 Act) and even then not vigorously taken up until the Crosland Circular 10/65 as part of the push towards comprehensive reorganisation.

During this period, parents had begun to organise and assert themselves politically but their influence was clearly limited by the structures of governance which remained closed to the public, and a strong professional dominance of the education system and its administration. Nevertheless the dominant tradition had begun to be challenged.

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<sup>17</sup> Accounts from other parts of the country suggest otherwise, however. Summarised in James (1980)

### ***1.3 Public policy and public accountability - a challenge to professional domination***

The combined assertion of parents as co-educators, and as organised political groups, may have been sufficient to herald the beginning of a new era in parental participation in education. However, a final challenge to what was increasingly perceived as the apogee of professional autonomy was launched in the so-called Great Debate on Education, initiated by Prime Minister Callaghan in his Ruskin College speech in 1976. This focused as much on the nature of educational control as it did on the relationship between education and industry. The rhetoric of the time indicates the intention of government to develop greater involvement of parents in schools. In the Ruskin speech Callaghan expressed the wish that parents would have an important part to play in the debate and indeed parents were invited to the six regional discussions which took place. The whole tenet of the speech underlined the need to open up discussion with the public on the purposes and aims of education and forge a new relationship between teachers and parents.

*'To the critics I would say that we must carry the teaching profession with us. They have the expertise and they have the professional approach. To the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements and the needs of their children. For if the public is not convinced then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future.'* (Quoted in Maclure, 1988 p.156)

The rhetoric of parental involvement continued in subsequent government documents and was a key issue for The Taylor Committee set up by the government in 1976 to look at school governance. The Education Green Paper issued in July 1977 following the regional discussions states:

*'Parents are involved at each level of the system. The most frequent and direct kind of contact between the parents and the education system will be with the teacher, be it class teacher or head teacher. If parents have a problem which cannot be resolved at local level by teachers or governors, the way is open for an approach to the local education authority and its officers and if need be directly to the Secretary of State. Until recently many parents played only a minor part in the education system. The Government is of the view that parents should be given much more information about the schools and should be consulted more widely.'* (DES, 1977c p.5)

It goes on to underline the parents' *'right to know how well the pupils are doing in different parts of their school work and to have information on their conduct, attendance and application;'* together with *'an opportunity to comment on how their children are developing and to make any observations they wish about the school'*. It emphasises the role of the parent individually and collectively as *'the group most deeply involved with the school'* (DES, 1977c p.38).

In the 1960s teacher autonomy was probably at its zenith. As Simon (1991) puts it:

*'...the received (and official) view of the 1960s was that the curriculum (or what went on in schools) was the specific responsibility of the teachers - not the local authorities (though their role here was unclear) and certainly not of the state - or the central government.'* (p.311)

However, in a political climate which accorded much influence to trades unions, the more militant action of the teacher unions in defence of the professional status of their members, contributed to the breakdown of the consensus around education from about 1964. As Kogan (1978) puts it:

*'There were increased militancy and unionisation in the teaching profession and increased demands for participation of conflicting groups which looked away from the traditional, ballot box methods of democracy as being ineffective and ultimately*

*undemocratic. These movements produced pressures on the authority system to account for itself at the same time as it was asked to be participative.* ' (p.45)

The partnership between the local authorities and the teacher unions which had been so cohesive as to result in a '*closed system of educational government*' (Kogan, 1978) also began to fall apart at this time.<sup>18</sup>

In the run up to the Great Debate on the crisis in education in 1976, the professional autonomy of teachers came under increasing public scrutiny as one cause of the 'disease' in the service. This is not surprising given the increased autonomy for the curriculum with the introduction of comprehensive education (hotly contested as has already been described in some areas) and the emphasis placed on child-centred teaching methods by the Plowden Committee in 1967. Indeed, the recommendations of the Plowden Report seemed at the same time to bolster the professional freedom of teachers whilst also strongly recognising the need for closer collaboration with parents.

The debate on the crisis in education veered increasingly towards the issue of teacher autonomy over the school curriculum - not only what should be taught but how. The backlash to child-centred teaching methods - predominantly led by the writers of the Black Papers - blamed teachers for abandoning traditional methods, and the events at William Tyndale School brought parents and teachers into open conflict about the delivery of the curriculum. The dispute over teaching methods at the William Tyndale Junior School in London has been well researched elsewhere (Auld, 1976; Ellis et al, 1976; Gretton and Jackson, 1976). The controversy centred on the control of

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<sup>18</sup> Simon (1991) pinpoints this falling out particularly to the announcement of the formation of Curriculum Study Group in 1962 following on from the then Education Minister David Eccles'

education between teachers, the Inner London Education Authority and parents. As David (1978) points out, however, the remarkable point was that the fight '*over standards, progressivism and indiscipline was initiated not by officials or school managers but by parents and most especially mothers, concerned about their own children's schooling*' (p.206). Whilst acknowledging that the example of William Tyndale might well have been whipped up by the political media as justification for education reform, such an example illustrates a rare case of a more assertive political role for parents. As Kogan (1978) points out; the public inquiry in to the case of William Tyndale School in 1976 '*brought into the open several themes which illuminate the landscape of educational politics like flashes of lightning*' (p.88). The conflict centred upon the freedom of teachers to develop their own educational philosophy and practice without interference. Thus it highlighted the respective power and authority of teachers, the headteacher and school managers - seen to be the appointees of local education authority control. The two main implications from the case were the lack of accountability in a system of governance which allowed teachers the power to go to extremes before they are checked, and the potential force of parental discontent being converted into action (Kogan, 1978).

In what became the run up to the introduction of a National Curriculum, the key issue appeared to be how to reconcile a teacher's right to be free to work creatively but at the same time to be accountable. Research carried out at the time (Sharp and Green, 1976) indicated that even the most competent teachers lacked an '*accounting language*' (Eggleston, 1986). If, as was thought to be the case, teachers could not be relied upon to be held to account by their peers, then other governing mechanisms

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intention to venture into 'the secret garden of the curriculum'. (p.312)

needed to be introduced to keep them in check. This was precisely the brief for the Taylor Committee on the Government of Schools in 1977 which recommended greater accountability to the public and in particular to parents through reconstituted governing bodies (DES, 1977a).

The remit of the committee was to look at the history of school governance and make recommendations for the future. The brief specifically included the consideration of the role of the parent and three parent members were appointed to the committee.<sup>19</sup> In its recommendations the main theme was that there should be a '*clear line of delegated power running from the LEA through the governing body to the head and staff of the school.*' This required each school to have a governing body to manage its affairs where there would be representatives of LEAs, the local community, teachers and parents. Despite bringing in an Education Bill in 1978 the then Labour government did not stay in power long enough to implement the Taylor recommendations. It became the precursor to the whole raft of education legislation in the 1980s, however, which would rely heavily on the involvement of the parent as a political actor to raise standards in education.

There was, however, little evidence to suppose that parents as school governors would fulfill the expectations aroused by the Great Debate as vigorous political players. As Kogan (1978) put it at the time:

*'A few certainties will always remain. Parents will want their children to be skilled in arts that enable them to earn a living. The great majority of people will want their children to be taught to conform to the prevailing social norms. The majority will not*

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<sup>19</sup> See David (1980) on this p.194

*want to participate in decision-making themselves let alone take part in perpetual folk moots about future policy, but will want a reasonable chance to represent their views to the system.* ' (p.159)

Such a reasonable chance appeared to be on offer as a result of Taylor.

As a result of changing attitudes and beliefs during this period, evidenced by more assertive political practices by some groups of parents and moves by government to revise public policy with regard to parental involvement in school, by the late 1970s the old role of parent as 'client' kept at arm's length from the school was losing credibility. The 'legitimation crisis' in our schools, for example at William Tyndale School, signaled the breakdown of the old consensus which reinforced strong professional boundaries which marginalised parents in the education of their children. The perceived need for increased public accountability in schools raised proper questions not only about the appropriate role for parents but the appropriate rights of parents, as co-educators of the children, as consumers of a public service and citizens of the local community. As Dale (1989) has summarised, the situation at the end of the 1970s had four key characteristics:

- *the withering of the Welfare State consensus*
- *growing unemployment, especially of youth*
- *the failure of social democratic policies, not only in not producing greater equality and social justice, but in the production of casualties in the form of the neglected and those who felt themselves 'levelled down' (a key constituency of Thatcherism) and*
- *associated with these things, the decline of faith in the state education system* (pp.77-8)

These characteristics set the scene for a raft of public policy reforms which would disturb traditional notions of the parent-school relationship and prompt new beliefs and practices. These are explained in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE :A TRADITION IN RETREAT

### 1. Different conceptions, new traditions?

The most recent history of parent-school relations and the involvement of parents in their children's schools, as evidenced in the literature, begins to raise questions about that involvement within a context of educational policy reform and revised practices in schools. Revised beliefs about the need for increased accountability in public services, reformed structures of governance and emergent initiatives in professional practice, as discussed in the previous section, were beginning to challenge the dominant tradition. The loss of faith in the state education system resulted in a massive policy shift in education resulting in legislation which placed parents centre stage. As Dale (1989) comments, between 1974 and 1984 *'the education system had undergone great changes. The professionals, the LEAs and teachers, were in a state of shock. Parents had been given a platform if not a voice'* (p.109). This was affecting the role of parents and yet any new role was unclear and contested. Munn (1993) suggests that parents have a new role as consumers, based on rights accorded to them in 1980s legislation. Phillip Woods (1998, 1993) applies the label 'consumer-citizen' as a more accurate description of the role which alludes to the increased responsibilities as well as rights of parents. John Bastiani (1993) and others use the term 'partnership' to highlight the role parents can play as co-educators. Deem et al (1995) have asked if the new duties of parents as school governors had developed the role of parents as active citizen. In this chapter I shall explore how these different conceptions of the role of parents are evident and yet contested as emergent, new traditions in the parent-school relationship.



### ***1.1 Parents as consumers***

Legislation introduced in the 1980s introduced the concept of parental choice in schools (David, 1992). An idea taken from the right-wing ideology of educationalists such as Cox and Boyson (1977), Flew (1987) and Sexton (1987) which was developed in Conservative education policy, picked up the coupling of parents and accountability as its mainstay in seeking to raise standards in schools.<sup>20</sup> As David (1995) sums up:

*'Freedom of choice and diversity became new watch words as did customer/contractors and contractor/provider splits in public services. With respect to education parents were to be afforded new roles in determining their children's place in schools, irrespective of their socio-economic diversity. They were to become the key judges of the quality and adequacy or otherwise of educational standards rather than the educational professionals and providers.'* (p. 272)

The policy built upon the Parents' Charter announcing the strengthening of parental rights in the Election Manifesto of 1974 which was seen as a panacea for parents who had worries about comprehensive reorganisation. The issue of parental choice of school was perceived as a crucial issue in the light of reorganisation and it was said that complaints to the Secretary of State from parents had reached over 1100 per year in the early seventies after being close to 100 a year the decade before (DES, 1977). As Stillman (1986) points out, only a very few of these complaints were successful, about 40 per annum, but the increased parental pressure was becoming an issue for LEAs and the Department of Education.

When the Conservative Government brought in its Parents' Charter in 1991 it was the centre piece of a consumerist policy which invested power in parents rather than

members of the educational establishment (Vincent, 1993). With an emphasis on parental rights, legislation ascribed a role for parents under three broad areas:

- The strengthening of rights for parents over school admission in the context of a 'market' in education where school funding follows the pupil - so-called parental choice (The Education Act, 1980)
- The statutory requirement for each school to elect parent-governors to its governing body with newly delegated responsibilities for school management coupled with accountability mechanisms, namely the Annual Report to Parents and the Annual Parents' Meeting (The Education Act, 1986)
- Rights to information about the school curriculum (The Education Act, 1986) and school performance in line with national curriculum requirements (The Education Reform Act, 1988) resulted in increased public information on national test and examination results in school 'league tables' published in the school prospectus and the Annual Report.

The arrangements for increased parental choice of school introduced with the 1980 Act gave statutory weight to the general duty in the 1944 Act for parental choice of school. As Stillman (1986) has commented, the 1944 Act set up tensions between LEAs and parents and permitted Section 76 to be misinterpreted. The 1980 Act restricted the discretion of the LEAs and gave parents the right to express a choice of school for their child, a right to a place at that school unless it would prejudice 'efficient education or the efficient use of resources', the right to appeal if they did not

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<sup>20</sup> For a good resume of how the legislation emerged see Tweedie (1986) in Stillman

get a place at the school, and rights to information about schools and their admission arrangements (Tweedie, 1986).

The response of parents in the exercise of these new rights has been well documented (Stillman, 1986; Adler et al, 1989; West et al, 1997; Woods et al, 1998;) studies which conclude that there are in practice severe constraints upon how parents can exercise choice of school. As Stillman (1986) concluded on the NFER project:

*'It would seem that for choice to actually exist there needs to be a) a number of schools to choose from; b) some differences between the schools and not just the good/bad dimension; and c) no restrictions placed on the parents' take up of such choice i.e. there would be little or no travel bias and distance criteria for admission should be based on groups of schools rather than individual establishments.'* (p. 49)

All of these points were taken up in subsequent legislation when parents' rights were further strengthened within a system of 'open enrolment' which required schools to admit pupils up to the limit of their physical capacity and disallowed LEAs from enforcing geographical catchment areas. At the same time, the introduction of City Technology Colleges from 1986 and Grant Maintained Schools from 1988 were major policy initiatives designed to create a system of more diverse schools from which parents could choose.

The Education (Scotland) Act (1981) granted parents stronger rights of school choice than the corresponding 1980 Act in England and Wales. Research into the effects of this legislation provides some illumination as to what trends may follow with the development of parental choice in England and Wales. In assessing the significance of the 1981 Act, Adler et al (1989) define the Act as an attempt to '*raise standards by freeing schools from bureaucratic and professional straitjackets, and creating a*

*service that was responsive to consumer preference* ' (p.212). Moreover, supporters of the legislation claimed that it would *' make schools more responsive to parents'* (p. 216). Their evidence suggests that this may be very difficult to achieve in practice as parents' reasons for choosing schools most commonly referred to were *' safety (for primary entry), proximity and the type of children who go to the school '*. What they describe as a 'bandwagon' effect, where parents start to be influenced by the popularity of a school and follow suit, can be very hard to redress. There was little evidence of parents *' assessing schools in terms of measurable educational outcomes or, even, in terms of the nature and quality of teaching at the school '* (p.219) although in fact at secondary level pupils did transfer from schools with *' poorer examination results and lower staying-on rates to schools with better examination results and higher staying-on rates'* (p.219). What seemed to happen in practice was that parents rarely specified what constituted a good or bad school; rather they identified popular schools as good and unpopular schools as bad.

Since the legislation required all parents to express a preference for a secondary school for their child, then all parents are now required to act as 'consumers'. However the degree of choice varies according to geography and number of surplus places within a locality, as well as the type of school – for many families choice is not a reality at all or is severely constrained by schools on offer within reasonable travelling distance. A policy designed to enhance consumer control has, as Vincent (1996a) puts it *' arguably not affected 'producer capture' to the extent of other aspects of the reform package'* (p. 32). As Woods et al (1998) conclude from a major study of parental choice in three different contexts, perceptions of the degree of choice differ markedly between areas (p. 173). A study of the supply and allocation of school places carried

out by the Audit Commission (1996) showed that the percentage of parents not getting their stated first preference ranged from 3% in a large city to 32% in inner London. A study of parents by Hughes et al (1994) further questioned the application of the role of consumer to parents since 49% of those surveyed said they did not regard themselves as consumers at all. Indeed many were confused by the term:

*'Many parents seemed unfamiliar with the term 'consumer' or at least with its use in this particular context and almost half of them found the question puzzling or difficult to answer. Blank looks or puzzled expressions were common as well as reactions such as 'What do you mean?'. 'In what respect?', 'I don't understand the question' and 'I don't think like that'. One parent shook his head and replied 'I'm a farmer, simple as that'. (p. 58)*

A large body of research literature on parental choice has been more concerned to establish how and why parents make the choices they do within the 'quasi-market' system. (Walford, 1990, 1991; Thomas and Dennison, 1991; West, 1992(a) and (b) 1994; Carroll and Walford, 1997) Others have focused more on the ways in which different socio-economic and ethnic groupings of parents behave when choosing schools (Arnott et al, 1996; Bagley, 1996; Ball, 1993; David, 1993; Echols et al, 1990; Gewirtz et al, 1995, 1994; Osler and Hussain, 1995; Reay, 1996; Vincent, 1992). In trying to make sense of how different parents do make choices, this literature not only positions parents, inevitably as 'choosers' or 'consumers' but also categorises them in broad groups of types. Gewirtz et al (1995) use terms such as 'cosmopolitans' and 'locals' to describe the differential behaviour patterns and use labels such as 'privileged', 'frustrated' and 'disconnected' parents to explain the ways in which different types of parents exploit choice (1994). Others (Adler et al, 1989) use a simpler classification of 'choosers' and 'non-choosers' or 'alert' or 'inert' consumers (Echols and Willms, 1995) or just 'active' or 'passive' (Carroll and Walford, 1997).

Woods (1993) however, challenges the narrow consumerist label as being too limited to reflect actual parental behaviour and develops a typology around the notion of 'consumer-citizen' which he believes more adequately describes an active consumerism.<sup>21</sup>

Such typologies must be regarded with caution, however, as is pointed up by results reported by Carroll and Walford (1997) which suggest that there are no clear-cut groupings of types of parent. Both the complexities of 'choosing' and the idiosyncratic behaviour of parents indicate the difficulties in ascribing a role to parents in what is only one aspect of their relationship with the child's education. Nevertheless such research only confirms previous studies that conclude that it is the middle-class parent in possession of greater 'cultural capital' who is able to make best use of market opportunities and 'play the system', whereas working class parents who are already at a disadvantage are simply further disadvantaged (Crozier, 1997). This is what Lareau (1989) has described as 'interconnectedness' or 'dissonance' between school and family life. In reflections on his study of the practice of parental choice in Scotland, Adler (1997) goes further than this to suggest that the gains achieved by some pupils (and parents) were more than offset by the losses incurred by others in a 'negative sum game'. He says:

*'Those who gained from the exercise of parental choice and ended up in secondary schools in middle-class catchment areas with good 'unadjusted' examination results did so at the expense of those who stayed at seriously under-subscribed and under-resourced schools with deprived catchment areas and poor examination results.'* (p.300)

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<sup>21</sup> This typology will be discussed more fully in the final section of this chapter.

As a result of reformed education policy designed to enhance parental choice of school, parents have inevitably been cast in the role of 'consumer'. A study of policy reform in several countries for OECD (1994) noted *'greater choice of school by parents and pupils is changing the balance of power in education, away from producers' and towards consumers'* (p.7). Gewirtz et al (1995) sum up UK reforms thus; *'parental choice is presented as a mechanism which will extend personal freedom whilst making schools more responsive to their consumers'* (p20), whilst Walford (1994) suggests that in practice many parents are reluctant to make choices on behalf of their children (p.121). Johnson (1990) points up the scope for choice within the system if private and independent schools and home-based learning is included, but Meighan and Toogood (1992) highlight the latter as just one of the 'patterns of education' available to more wealthy parents. However, since the majority of children are educated within the state system, it is those reforms which have rightly been the focus of many studies. Woods et al (1998) in a large-scale study of school choice and competition conclude that:

*'The 'consumer voice' (or voices) is – or ought to be – an inherent part of (this) political participation. Seeking a place at a preferred school (that is, making a choice in the 'market') is but one action open to parents. This alone does not ensure that they get what they want for their child.'* (p.201)

Whitty et al (1998) perhaps best summarise the policy shift which took place at the time

*'In line with transforming the parental role to one of consumer, some policies have provisions which seek to increase parental entitlements to be informed, and involved in, their own children's education. In England and Wales, for instance, the government has developed 'The Parents' Charter' (DfEE, 1994) which outlines parents' rights to reports on their children's progress and regular independent*

*inspections. Pronouncements concerning the need for parents to be involved in their children's education are nothing new. Recent education policy, however, signals a further reformulation of the role of parents from one which concerns their duties to one which emphasises the rights. Whereas, in the past, discussions surrounding parents and schools focused on how parents should fulfil their responsibilities as co-educators, the discourse which underlies much current thinking increasingly outlines the obligation of schools to fulfill their responsibilities towards parents. Yet although these measures are usually presented as a mechanism by which market forces make schools more accountable to parents, in some cases the notion of partnership is used to make parents more accountable to schools. It is possible that we are seeing not just the commodification of students (Gewirtz et al, 1995) but also the commodification of parents.'* (p.105)

Bowe et al (1994) also question the wisdom of the policy. They pose the question:

*'...we need to be asking whether the move towards markets in education and towards the 'consumption' of education is drawing parent-school relations into the signs and coded values of this mode of consumption and thus further into a system of social reproduction?.'* (p. 66)

Studies investigating the extent of the exercise of such parental rights clearly have evidence of a great deal of 'market' activity but are less clear about who are the most successful 'consumers'. Adler et al (1989) report considerable movement in both primary and secondary sectors but make no class differentiation, concluding that 'placing requests have been made by parents across the entire social class spectrum'. (p.206) Gewirtz et al (1995) are more catagoric in their findings:

*'Middle-class parents, we suggest, will always be most inclined to engage with the market and best skilled to exploit it to their children's advantage. The market is a perverse system of education income allocation in this respect, in that children are rewarded largely in proportion to the skill and interest of their parents. (p.189)*

This is what Brown (1994) calls a 'parentocracy':

*'Where a child's education is increasingly dependent upon the wealth and wishes of parents, rather than the ability and efforts of pupils.'* (p.54)



The parent role as 'consumer' clearly became installed as an important facet of parenting as a result of policy reform and legislation giving parents a right to choose. Not only have questions been raised about the impact of such policy change but also about the wisdom of it for the parent-school relationship. Bridges and McLaughlin (1994) sum up the main difficulty:

*'...if parents are 'customers', then this suggests that their responsibilities are primarily to exercise informed and sensible choice of the school which will provide the educational service. But what of their own educational responsibilities and roles? As customer we expect to employ someone else to get on and do the job for us; we do not expect the plumber to turn round and remind us of the part that we have to play in fixing the pipe – that is what we pay him or her to do! Less still do we expect to contribute from our own effort to the service provided by the plumbing firm to ourselves and other customers.'* (p.76)

Parents as 'consumers' it has been suggested is detrimental to the 'partnership' that would be more beneficial to the educational achievement of their children. As Macbeth et al (1995) point out:

*'...the way in which parents have been cast in the role of consumers in order to stimulate efficiency through simulated market forces. Each child represents money which the parent(s) can 'spend' in the school of their choice, thereby increasing inter-institutional rivalry. We may only speculate on the effects which they may have on the parent-teacher partnership.'* (p.55)

## **1.2 Parents as co-educators**

Partnership between teachers and parents is predicated on a notion of parents being co-educators with teachers. What Sallis (1988) describes as the '*decade of progress*' (p.48) from the Plowden Report to the Taylor Committee hailed the development of parental involvement in schools as part of the learning process of the children. Plowden (as detailed above) had recommended much closer contact between parents

and teachers for the benefit of the individual child, including the opportunity for informal and formal consultations in school, open days and reports on children's work. The development of parents as a '*para-professional aide*' (Meighan, 1989 p.108) encouraged parents to be increasingly used as a resource in schools - providing assistance and support for teachers in the classroom - as fund raisers through PTA activity - and significantly through a close partnership with teachers, for example, in primary school reading schemes. Projects such as The Haringey Reading Project, (Tizard et al, 1981; Hewison, 1988) and the Bellfield Community Primary School Project in Rochdale (Hannon, 1987) first suggested the benefits for children when parents became involved in their literacy learning. Whilst legislation has cast parents in the role of 'consumer' with regard to their child's secondary school, their role as co-educator was fast becoming established in the nursery and primary sectors during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Following their study for the DES in 1981, Tizard et al were arguing for the need to change both teacher attitude and skills through training in order that effective collaboration with parents could be developed.

*'If the aim is no more than to foster friendly staff-parent relationships, a suggestion to increase the number of informal social contacts may be all that is required. But if... ... the aim is to increase mutual understanding and support between parents and teachers, and to enlist parents help in the education of their children, then both major changes in teachers' attitudes and extra resources for work with parents are needed.'* (p.117)

Other studies only served to highlight the importance of learning in the home in a child's early years (Tizard and Hughes, 1986; Hannon et al, 1991) in disadvantaged contexts (Grant, 1989) and in the primary sector (Hewison and Tizard, 1980; Tizard, Schofield and Hewison, 1982). These latter projects, in Dagenham and Haringay, developed the role of the parent as co-educator to address the problem of reading

failure and proved to be very successful. Hewison (1988) explains why she believes this works so well:

*'...when parents hear their children read they are providing them with a very special and very potent combination of benefits; namely, extra practice in a motivating context. On grounds both of common sense and psychological learning theory, this prescription for skill-acquisition has a lot to commend it.'* (p.276)

During the 1980s and 1990s other schemes followed which included parents in reading partnerships (Topping and Wolfendale 1985; Topping 1992) pre-school literacy (Hannon and James 1990) and mathematics schemes (Merttens and Vass 1989). As Hannon (1995) points out, the increasing focus on 'home' work means the deprofessionalisation of the teaching of literacy and a new role for teachers as well as a new position for parents. He goes on to develop a theory of the teaching of literacy to explain and understand the importance of the parent's role. He highlights four aspects of home-based collaborative learning; *opportunities* for learning, *recognition* of the child's achievement, *interaction* around literacy activities and a *model* of literacy (p51-2).<sup>22</sup> Not only were parents being encouraged to collaborate with teachers in their children's learning but also with the assessment of their children's learning as Merttens and Woods (1994a) point out, traditionally perceived as *'firmly within the domain of teachers and schools.'* (p12)

Such schemes, predicated on the notion of the parent as a co-educator, have led to a whole-scale movement towards 'parent partnership' across the state sector with a wealth of books offering guidance as to how schools might improve home-school

relations in order to achieve this ideal state. (Bastiani, 1987, 1988; Atkin, Bastiani and Goode, 1988; Macbeth, 1990) A number of national organisations also addressed the issue of how to build better home-school collaboration (Mansfield, 1994 for CASE; Bastiani and Doyle, 1994 for the National Consumer Council; Bastiani, 1995 for The Royal Society for Arts). Across the UK and Ireland, national and local government have demonstrated their commitment to the home-school partnership. In Ireland 'Parents as Partners in Education' Circular 24/91 pledged its commitment to the promotion of parental participation in education. A report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (1991) across England and Wales found:

*'plenty of examples of parents working successfully with or in their local schools to the benefit of the children, the teachers and themselves.'* but warned that, *'Ways of informing parents about school work which enable them to influence positively their children's progress through what they do at home are rather rare and not well understood.'* (pp.12-13)

In Scotland, initiatives in the Strathclyde Region to work more closely with parents across the Authority established the Parents Consultation Group on the Curriculum (Munro, 1993) and The Scottish Office initiated a national debate on how the role of parents might be enhanced stating that:

*'Parents are key partners in the education of their children. Parental encouragement is crucial if children are to do well at school. The support of parents is a key characteristic of a successful school.'* (p.6)

Advice on listening to, informing, communicating with and consulting parents abound, often under the wider remit of 'involving' parents in their child's education. Current

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<sup>22</sup> For a good example of the scale of such schemes in the UK and other countries see Wolfendale and Topping (1996) For an interesting distinction between and discussion of 'homework' and 'home-

practice suggests that developing partnerships, if indeed this is a possibility in any meaningful way, is more easily achieved in the nursery and primary sectors where regular informal contact between parent and teacher is possible (Edwards and Redfern, 1988). In the secondary sector the more distant organisation and large size of the school, more rigid professional boundaries and the complexities of the curriculum inevitably results in a more formalised partnership which depends largely upon the quality of information from the school (Goacher and Reid, 1983). Projects such as the Westminster City School Parent Organiser Project are rare (Mayall, 1990) although projects which develop the role of the parent-governor as a 'change agent' in revitalising the home-school partnership are growing (Martin, 1999c). It is acknowledged in the literature that, despite moves towards partnership, in practice a deficit model of parents is often below the surface, fuelled by a lack of understanding of what different parents have to offer (Edwards and Warin, 1999; Crozier, 1999). As Edwards and Knight (1997) point out:

*'In the 1980s the intellectual inadequacies of the 1970s deficit/compensatory education justification for parental involvement gave way to a rationale that appeared more optimistic and... more clearly based on the notion of parents as partners in the education of their children. ... Yet behind this curriculum aim, a deficit model of parents still lurked. Parents might be harnessed to curricular demands, but the training that they received in how to teach their children as a by-product of involvement was also considered an important feature and parental deficit was assumed. Parental diligence in the tasks set for them was monitored by the need for them to communicate, often in pleasant jokey letter formats, with teachers. Teachers' own evaluations of the success of curriculum partnership projects would depend extensively on parental participation rates and the assumption that parents were unwilling educators.'* (p.67)

Vincent too (1996b) whilst acknowledging the positive benefits of schemes which encourage the role of parents as co-educator is circumspect about their success:

*'Curriculum intervention programmes represent a considerable broadening of the parental role from the confines of acting as audience and fund-raiser. Parents are now active rather than passive, as professional recognition and support is given to their efforts to educate their own children. However, teacher discourse still emphasizes professional superiority, seeing parents as supporters, albeit active supporters.'* (p.48)

In his study of the workings of the 1981 Education Act for pupils with special educational needs, Armstrong (1995) examines the factors which limit and inhibit the contribution of parents and concludes that:

*'Unless professionals in general, and psychologists in particular, are able and willing to provide parents with a conceptual framework within which they can articulate different ways of understanding their child's needs, parent-professional partnership is likely to lead inevitably to the construction of a consensus which disempowers parents.'* (p.65)

In particular, the role of the parent as co-educator in the assessment of the progress and achievement of the child, can highlight the tensions around maintenance of the professional boundary. In her study of parents' evenings, Barbara Walker observed that:

*'...schools wanted to police that boundary, while still needing to subscribe to the rhetoric of parental involvement. Teachers-as-experts were threatened by encounters with adults who could claim to know the student better than they, and who might hold their teaching to account.'* (Walker, 1998 p.176)

Indeed she highlights just one example of the confusion over the respective roles of parent and teacher:

*'The parents likewise had their claims to know their children contested, with the status of expert being undermined by the client role constructed during the event. ... everyone was uncertain of the role they were expected to play and how to read the other players.'* (p. 176)

In a more recent study of school reports and parents evenings for the Research and Information on State Education Trust (RISE ), Clark and Power (1998) also point out the gap which clearly exists between the accounts of teachers and parents, which they suggest seems no better in terms of mutual satisfaction and responsiveness from that outlined by Goacher and Reid (1983) fifteen years earlier. As they point out:

*'For some parents, notably working class parents and those with little or no English, school remains 'another country' with its inscrutable professional discourse.'* (p51)

As Desforges et al (1994) report, the system of National Curriculum SATs assessment has done little to improve matters since:

*'...nearly half of the parents expressed a desire for some sort of involvement in the assessments, particularly by using their knowledge of their child or by helping to prepare their child at home. In the event, very few parents were actually involved in the assessments, moreover, if they were involved, it was primarily as additional classroom assistants to look after children who were not being assessment.'* (p155)

In a three-year study of parent partnership in pre-school services, Pugh and De'Ath (1989) found little practice which really resembled parent-professional partnership. They found that whilst parents were no longer just passive recipients, they very often lacked the confidence to become involved.

*'Rather than being passive recipients of professional expertise, as has so often been the case, most parents were contributing to the care and education of their own*

*children and were often supporting other parents as well. ... One of the most common reasons given by parents for not becoming involved in their child's pre-school centre is lack of confidence in the face of professional expertise.'* (Pugh, 1989 p17)

This view is echoed in findings from a later study of the PACT shared reading scheme with 4-6 year olds (Parents and Children Together).

*'Parents were willing to help but lacked confidence in their abilities. They wanted advice from the 'expert' teachers and were dissatisfied with what was offered.'* (Cuckle, 1996 p.30)

Whilst being exhorted to inform, communicate, consult and involve parents as co-educators, the key barrier to success appears to be the inability or reluctance of professionals to reflect on their 'traditional' attitudes regarding parents. Hargreaves (1999) suggests a '*more principled professionalism ... showing greater individual empathy towards and understanding of parents*' (p11) is required to build new partnerships', whilst Bastiani (1993) has suggested:

*'...there is a compelling and inescapable need for professionals to review both their thinking and their practice in the light of new statutory obligations and far-reaching political directives which permeate family-school relations...'* (p101)

He goes on to suggest that parents' educational beliefs and attitudes are '*susceptible to change in the light of experience*' (op.cit. p108) but that '*basic professional attitudes*' are '*deeply ingrained*' and slow to change.

More recent legislative reform can perhaps be traced back to the roots of 'parent as co-educator'. Requirements for parents to have a right to information on the National Curriculum and Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) (Education Act No 2 1986) was



one way to better inform parents about the educational partnership. However, research by Hughes et al (1994) concludes that:

*'...the reforms have so far made little impact on the level of parents' knowledge. Most parents felt they knew little about what their children were learning in school and their knowledge about the National Curriculum and assessment was also limited. This did not seem to be due to lack of interest, as the parents repeatedly said they wanted to know more about such matters.'* (p206)

The role of parent as co-educator appears then to have been most hampered by the rigidity of professional boundaries and traditional attitudes. Macbeth (1988) has referred to the development of parental involvement in schools as a three stage process where schools move from being 'self-contained' through a stage of 'professional uncertainty' to a final stage of 'growing confidence' (p255). He has advocated a fourth stage where schools and parents would work together routinely and regard each other with mutual trust and understanding. Following a study of home-school liaison in nine European countries Macbeth et al (1984) have suggested a more formal contractual 'concordat' which sets out the duties of each partner in a constructive relationship, an idea which has been developed in a number of European countries.<sup>23</sup> In 1991 The Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) pronounced that formalised agreements may be '*an idea whose time has come*' (Tomlinson, 1991 p14) and the National Association of Headteachers (NAHT) collaborated with The Royal Society of Arts (RSA) to commission a study of home-school contracts (Jones et al, 1992) but it was not until legislation in 1998 (School Standards and Framework Act) that all schools have been required formally to have a written Home-School Agreement negotiated with parents which sets out the expectations and

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<sup>23</sup> European Projects in Austria and Italy are detailed in Project Report : Parental Participation in Schools : The Scottish Office (1999)

responsibilities of both partners. At the time of writing it is too early to say what impact such Agreements will have on home-school relations.

To a large extent, parent as co-educator has been a role developed from the deficit model of parenting through a number of studies of under-achieving or disaffected students in socio-economically disadvantaged contexts. Based on the recognition that students learn at home as well as school, and on the understanding that those parents who are most 'connected' with the school are able to support and promote the achievement of their child, schemes in the U.S.A. demonstrated successful partnerships with parents (Comer, 1988; Haynes et al, 1988). In Canada, 'The Co-production of Learning Project' studied the effectiveness of home-school collaboration in seven schools to investigate *'parent engagement in learning activities in the home'* and in particular *'the curriculum of the home – the attitudes which prepare and sustain a child for and during academic learning'* (Collinge and Coleman 1995 p.1). This project recommended that the 'triad' relationship of teacher, parent and student should be treated as the 'basic learning unit' (Coleman, 1995 p30) in order to encourage and support student commitment to learning. They conclude that: *'It is not who parents are which is important but what the parents do to encourage and facilitate learning.'* (p4) Based on the premise that all three are co-producers of education, this work shows how 'functional collaboration' might be obtained:

*'That is, if the curriculum of the home is not educationally productive, how schools can influence it by asserting both the importance of learning activities, and the efficacy of the home as a place of learning.'* (p29)

They assert that it is the 'collaborative' teacher who is the key to success, who acts on the belief that: *'When parents are brought into the relationship, it makes education easier ... for the kid, the parent and the teacher, because there's three of you involved now instead of just two.'* (p23) Such collaboration is, they suggest, the key characteristic of an *'inside-out approach to school improvement'* which *'creates and sustains family commitment to the collaborative relationship and to student success in school'* (p2)

This approach is similar to that adopted in The Impact Project, a mathematics 'shared homework' scheme involving over 5000 schools in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Lebanon and Europe. Using the analogy of the mother/child dyad (the project involved primary school age children) studies of the project suggest that its success may be attributed to the 'learning congruence' which occurs when *'two different and mutually exclusive learning contexts (the home and the school) are no longer orthogonal to one another'* (Merttens and Woods, 1994 p23).

There is little doubt that in the 1990s, the role of the parent as co-educator in their child's education is acknowledged by most educational professionals, and practices are well established which seek to develop a collaborative partnership in learning between the school, the child and the parents (Martin et al 2000). As indicated above, however, the extent to which such partnerships are as constructive and fulfilling as they might be remains in doubt given the continuing cultural dimensions of the power relations between parents and teachers.

### 1.3 Parents as citizens

In 1986, Ranson argued '*...participation in education can ... help foster not only effective schooling, but also the conditions for a more vital accountability for citizenship*' (p96). His critiques of the market in education highlight the way in which that system actually denies such participation:

*'...an internal education market will ensure selection to match a pyramidal, hierarchical society ... underpinned by a political system which encouraged passive rather than active participation in the public domain'. (Ranson 1993 p348)*

I have argued elsewhere (Martin et al 1996) that parents can only be empowered by schools as active participants when they have first been recognised as co-educators. Only on the basis of such assumptions can the conditions be created for active participation by parents in schools as a way to realise citizenship. I have suggested that, in essence, education reform has awarded parents the kind of civil and political rights to participate which Marshall (1964) argues are a prerequisite for citizenship. Not only do parents now have the individual rights of parental choice and information about the national curriculum and school performance, they also have collective rights to attend an Annual Parents' Meeting (which must be held to discuss the Annual Report to Parents) and representative rights as parent-governors on the school governing body. The Education Acts of 1981 and 1986 gave new responsibilities of citizenship in schooling to new categories of parent governors. The right for parents to be represented on the school governing body came with a redistribution in power for school management, as part of the introduction of Local Management of Schools in the 1986 Education Act. As a result governing bodies legally had to have at least one parent governor, in aided schools, and between two and six in country and controlled

schools, depending on the number of pupils at the school.

The 1986 Act tipped the balance in favour of parent governors by reducing the number of local authority political appointees, so that the LEA and parents had equal representation. The increased statutory responsibilities of governors since 1986 includes their involvement in the policy making process. This legislation gives governing bodies statutory responsibility for making curriculum policy, sex education policy, the school statement of aims, appointments policy, equal opportunity policy, lettings policy, charging policy, admissions policy, discipline policy, a policy for staff disciplinary and grievance procedures and control over the delegated budget. In the Standards and Framework Act 1998 a reformed system of school governance based on new school status of 'community', 'foundation' and 'aided' schools revised the constitution of all governing bodies to include a greater number of parent-governors whilst retaining the same number of other former categories.<sup>24</sup> A further new responsibility of the governor body under this legislation was the requirement to establish a home-school agreement which it is hoped will underpin a more constructive partnership with parents in all schools.

The opportunity for parents to be represented on the key decision-making forum for the school – the governing body – is clearly a policy which encourages parents to participate in policy-making and other important decision-making processes, such as the appointment of staff and budget setting. Parent governors, in particular, have been

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<sup>24</sup> These reforms were largely designed to integrate the former grant-maintained schools. Categories of governor under grant-maintained status such as 'first' governors were abolished under the new system. From 1998 all schools have LEA governors and a new category of governor elected from support staff. The new status of 'Foundation' school has a new category of 'Partnership' governor.

a focus of much research and study. Whether they have taken up a role as 'active citizens' however is in doubt.

The most comprehensive study of school governing bodies carried out prior to the 1986 and 1988 reforms was done by Kogan et al (1984). They concluded, pessimistically, that little had changed since Bacon's prior account in 1978, in that governors were still unsure about their role and concerned about their effectiveness. They suggest four models of the governing body: the accountable governing body which focuses on the school and how it meets the needs of the community it serves; the advisory governing body which is primarily a forum where school professionals report on practice; the mediating governing body which positions itself at the centre of the various interests which make up the local educational system; and the supportive governing body which focuses its attention outwards and supports the school in its relationship with other local institutions. They suggest that governing bodies will forge their own patterns of working which are based as much on past experience as the skills of individual governors.

The first study of the reformed governing bodies post-1988 (Golby and Lane, 1989) focused on the role of parent governors in Exeter and the London Borough of Hounslow. This work confirmed that parent governors came from the professional middle classes with a prominent number of 'housewives'. The picture reported was not promising, with many governors concerned about the additional burdens of the 1988 Act, the lack of training, and indignation about the energy and skill required on a purely voluntary basis. Indeed there was some anxiety about the difficulties in recruiting the next generation of governors (Golby, 1991). Whilst some had made their mark in the school, others describe themselves as 'second-class citizens' (Hartshorn,

1991). Deem (1989) also noted that parent governor involvement was often limited to issues deemed to be only of specific interest to parents and that parents from the ethnic minorities were further marginalised. It is clear that many parent governors did find their commitment and enthusiasm blighted by initial feelings of being out of their depth and further confused by jargon (Golby and Brigley, 1989). Indeed Golby and Brigley's study highlights the difference between parent governors operating in an *'enabling environment'* (p.17) with enlightened professionals and those struggling against *'tokenist attitudes'* (p. 21) which impose *'crucial limitations on the conception and practice of governorship'* (p.22). Many other governors are also parents with children at the school, however, as Earley (1994) noted in a later study for NFER, just under one-third of governors (the largest proportion) gave parental interest as a reason for becoming a governor in the first place (p.72). A high level of parental commitment was also found in a later study by Scanlon et al (1999) which showed that two-thirds of Chairs and 60% of governors who responded were existing or former parents of children at the school.

Deem et al (1995) first theorised school governors as active citizens, or rather posed the question whether they were empowered citizens or state volunteers.

*'We cannot (even) assume that citizenship as evidenced in school governorship is always concerned with public good in civil society. Indeed, as with a number of forms of contemporary citizenship, such as serving on hospital trusts or other semi-public service quangos, school governance of state-funded schools may not be exercised independently of the financial constraints, dominant discourses and policy texts emanating from national states. This may cause us to question whether school governors are indeed acting as empowered citizens in the community or whether they are merely state volunteers.'* (p157)

So far as parent governors are concerned, this study underlined the apolitical nature of their involvement in the governing body; *'...a view that governance should be marked*

*by an absence of politics was particularly evident in the responses of parent governors...* ' (p133) although it is suggested that this might be a misconception of their political rights as governors equated with the politics of traditional party politics. However this view does echo Dale's view (1989) that the reform agenda of the 1980s was a deliberate attempt to employ parents to introduce more conservative attitudes into education. Research carried out in Scotland (Munn, 1998) also calls into question the notion of active citizenship where school board members (all parents) have so far resisted 'civic activism' and have refused to engage in debate with headteachers (p392). Indeed there is little evidence to suggest that parents, as governors or as individuals, are taking up newly accorded rights to participate in school life in the role of citizen. Research evidence suggests that parents have little appetite for participating in the decision-making of schools as active citizens which those keen to invigorate the public sphere would advocate (Fielding et al, 1991; Hill, 1994; Simey, 1985; Stewart, 1996; Wright, 1994). Other writers, however, do suggest that some parents are more inclined towards citizenship than consumerism. Radnor et al (1997) reporting on research findings conclude:

*'The Government approach on encouraging high-performing schools is through the notion of parents as consumers in the market-place which 'depoliticizes' the involvement of the individual parents in the process of local education policy-making. However, there is evidence to suggest that many parents do not 'buy into' this notion of being a consumer as far as their involvement with their child's school is concerned. For example the demonstration of parents throughout the country over the education cuts presents a picture of parents rather as being active citizens interested in having a say in the development of local schools. '* (p216)

This is a direct reference to the parents organisation 'FACE' Fight Against Cuts in Education which began with a group of Warwickshire parents and became a major political campaigning group against Government attempts to cut the funding for education. And indeed such sporadic, collective action, might, as Munn (1998)



suggests, be examples of active citizenship coming to the surface '*when something which they value highly is threatened*' (p392). The increasing mobilisation of parental pressure groups for children with special educational needs is worth noting, although even here the drive to compete for resources weakens the collective action (Martin 1999b). As Vincent (1997) concludes, there are few opportunities for collective parental participation at any level of the education system.

One of the initiatives of the 1986 Education Act legislated for the governing body of all schools to hold an Annual Parents' Meeting at which the Governors' Annual Report would be discussed. As Thody (1992) comments: '*It's the first time in our political history that there has been a legal requirement to set up a formal means for parents to put their views.*' (p128) This initiative, at a time when governors themselves were granted extensive responsibilities for policy-making and decision-making in schools, had the potential as a controlling mechanism through the accountability of governors to parents. Whilst such a mechanism might in reality amount to little more than a retrospective information giving exercise, clearly a logical development might be increasing parental influence in future school policies and decisions. There could be a real possibility for governors to include such parental opinion in their future deliberations, as the Annual Meeting had the statutory right to pass resolutions (provided the meeting was quorate) of which the governors were subsequently required to take note. This opportunity for parents to act as 'citizens' has dismally failed. A Birmingham study (Hinds et al, 1992) of the Annual Parents' Meeting verified the lack of enthusiasm on the part of parents for the meeting, demonstrated by lack of numbers attending the meetings (seldom are meetings quorate thus negating the

possibility of passing any resolutions) and by the passive role largely played by parents who did attend. The study identified:

*'...in nearly half of the cases the parents did not probe any issues arising from the governors' annual report' but suggests that; 'parents do know what is important and are at times willing to raise significant issues for discussion; about school policies.. school management .. curriculum matters..' (p15)*

Obstacles to meaningful participation between parents and governors, it was suggested, were caused by the formality of the 'shareholders' business-like AGM model which most schools had tended to adopt. A sense of futility certainly was evidenced by parents who had not attended the annual meeting, expressing the view that *'I do not feel it is worthwhile voicing an opinion on school issues when it won't have any effect whatsoever on the way things are done'* (p14). Reflecting upon this study, I have argued elsewhere (Martin and Ranson 1994) that the futility of this meeting is as much a result of the dominant tradition of professionalism which *'has emphasised the authoritative knowledge of teachers in their practice and the deference of parents as clients'* (p202) consistent with a civic life which is individualistic and essentially private rather than public.

The futility of the meetings has now been recognised by Government and the House of Commons Select Committee are now recommending that the requirement for schools to hold such a meeting be rescinded. (House of Commons Session 1998-99)

As Vincent (1993 and 1996) acknowledges, there are as many problems about the role of 'parent-as-citizen' as there are with 'parent-as-consumer', particularly given the collective and more public nature of citizenship participation, as compared with the

more individualistic and private nature of the consumer-school relationship. It may, in the end, be more a case of how the parent 'voice' is expressed in public or in private which is an important signifier of the parent as citizen. As Vincent and I (Martin and Vincent 1999) have suggested, this will depend much upon the opportunities provided by the school for parents to have a say, how those opportunities are taken up and by whom.

The opting-out mechanism to grant maintained status <sup>25</sup> was one of the most recent events where parents had the opportunity to take on a political voice (Power et al, 1996). As Brehony (1994) suggests, at the heart of such conflicts are matters of authority and accountability. Who has authority and who is accountable to whom? He describes one anti-GMS group of parents as 'active citizens' expressing their civil, social and political rights.

*'Most parents are not school managers, governors or teachers, but they all draw upon sources of authority as parents ('parents' rights') and citizens. The anti-GMS group were predominantly from professional backgrounds and could be loosely described as 'active citizens' in that they shared a sense of civic responsibility. This lent authority to their moral and political arguments and helped to explain why they sustained their critical voice long after the opt-out ballot was complete. ... It was with the voice of concerned citizens as much as parents that they made their contribution to the opting-out debate.'* (p74-5)

The role of parent-as-citizen is most often described in terms of public participation, opportunities to have a 'voice' as much as the exercise of parents' civil, social and political rights. Building upon the work of Hirschman (1970) several commentators have raised the importance of parents being allowed some 'space' to express their dissatisfaction or simply to contribute to decision-making as public recipients of a public service, on behalf of their children. School governing bodies are often cited as

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<sup>25</sup> Grant maintained status for schools was established in the 1988 Education Act. Governing bodies could seek GM status only after a ballot of all parents showed a majority in favour. This often

the most important example of this and yet all the evidence suggests that lay governors have the most difficulty in making their 'voice' heard (Whitty et al, 1998) and that given the dominant culture of lack of citizenship practice, it can be difficult to find parents to stand as candidates (Brehony, 1994). In my own recent work with Carol Vincent, an exploration of parental 'voice' suggested that this was often heavily controlled and managed by the school and in fact had little articulation with practices of citizenship (Martin and Vincent, 1999). Indeed, we suggest that much of the tension around the role of parent-as-citizen hinges on differing interpretations of citizenship such as 'consumer accountability', 'active volunteerism' and 'tutelage'.

At a local and national government level, the role of parent-as-citizen has been developed through the growth in local associations of governing bodies in local education authorities across England and Wales, which was encouraged by the establishment of a new democratically based National Governors' Council (NGC) in England and its sister organisation Governors' Wales. The Scottish School Boards Association (SSBA) is also a vibrant organisation for School Boards in Scotland. Recent legislation<sup>26</sup> endorsing the participation of parents in local government policy-making, has also made it a requirement for an elected parent-governor to have a seat on the local education committee.

## **2. A new relationship with parents – recent typologies**

There are already a number of typologies suggested in the literature on the relationship between parents and the school. As early as 1969 Gordon describes parents along a five-point scale as supporters, learners, teachers of their own children, aides and

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produced heated conflict in schools.

volunteers in the classroom, policy-makers and partners. Later Smith (1980) added parents as sharers in their children's experiences. Van der Eyken (1983) offered three categories of support, participation and control and later added contractual involvement and self-initiated and self-generating involvement. Meighan (1989) for example, has considered alternative role definitions such as; parent as problem, police, para-professional aide, partner, pre-school educator and prime educator. He raises the question as to whether the education system has responded to the changing conditions within society and concludes:

*'The verdict appears to be 'not much' and the phenomenon of culture inertia appears to be in evidence whereby one institution in a society fails to adapt to changes in the others.'* (p106)

Pugh's work (1989) on pre-school services suggests a different frame-work based on the practices of parental involvement of non-participation, support, participation, partnership and control. This covers a wide range of activities and is useful *'in determining what might be described as the 'partnership proneness' of a pre-school centre or service ...it should not be seen as an ideal progression, nor should it be used as a once-and-for all account of a centre.'* (p7)

Wolfendale (1983) has juxtaposed the traditional role of the 'client', dependent on experts, with that of 'partner' in a more equal relationship with professionals, and Cunningham and Davis (1985) have suggested modelling the relationship of parents and professionals as the 'expert' model, the 'transplant' model and the 'consumer' model.

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<sup>26</sup> The Standards and Framework Act 1998

Hughes et al (1994) have posed the question about the involvement of parents as a result of education reform. Drawing on a distinction first made by Docking (1990), they suggest that there has been a long tradition within the British system of parents being seen as 'problems' but that a more positive perception is that of 'partners'. They ask, however, how well a partnership role fits with that of consumer as they embody very different relationships with school:

*'A partner might be seen as someone who is closely involved with a school, someone who shares - and even helps to shape - the aims of the school, and is committed to putting these aims into practice. In contrast, a consumer might be seen as someone who is on the outside, judging a school's performance from a distant vantage point.'* (pp7-8)

In a more recent exploration of parental involvement, Vincent (1996a) suggests that there are four main possibilities on offer; the parent as supporter/learner; the parent as consumer; the independent parent and the parent as participant. This typology in many ways echoes previous attempts - the parent who supports the school, the parent as consumer who encourages school accountability and the parent as participant who is involved in governance. The category of independent parent, however, is an addition which seeks to explain those parents who maintain minimal contact with school and may provide alternative forms of education of their own child to supplement state school. This is an interesting addition since Vincent suggests that it covers a sizeable proportion of parents who reject the first two models and would not consider the fourth. As she points out:

*'...as a result of not being seen at school these (independent) parents were often labeled 'apathetic' by staff and other supportive parents. However, independent parents had developed to varying degrees an 'oppositional logic' which led them to reject the traditional roles of Parent Association member and voluntary holder doubting that such activities would make an appreciable difference to their children's education. In their relationships with teachers, parents found that they often had to take the initiative, and this independent parents were not always prepared to do. Instead they made alternative arrangements, working with the children at home*

*without reference to the class teachers, and/or taking them to supplementary classes.'* (p109)

Such 'independent' parents should not be confused with 'detached' parents - a small number mostly comprised of working-class adults from all ethnic groups - who were simply not engaged with their child's education in any formal sense (p108). The key issue for Vincent, in applying the typology, is that schools are revealed as *'fractured and fragmented school 'communities''*, that *'parents were divided by the different approaches to school and their role within it'*, and that *'some parents will become increasingly disillusioned with the rhetoric of closer contact and cooperation which does not extend beyond the role of 'supportive' parent'* which was the main preoccupation of teachers (pp 112-3).

The work of Vincent and others, only serves to underline the confusions around the involvement of parents and the complexities of finding any meaningful typology which embraces parent and school behaviours in relation to the home-school partnership. As outlined in more detail above, Meighan (1989) has suggested there is a 'repertoire' of definitions from which selections are made. He proposes that UK policy sets parents a 'policing role' as the majority voice on school governing bodies and recognises the juxtaposition of this newly defined role with previous practice. His typology ranges from parent as 'problem' to parents as 'prime educator' and concludes that this is only useful to *'make the point that within the range of roles available, some role definitions are rigid and limiting and others more flexible and developmental'* (p111) although he fails to explain why this is so. Wyness (1995), however, looks at the notion of policing from the point of view of the school and suggests that rather than parents holding the

school to account through parent power, it is in fact the school which is increasingly policing parents as a *'prominent agency of the welfare state'* (p373).

Nevertheless, typologies have been used as a useful analytical tool over recent years. Beattie (1985) looked at the political participation of parents in four countries (England and Wales, France, Germany and Italy) to ask questions about how active parents might be as citizens. The notion of parent-as-consumer has perhaps been most useful. For example Crozier (1997) raises questions about the *'complex interrelation of factors'* underpinning that role (p193) and elsewhere uses role in the abstract to tease out the different perspectives of the home-school relationship as seen by the parent and the school (1998). In coining the phrase 'consumer-citizen', Woods (1993) further emphasises the complications in labeling parent behaviour in an adequate manner. He both recognises a variety of models of consumerism and the need for a more active rather than passive approach to 'consuming', to offer an 'ideal type' as an analytical tool for the study of parent-governors. He argues that the 'consumer-citizen' as a framework offers *'a better description of the reality experienced by service users and a more sophisticated and robust tool for critical analysis'* (p21). Vincent and Tomlinson (1997) have used notions of parent-as-consumer and parent-as-citizen to look at the changing relationship between parents and schools as between the 'public' and the state education system. In a retrospective of the fluctuations of roles and relationships over 20 years, they conclude that the *'positioning of parents reflects in many ways the positioning of the public at large in relation to public sector services'* (p373) and suggest that there has been a rise in the emphasis on the role of individual consumers *'as a response to the passivity and inequality of that earlier professional-*



*client relationship'*. This paper also points up the need for future research to investigate parental agency and activity rather than attempting to explain it.

Typologies have also been useful to develop practice. Macbeth (1989) first developed his developmental typology of institutional practice and behaviour, culminating in partnership between home and school, not long after Bastiani (1987) had outlined the debate about different types of parental participation. More recently Tomlinson (1991) has suggested models of parent-school partnership with UK policy recommendations whereas Epstein (1990) has developed a six-fold typology of parental involvement based on practice in the United States. Using school-based action teams, Epstein develops her typology to enable schools to foster more constructive relationships with parents from a number of perspectives (Epstein et al, 1997). This typology has been widely used as an organising framework for research, for example recently by McKenna and Willms (1998) in a study of home-school cooperation in Canada.

The literature not only suggests a number of overlapping and contested definitions of the parent but also demonstrates the usefulness of typologies for describing and explaining the attitudes and practices of parents and schools. However, thus far, there has been no adequate explanation of parent-school relations nor an attempt to explain continuity and change as the relationship develops. This is the main task of this thesis – to reflect on current practice in the light of policy reform and ask questions about how a dominant tradition of home-school relations is being reproduced or challenged.

Part One has established the lineage of the dominant tradition and the shifting alliances which have resulted in different and contested notions of the parent-school

relationship. Part Two discusses how the application of the theoretical framework of structuration explains the reproduction of, and the challenge to, the dominant tradition, before describing the methodology of the study.

## **PART TWO**

### **ANALYSING TRADITION – THE STRUCTURATION OF THE PARENT- SCHOOL RELATIONSHIP**

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THEORISING CHANGING RELATIONS OF STRUCTURE AND AGENCY

#### 1. Introduction

The previous chapters have indicated that the involvement of parents in schools has been formed out of a dominant tradition which privileged professional knowledge and expertise. The structures of governance embodying that tradition diminished the opportunities available to parents to resist the dominant discourse and limited the exercise of their agency within the spaces which remained. Social and economic change, precipitating a legitimisation crisis and a questioning of the tradition of professional domination, encouraged reforms to the system of governance to engage the public in public policy. In education these reforms have, arguably, expanded the 'space' within which parents may exercise agency, with implications for the balance of power relations between parents, and other actors, in the exercise of school governance.

The extent to which the exercise of such agency is possible in the face of the prevailing social structures, has been a central, contested issue in social theory. This chapter addresses this theoretical issue and seeks to develop a framework for analysing both the reproduction of the dominant tradition and now why it may be subject to challenge. The work of a number of social theorists is helpful in this regard, for example the work of Pierre Bourdieu,<sup>1</sup> Margaret Archer<sup>2</sup> and Anthony Giddens<sup>3</sup>. However it is Giddens' theory

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<sup>1</sup> See Bourdieu, P. (1990a) *Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology* Oxford: Polity Chps 1 and 8)

Bourdieu, P. (1990b) *The Logic of Practice* Oxford: Polity

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* Oxford: Polity

<sup>2</sup> See Archer, M. (1982) Morphogenesis versus structuration: on combining structure and action, *British Journal of Sociology* 33 (4) pp. 455-483

Archer, M. (1988) *Culture and Agency: the Place of Critique in Social Theory* Cambridge: Cambridge

of structuration and reflexive modernisation which I have chosen as an analytical framework since it suggests an interdependence of 'structure' and 'agency' which holds social praxis at the core of social production and reproduction. Since, as I have indicated in the previous chapter, practice (and the beliefs which underpin them) are also at the heart of a tradition, this theory will, I believe, be the most appropriate approach to the research questions.

## 2. The structure-agency dualism

The study of the formation of social and political systems by social scientists has accorded differing analytical emphases to the relative merits of structure and agency as dominant influences. Classical and modern social theory was until the 1970s, Giddens (1984 p.1) argues, typically characterised by fundamentally incompatible conceptions of the formation of modern society. Some 'structuralist' theorists argued that action in society was determined by underlying structures or forces. This scenario suggests, pessimistically,

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University Press

Archer, M (1995) *Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

<sup>3</sup> See Giddens, A. (1976) *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretive Sociologies*, London: Hutchinson

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory*, London: Macmillan

Giddens, A. (1981) *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism: Volume 1 Power, Property and the State*, London: Macmillan

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration*, Oxford: Polity

Giddens, A. (1987) *Social Theory and Modern Sociology* Stanford, Stanford University Press: Polity

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity* Oxford: Polity

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* Oxford: Polity

Giddens, A. (1993) *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretive Sociologies*, Stanford: Stanford University Press

Giddens, A. (1994) Living in a post-traditional society, in U. Beck, A. Giddens, and S. Lash (eds) *Reflexive Modernisation: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order* Oxford: Polity pp. 56-109

Giddens, A. with Pierson, C. (1998) *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity* Oxford: Polity

Giddens, A. (1999) *Runaway World: How Globalisation is Reshaping our Lives (The Reith Lectures)* London: Profile Books

that people are no more than passive victims of social context and circumstance. In this view they are 'bearers' of structures which control their roles and relationships.

Such 'structural' theory was countered by diametrically opposed perspectives which emphasised the 'hermeneutic' capacity of agents to shape relationships according to their meanings and purposes. The notion of 'agency' proposes the more optimistic idea that people are not only able to create the social world but to shape the structures within which they are embedded. This subjective notion repositions the social actor as *the* creative agent of structural formation.

Yet although divided in the content of their theories, these rival perspectives implied a common ontology, the same way of understanding the components of social life. Their different theories expressed the same dualistic conception of action and structure as separate and opposed. A number of contemporary social theorists have challenged the flaws they perceive in this dualism which, they argue, leaves social theory unable to address a number of central questions. As Layder (1994) asks:

- How does human activity (agency) shape the very social circumstances (structures) in which it takes place?
- How do the social circumstances (structures) in which activity (agency) take place make certain things possible while ruling out other things?

And as Cassell (1993) questions, how is the patterned or recurring character of social practice to be explained?

This chapter will progressively focus on the above questions in three sections. Section One will discuss structuration theory in the abstract. Section Two will explore recent ways in which the theory has been applied to the sociology of education. Section Three will set out how the theory can be applied to a study of the role of parents.

### 3. The Structuration of Social Practice

Any satisfactory answer to these questions requires a fundamentally different theorising of the relationship between action and structure. The principal theorists who have sought to construct such a theory are Giddens and Bourdieu, although a competing synthesis has been developed in the work of Archer. In this chapter I focus on Giddens' distinctive synthesis – his theory of structuration – which I will argue provides the most useful basis for understanding the production and reproduction of the dominant tradition. This theory asserts a reciprocal relationship between agency and structure with practice as the integrating core. In *'New Rules of Sociological Method'* (1993) Giddens summarises the argument thus:

- *Sociology is not concerned with a 'pre-given' universe of objects, but with one which is constituted or produced by the active doings of subjects.*
  - *The production and reproduction of society thus has to be treated as a skilled performance on the part of its members.*
  - *The realm of human agency is bounded. Human beings produce society; but they do so as historically located actors and not under conditions of their own choosing.*
  - *Structure must not be conceptualised as simply placing constraints upon human agency but as enabling.*
  - *Processes of structuration involve an interplay of meanings, norms and power.*
- (pp168-9)

Three key processes inform the structuration of social practice: enacting social practice; the recurrence of social practice; and the duality of structure.

### 3.1 Enacting social practice

Giddens (1984) argues that the aim of structuration theory is to end the division between the imperialism of the social subject on the one hand and the imperialism of the social object on the other.

*'The basic domain of the study of the social sciences according to Structuration Theory is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive. That is to say they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors. In and through their activities, agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible.'* (p.2)

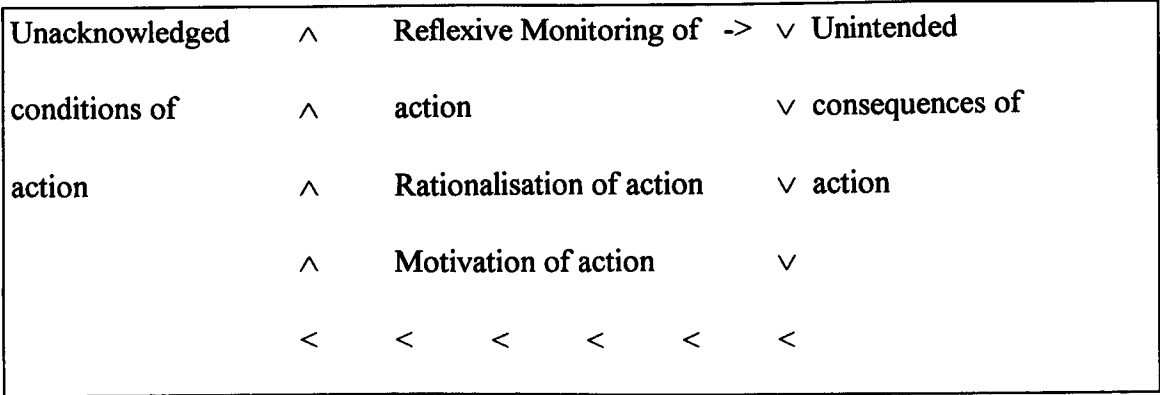
Structuration theory, therefore, begins with a hermeneutic starting point, i.e. with agency. To be able to act is to have power. It is the essence of individuals having some control or influence over their social world. However, in order to avoid criticisms of ascribing an over-voluntaristic stance, Giddens (1979 and 1984) develops a complex, 'stratified' model of action (Figure 1) involving three layers of *practical consciousness* which enable individuals to act.<sup>4</sup>

(a) *Reflexive monitoring of action*: refers to the intentional or purposive character of human behaviour: it emphasises 'intentionality' *as process*. Such intentionality is a routine feature of human conduct and does not mean that actors have 'consciously held' definite goals during the course of the activities. Conscious 'purposes' are in fact unusual in action, which much of the time is a continuing process of routine monitoring, whereby activity is related to others and the object-world. Action needs to be understood as part of a wider *practical consciousness* which recognises that actors skillfully apply tacit knowledge in enacting practices which they are not always able to articulate. Continuity



of practices presumes reflexivity, but reflexivity in turn is possible only because of the continuity of practices that makes them distinctively 'the same' across time and space. 'Reflexivity' hence should be understood not merely as 'self-consciousness' but as the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life.

Figure 1: The Stratification Model of Action



But actors, if asked, can frequently abstract from the flow to describe their intentions. These discursive capabilities of actors to give accounts is captured in:

(b) *The rationalisations of action:* The capabilities of human agents to ‘explain’ why they act as they do by giving reasons for their conduct. Actors are able to offer accounts of their conduct/action, drawing upon stocks of knowledge. ‘Reasons’, like ‘intentions’, form discrete accounts in the contexts of queries or crises when the routines of action are disturbed.

(c) *The motivation of action:* Refers to the wants which prompt action. However motivation is not as directly bound up with the continuity of action as are its reflexive monitoring and rationalisation. Motivation refers to potential for action rather than the

<sup>4</sup> Central Problems in Social Theory :Chapter 2; and The Constitution of Society : Chapter 1

mode in which action is carried on. Motives influence action in unusual circumstances, situations which in some way break with the routine. Motives supply overall plans or projects within which a range of conduct is enacted. Much of our day-to-day conduct is not directly motivated.

Thus, while acknowledging the complex processes of action, it is the role of *practical consciousness* which remains fundamental to structuration theory. It is the specifically reflexive form of the knowledgeability of human agents that is most deeply involved in 'the recursive ordering' of social practices. To associate agency with 'intention', 'purpose', 'reason' and 'motive' is to ascribe too much voluntarism to action. This extricates human action from the contextuality and 'conditionality' of time-space. Human action occurs as a continuous flow of conduct, *a duree* of lived experience.

### **3.2 The recurrence of practice**

The capacity to exercise agency, Giddens argues, depends upon the conditions which make social practices possible. In order to enact social practices actors necessarily draw on distinctive properties of their social arrangements. These he conceptualises as meanings, rules and resources which give structure and shape to social practice over time and space.

(a) Practices are constituted as *meaningful*: Social practices are organised, for example, through the medium of language, and language is possible because of the ability of the human species to abstract, with the aid of an interpretive scheme, from the profusion of things that are presented to them in experience. For language to work speakers must be able to fill in the gaps and deal with the ambiguities of language use. We are able to do

this because we skillfully and creatively deploy 'stocks of knowledge' that we hold in common with others.

(b) In order to enact a social practice, participants must necessarily draw on a set of *rules*; these rules can be seen to give shape to the practices they help to organise. In some cases (building a house) there will be well known, formal rules which shape practice, and there will be 'formulated rules' (canons of law, bureaucratic rules, rules of games) which interpret procedures. But most rules are not like that, but rather are 'tacit, informal, weakly sanctioned'. These are the most significant since it is these moral and social norms which structure much of the texture of everyday life. Most of the rules implicated in the production and reproduction of social practices are only tacitly grasped by actors. They know how to 'go on'. Giddens argues that awareness of these social rules is at the core of that 'knowledgeability' which characterises human agents and the vast bulk of this knowledge is practical rather than theoretical.

(c) The enactment of social practices also necessarily draws upon *resources*. When social practices are enacted more is involved than the communication of meaning and the following of moral norms. Social practices involve actions which 'make a difference' to the world in some way. The agents involved in social practices, if they are to effect change, must possess the appropriate resources to be able to do so, for example, information, capital, authority. Relationships, for example, between employers and employees, typically have an enduring form because of the asymmetry of the resources available to each remains relatively constant. The structuring properties of resources 'work' only in so far as the actors draw on rules that are suitable for their use. (To develop money as capital, the owner must know how to use the money to generate profit

by investing in labour, capital, equipment). In the same way, for parents to become partners with professionals in the education of the child they must know about the processes of teaching and learning.

Resources are the key to action since they make the exercise of power possible. They are what enables an actor to act. Power is at the centre of structuration theory. The notion of action is logically tied to that of power because it intrinsically involves the application of means to achieve outcomes, brought about through the direct intervention of an actor in the course of events. Power represents the capacity of the agent to mobilise resources to constitute those 'means'. In this general sense, power refers to 'the transformative capacity of human action'

### ***3.3 Structuration and the duality of structure***

The elements discussed above (actors capacity to draw upon meanings, rules and resources in the production of social practices) prepares the way for understanding the key theoretical concept of structuration which Giddens regards as the 'true explanatory locus' of the relationship of action to structure.

Giddens' use of structure is distinctively different from traditional usages in social theory. Conventional understandings of structure as an architectural scaffolding for social life are rejected by Giddens as inadequate for the proper understanding of practices. For him, 'structure' refers to the 'structuring properties', the rules and resources which actors routinely draw upon in the production and reproduction of social practices. They give 'structure' to the reproduction of practices, and so enable these practices to endure over time and place. This understanding turns structure into a virtual concept: structure only

appears in the instances, or moments (Giddens calls them 'instantiations') of creating practice, or the 'traces' of remembering 'how things are to be done'.

A structure, therefore, is not a 'group', 'collectivity' or 'organisation': these have 'structures'. Structure only exists as 'structural properties'. They are necessarily (logically) properties of systems or collectivities, and are characterised by the 'absence of a subject'. As a virtual order of (structuring) properties (rules and resources) 'structures' are subject-less and independent of time. (Giddens, 1984 pp.11-25; and 1979, pp.59-65)

Thus according to structuration theory, action and structure are not a separate and opposed dualism, but are mutually embedded in the flow of structuration. Practice is created and sustained by a two-sided duality of structure. Social structures are both constituted by human agency, yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution. Giddens typically illustrates this feature of structure with the practice of speech: to speak we draw on syntactical rules which become the medium and meaning of the utterance, and thus in speaking we reproduce the English language.

The concept of structuration captures this sense of the process of creating and sustaining social practice; both the role of agency in shaping social practice and the structural conditions for such agency. Structuration is defined as '*...the reproduction of practices ...the dynamic process whereby structures come into being*' (Giddens, 1993 p.128). That is to say that all practices, as practiced by social actors within day to day routines, have structural 'elements' which in essence comprise rules and resources on which individuals draw.

Commentators such as Thompson (1989) and Bernstein (1989) reinforce the relevance of the concept in explaining social organisation:

*'What we must grasp is not how structure determines action or how a combination of actions determines structure, but rather how action is structured in everyday contexts and how the structured features of action are, by the very performance of an action, thereby reproduced. The theory of structuration is therefore inseparable from an account of reproduction, that is from an account of the ways in which societies, or specific forms of social organisation, are reproduced by the activities of individuals pursuing their everyday lives.'* (Thompson, 1989 p 56)

*'We must analyse social structure so that we can clearly discern how it requires agency, and analyse human agency in such a manner that we grasp how all social action involves social structure. For social structure is always both constraining and enabling. It at once limits and determines 'the capability of the individual to make a 'difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events'.* (Bernstein, 1989 p.25)

The duality of structure is thus the core of the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1993) which synthesises structure and agency to explain the interaction between subjective social actors and objective contextual structures. In essence the theory deconstructs conventional definitions of structures into rules and resources, in order to establish an analytical redistribution which places practices at the heart of social action. This allows for the production and reproduction of social forms by agents engaged in social practices. It suggests that human agents create their social worlds from within social structures, and that the consequential social forms, such as institutions, can have no existence separate from the practices and activities which they embody.

### ***3.4 Structuration and the 'binding of time – space'***

In *'Central Problems in Social Theory'* (1979) Giddens places time and place at the very core of his social theory. Already, in the discussion of the 'patterned or recursive character

of social practices', it is clear that time is a factor which cannot be eradicated in the actions and institutions that constitute the social. Time and space are not just 'topics' they are constitutive of the social. The routines that comprise social practices are so because they persist in time. Social practices are purposive and therefore future oriented, they communicate meaning which lasts through time; while institutions, the mostly deeply ingrained practices, gain their enduring identity through structuring practice over time (the long duree). In this way, for example in schools, traditions are produced and reproduced over time – they endure so long as the practices remain.

Giddens' inspiration for his work on time/space is Heidegger, but also Hagerstrand who is interested in the idea that an actor will trace out a specifiable time-space path each day - we wake at a particular time and place, we leave the house and travel through space of varying distances and for particular lengths of times before returning home and repeating the cycle the next day (Giddens, 1984 pp.110-116). This travelling through time and space is inseparable from the very being of agents, institutions, organisations, and even nations, and is illustrated by Giddens in a number of ways. In *'The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies'* (1973), written before the introduction of time/space in Giddens' work, class structuration is depicted in terms of physical proximity and long periods of time i.e. classes form only where actors sharing a common market capacity, live and work together for generations, thereby producing and reproducing a common culture.

The purpose of many social practices is regulating people over time and space. Prisons are highly rule bound institutions to confine people over time and in space, while schools form 'time-tables' of learning, which define what is done in a particular place and define

normative rules about behaviour over time. The whole of the educative process forms a socialising of young people over time to fill/occupy social spaces

Structure, therefore, refers to the way rules and resources 'bind' time in social reproduction. If structure exists (in time and space) only in its instances, it requires reference to concepts of power and domination, and these are presupposed in the structuration of social practice.

### ***3.5 Structuration and Change***

Social life, then, is proposed as 'a set of reproduced practices'. (Giddens, 1993 p110) To suggest, however, that practices reproduce 'given' rules and resources routinely from day to day could imply the impossibility of social change. Structuration theory allows for this with the proposition that social actors are predisposed to reflect on the routines only when the structures (rules and resources) are called into question. Cohen (1996) describes the disturbance which causes practices to fail in the following way:

*'The structured practice in question is the exchange of currency for goods or services. The practice involves a variety of structural properties such as material resources represented by currency, the administrative resources of the state that support the currency, moral codes (there is generally a widely respected etiquette of conduct for exchanging money for goods) and of course, knowledge of the skills needed to perform the exchange. Actors rarely notice the structural elements of the practice... ...Yet if structural elements are drawn into question, if, for example, the material value of the currency is in doubt, if the moral etiquette for transfer of funds is violated, or if an action ... .. lacks the skills to complete the exchange, then the practice will fail.'* (pp 132-133)

It is also argued that when the 'ontological security' of the actor (their feelings of the familiar and a sense of competency which are met by a need for routines) are disturbed then the anxieties lead to increased reflexivity and may lead to change.



In answer to the objection that this focuses upon reproduction of rules rather than how they are changed, Giddens' emphasises that agents have the capacity to modify or transform the rules at any point of structural reproduction. Conflict and social change are illustrated, Giddens argues, in Paul Willis, *'Learning to Labour'* (1977). While social practices can routinise chronic conflict, between the 'lads' and the staff who operate within different interpretive and normative frameworks, nevertheless, change can take place through a number of processes:

- incremental change could develop as the population changes, for example, gentrification reducing the number of 'lads' and thus the balance of power;
- reflexive monitoring by the school and authorities to reform the conditions of schooling and thus change the relationships;
- unintended consequences of middle class resentment causing a political backlash.

Giddens argues, following Marx, that it is possible to see the school as a locale where agents 'make history' but apparently not in circumstances of their own choosing. To theorise adequately institutions like schools, and the practices with which they are associated, one must look to the broader social system and thus to the 'stretching' of practices over time and space.

The reproduction of society is, Giddens argues, always and everywhere a skilled accomplishment of its members. But this understanding, asserted by schools of interpretive sociology, needs to be reconciled with an equally essential thesis of most deterministic schools of thought. That if men make society, they do not do so under conditions merely

of their own choosing: i.e. it is fundamental to complement the idea of the production of social life with that of the social reproduction of structures. (Speech and language again exemplify these twin processes - while speech is actively produced by actors in interaction (dialogue), language is a condition for the generation of speech acts). This duality of structure is the most integral feature of processes of social reproduction which can always be analysed as a dynamic process of structuration. Structure is seen, not as a 'scaffold', but as systems of generative rules and resources, which exist out of time and space and are 'impersonal'. But these systems/structures only exist as the reproduced conduct of situated actors with definite intentions and interests.

### ***3.6 Structuration and detraditionalisation***

Structuration theory is used by Giddens to illuminate his argument for the decline of tradition and the rise of reflexivity in modern societies. He develops a theory of social change through three phases of transformation. In *'The Consequences of Modernity'* (1990) he distinguishes between 'tradition' and 'modernity' to which he adds, in *'Modernity and Identity'* (1991) a third phase of 'high or late modernity' (Giddens, 1998). Though these are regarded as distinct, or 'discontinuous', periods, Giddens understands that aspects of the past can live on into another period, for tradition places in stasis some core aspects of social life such as the family:

*'For most of its history, modernity has rebuilt tradition as it has dissolved it. Within Western societies the persistence and recreation of tradition was central to the legitimisation of power, to the sense in which the state was able to impose itself upon relatively impassive 'subjects'.* (1994 p.56)

1. *Tradition*: For Giddens tradition is characterised by a number of qualities: tradition is bound up with collective *memory* - it is about a group, or people, remembering the past

and interpreting it to shape the present and organise the future. Tradition involves *ritual*, repetition reaffirming the significance of the past routinely in current practice. Finally, in tradition *truth is 'formulaic'*, it is declared by the guardians of community, rather than something which emerges from investigation of, and debate about experience.

Because traditions lend themselves to different interpretations, even though members of a tradition may adhere to the same classical texts, they are rarely unitary, and there is thus argument within traditions, and the possibility of new traditions developing. Giddens (1998) with Hobsbawm (1983) acknowledges that '*...traditions can be invented and become stabilised in quite short order of time*' (p.128).

But the hold of tradition on modern society has dwindled. When societies are structured by the past, people tend to think in terms of fate or of being determined. But the more societies the past does not help in solving the problems of the present, so new decisions have to be taken about the future and '*...the more we take active decisions about future events, the more whether people are aware of it or not, they think in terms of risk*' (p.102) which is the defining characteristic of modernity.

2. *Modernity*: In modernity social relations reach beyond the locality across space-time. They become disembodied or 'lifted out' from traditional face-to-face communal relations and become '*rearticulated across indefinite tracts of time-space*' (1991 p.18). The disembedding mechanisms are 'abstract systems' like money or technical knowledge which reach across and bind time and space. The modern banking system assures credibility of currencies and financial viability of businesses into the future regardless of

distance, while the qualification systems of modern education provide credentials of future knowledge and capability of students wherever they live.

Modernity is thus oriented to the future. But this process of 'time-space distancing' is associated with the growth of uncertainty and risk. Indeed modern society is by definition a risk taking society. Risk is a way of breaking with the past and confronting an open future. The idea of risk from early modernity derived from active assessment of the hazards involved in setting out into unknown lands and uncharted territories. The more a society seeks to live in the future and shape it actively, the more it grapples with the risks of reaching into the unknown, the hazards of which need to be 'insured' against. The stability of nature and lifestyles allow risks to be assessed in a calculable way. Modernity requires and develops a calculable future. The mortgage loan reflects actuarial calculation of life expectation, while the education system's certification of knowledge is intended to 'insure' potential businesses of the future competence of employees. Trust is the companion/corollary of risk as the distinctive ways modernity uses to organise future time/space.

3. *Late, 'reflexive' modernity*: in this period we '*...live in a world of multiple expertise, with multiple claims to authority*' (1998 p.111). The explosion of science and technology brings increasing uncertainty and risk in decision making. Even expert systems can no longer be sure their knowledge is infallible. The consensus about knowledge fragments so that in late modernity '*we are all simultaneously both experts and lay people in different areas of our lives*' (1998 p.111). Lay publics become increasingly 'reflexive', critically questioning and sceptical about taken-for-granted expert knowledge.

*'The reflexivity of modern social life consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character.'* (1990, p.38)

Lay publics begin to systematically question and doubt the authority of expert systems.

Hence reflexivity becomes *'chronic revision in the light of new information or knowledge'* which itself undermines the certainty of knowledge (Giddens 1991, p.20). It is precisely this process of heightened reflexivity which erodes routinised practice and thus undermines the role of tradition. In essence this is the process of detraditionalisation which, Giddens suggests, so characterises the modern world.

This chapter shows how a theory of structuration usefully explains how traditions may be challenged, but at the same time how they may endure, as a result of the way in which structures are transformed through agency (by way of the rules and resources available to individuals). This suggests that it may be most appropriate for the study of the changing role of parents in schools at a time of significant public policy reform.

#### **4. Structuration Theory and the Sociology of Education**

Structuration theory has been deployed within a variety of education policy fields for its value in helping our understanding of education policy and practice (Gillborn, 1994; Hargreaves, 1978; Pollard, 1982). Nevertheless, different views have been put forward by sociologists of education about how the relationship between structure and agency are to be theorised in education

##### **4.1 The theoretical debate**

Giddens's resolution of the structure/agency dilemma through his theorising of structuration, has generated a theoretical debate between sociologists of education. Some advocates (Shilling, 1992; Abraham, 1994; McFadden, 1995) argue in its favour, while others (Archer, 1982, 1988; Willmott, 1999a, 1999b) have produced a radical critique.

Hargreaves (1978) was perhaps the first sociologist of education to seek to bridge the structure-agency divide. He developed the concept of '*coping strategies*' as a way of '*linking features of the social structure to issues in the classroom*' (p75). Rather than viewing structure as beyond the control of the teacher, he regards it as being '*institutionally mediated*' by their classroom practice. Whilst reflecting this analysis, Pollard (1982) sought to produce a model of classroom practice using Giddens' duality of structure. He further emphasises the agency of teachers and pupils through the expression of their vested interests in '*coping*' with the classroom situation and mediating the structural context in which they work.

The most faithful adaptation of Giddens' theory in the sociology of education, however, has been developed by Shilling (1992). He supports structuration theory since, in his view, it overcomes both the dualism of structure and agency which has dominated the sociology of education, resulting in both epistemological, methodological and ontological problems, and the theoretical divide between macro and micro level analysis of education policy and practice. While the structuralists (e.g. Bowles and Gintis, 1976) regarded education as being overdetermined by broader social structures which ruled out the possibility of individual agency, the phenomenologists employed 'thick' descriptions of educational practice which reinstated the importance of agency by taking seriously the

intentions, actions and strategies of individuals but at the expense of a satisfactory treatment of structure.

Shilling argues that the attempts so far to bridge the divide between structure and agency in educational theory are inadequate. He considers Hargreaves' 'institutional mediation' and 'middle-range theories' sidestep rather than solve the problem since they only recreate the micro-macro gap in a different form. He argues that Hammersley's (1985, 1987) 'differentiation-polarisation' theory is too positivist an approach and depends too heavily on causal, conditional regularities of individual behaviour thus denying the power of people to act differently. A more recent attempt by Ozga and Lawn (1989) to recognise human agency through the social construction of 'skill' within labour process theory is also dismissed as inadequate since it fails to explain any link between structure and agency

In the light of what he sees as incomplete attempts to adequately theorise sociology of education, Shilling believes that '*...structuration theory offers a promising basis for bringing together micro and macro approaches to the sociology of education*' (p 71). He argues that Giddens' reconceptualisation of structure and agency is more helpful for theorising education policy, which should be concerned with '*...how people formulate, implement, mediate and oppose (education) policies, which seek to bind together social systems in time and space by drawing on rules and resources in particular locales*' (pp79-80). For example, he cites illustrations of teachers drawing upon racially and gendered stereotyped 'rules' when interacting with pupils (Mac an Ghaill, 1988). His concern to adequately explain the relationship between education policy and practice leads him to conclude that Giddens' reconception of agency is sufficiently 'layered' to

explain 'how' individuals are able to act, and to act otherwise, in the face of a potentially oppressive policy context. His notion of the 'dialectic of control' allows for those in oppressed positions to have power by using their limited resources to gain some advantage in '*...power relations which are reciprocal and depend on the actions of both dominator and dominated*' (p.82 ). In the end it is the articulation of individual motivations in terms of ontological security which, he suggests, distinguishes structuration theory from previous attempts to theorise educational change (or not), since it reconceptualises the actions of (for example) teachers and policy-makers, not as intentional agents who are committed to behavioural norms, but as individuals prompted more by familiarity and routine.

#### **4.2 The critical challenge**

Shilling establishes the relevance of Giddens' work to the sociology of education.

However, structuration theory has not been without its critics. Craib (1992), for example, believes that there is a paradox at the heart of a perspective which strives to produce a social theory but only succeeds in creating a social ontology.

*'What strikes me most about structuration theory is that it has little to say, theoretically, about society. As a thoroughgoing action theory, Giddens surrenders from the start the possibility of explanations in terms of society. That I believe is why Giddens has to see his work in terms of a social ontology; it makes very general statements about the social world and what constitutes it but does not point us directly towards anything.'* (p120)

It is suggested that structuration theory is not a systematic theory, nor is it explanatory, but is more of a general guide to what exists in the world. Giddens, however, would acknowledge that structuration theory is an ontology of social being. The critical analysis of Margaret Archer (1982), however, argued that this ontology was inadequate. She



argues, rather, that a morphogenetic<sup>5</sup> approach is a more powerful theory since it does not collapse structure into agency (as she suggests is the case with structuration) and it goes further than structuration theory in explaining more than just the process of social production and reproduction but explains the end product of 'structural elaboration'. Her challenge to structuration is, essentially, that it is a theory which does not adequately explain under what circumstances and conditions more stability or more change is likely to occur and why. This approach acknowledges and allows for sequences of change within the inter-relationship of structure and practice through time.

Archer's general social theory has recently been applied to education theory through the work of Willmott (1999a and b). He acknowledges that structuration theory has provided sociologists with an attractive theoretical frame to explain social life since it places an appropriate emphasis on *human* agency and moves beyond Durkheimian 'facts' or Marxist 'superstructures'. It is also one possible strategy of avoiding the Cartesian legacy of a dualism which regards structure and action as two completely separate entities. The problem for contemporary theorists now:

*'... is now precisely how to avoid a mistaken complete separation of each 'realm' (say, of structure and action) without losing the ontological distinctiveness of each. Clearly the two interact and are mutually influential yet are neither free floating nor so intertwined that examination of their respective powers and properties becomes a priori impossible.'* (Willmott 1999a p.8)

But Willmott argues that Giddens' strategy of the *duality*, which conceptualises structure and agency as two sides of one process, is not helpful because it renders them indistinguishable and provides no methodological 'springboard' to analyse the relative

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<sup>5</sup> Archer borrows this term from Walter Buckley (1967) *Sociology and Modern Systems Theory* Prentice Hall: New Jersey who gives the definition: Morphogenesis refers 'to those processes which tend to elaborate or change a system's given form, structure or state' (p58) It is contrasted to morphostasis which

influence of each when sociologists try to explain social practice and, in particular, social change.

After Archer, Willmott (1999) prefers the concept of 'analytical dualism' which, he argues, more faithfully represents the complexity of social reality. Whilst he agrees with Giddens that structure is '*ever dependent upon agency, it is nevertheless emergent from, and therefore analytically distinguishable from it*'. This structure which action produces develops properties which are separate from and have causal powers over the actors who created the structure.

*'Thus we are not dealing with an absolute division between two distinct substances but with strata or levels of reality which cannot be reduced or collapsed into each other'.* (1999a p.7)

What is required, according to Willmott, is a theory which helps to explain the emergent relational properties of structure and agency. Whilst Giddens conceptualises agency as 'to do otherwise', and indeed captures the possibilities for individual human action within social systems, Willmott points out that often individuals cannot 'do otherwise' *because of structural conditioning or structural penalties which are inherently relational, not a property at the disposal of the individual* - as suggested by Giddens' concepts of structure as rules and resources of action. He gives the illustration of the inability of a headteacher to challenge the report of an Ofsted inspection because of the 'structured penalties' inherent in the system. In this case, Willmott suggests that the notion of the ability to do otherwise '*has no explanatory purchase*' (p.9b). His critique of Giddens is that he (Giddens) is so intent on eschewing any separateness of structure and agency that he is resistant to a theory which acknowledges a causal relationship between the two - an

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refers to those processes in a complex system that tend to preserve the above unchanged. See Archer

interdependent relationship within a social strata where relative autonomy and relative causal efficacy can be explained, for example separate strata of the individual, the school and the education system. In this notion, Willmott argues that structure and agency are not *separate* but *analytically separable* levels of social reality which are lost in the duality of structure. This notion of *analytical dualism*, he suggests, allows both for a differential relationship between structure and agency and for the continual creation and recreation of social practices acknowledging pre-existing structural properties and past interactions.

The discussion so far suggests that structuration theory is a useful tool in explaining social reproduction. Notwithstanding the critical challenges, it is a theory which has at its centre the routinised 'taken for granted' practices of social life. Such routines are also at the heart of traditions which maintain social and cultural norms in institutions such as schools. This suggests that it is a theory which will be helpful in accommodating questions about the extent to which traditions are maintained or are challenged by reflexive agents when such routines are disturbed. I propose, therefore, to apply structuration theory in this study to the parent-school relationship.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **1. Researching the Parent-School Relationship : An Introduction**

This thesis is an exploration of the relationship between parents and schools. It is a study of that relationship in the context of a reformed system of school management and governance. The hypothesis is that prior to such a reformed system there was a dominant tradition which marginalised parents in their children's education. It is proposed that such marginalisation resulted from attitudes, beliefs and practices which sustained the dominant tradition in the post-war period until the legitimisation crisis in the 1970's prompted public policy reform. It is hypothesised that in the period following policy reform new attitudes, beliefs and practices, are challenging 'the way things were done' under the dominant tradition. In this context of competing beliefs and practices the parent-school relationship remains contested and uncertain.

It is proposed both that there are a number of tensions around the current home-school relationship which can be demonstrated by the emergent 'new' parental types of co-educator, consumer and citizen; and that whilst the dominant 'traditional' relationship is being challenged and eroded it continues to be reproduced. The study seeks firstly to demonstrate whether the hypotheses can be supported through empirical evidence, secondly, to understand why this should be the case and, thirdly, to suggest what the new dimensions of the parent-school relationship might be.

This chapter will explain the methodology adopted: the research paradigm, analytical and conceptual frameworks applied to the data and the research design. It will conclude with a critical reflection on the research process and methodological and ethical limitations.

## **2. The Constructivist/Interpretist Research Paradigm**

The study adopts the constructivist/interpretist research paradigm since it is acknowledged that the parent-school relationship as a social reality is locally and specifically constructed. Consistent with this paradigm, the study applies current constructions of the parent-school relationship from the literature as analytical conceptions for investigation. Through the research process, these constructions are refined and distilled to produce a revised construction. This is consistent with the view of Guba and Lincoln (1998) who point out this is a paradigm which recognises that social constructions are both variable and personal but yet aims to produce conclusions which:

*'...distil a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor constructions.'* (p207)

The purpose of constructivist enquiry is to understand and reconstruct the constructions which people hold with the inquirer playing a facilitator role in the process. It can therefore be a research process which encourages as well as studies reflexivity. For this reason it has, however, been criticised for expanding the inquirer's role beyond reasonable expectations (Carr and Kemmis, 1986). It is a paradigm which builds on the 'verstehen' Weberian tradition of sociology in order to clarify the meanings of the language and actions of social actors. In so doing, as Schwandt (1998) explains, researchers:

*'...celebrate the permanence and priority of the real world of first-person, subjective experience. Yet... ... seek to disengage from that experience and objectify it.'* (p223)<sup>1</sup>

### **3. Analysing the Structuration of the Parent-School Relationship**

The study starts from the position that the parent-school relationship is not simply an abstract by-product of a mutual experience but is constructed or structured by the beliefs and practices of the participants. It is not claimed that the relationship is purposefully and consciously manufactured but rather than it results from the largely unintended consequences of routine practices and interactions.

Structuration theory, I propose, is valuable in helping to explain the extent to which the dominant tradition of parental involvement in schools is produced and reproduced in terms of the role of the parent.<sup>2</sup> While the dominant tradition could therefore be expressed by actors (teachers and parents) in terms of rationalised explicit intentions and purposes, relations between teachers and parents have, it seems, been grounded in routine 'taken for granted' *practices* enacted over time. These practices are supported by institutional arrangements or *structures* which in turn reinforce the roles of the actors who monitor their actions as 'a continuous flow of conduct' rather than as discrete acts. They have developed a 'practical consciousness' about 'the way things are done' in schools. Parents know they are being engaged with by the school largely on an individual level, with the main focus being the progress of their child (parent-teacher consultation evenings) rather than, for example, on management issues. They experience the 'tradition' of collective

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<sup>1</sup> See also Taylor (1989) p.159 for a thorough discussion of these tensions

<sup>2</sup> Based on the premise that actors influence their social world through their own practice, and acknowledging the significance of individual agency, the notion of 'role' will not be used in a rigid or

engagement, where it exists, as that of the conventional parent-teacher association where the practices of both teachers and parents reinforce the role of the parent as school 'supporter' focused upon social events and fund raising. If these actors were prompted to express the *beliefs and attitudes* underpinning action, as part of a 'discursive consciousness', parents might disclose their deference to professional knowledge and expertise in the education of the child, while the motivation for teachers managed response to parents might be revealed as limited assumptions about the role of the parent as 'only interested in their own child'. In order to use structuration theory in this way, I will apply an analytical framework which operationalises the key elements of beliefs, practices and structures. (See Figure 1)

### **3.1 Beliefs**

Structuration theory emphasises the taken for granted nature of much social practice. The actors know how to proceed. When asked to explain why they do what they do actors can usually provide reasons for their action, which draw upon their beliefs and values which shape their orientation to practices. Beliefs provide the mental maps, the schemes which give meaning to their routine actions. The relationship between parents and schools has been influenced by the sets of beliefs each hold about the education of children, which privilege professional knowledge and maintain parental deference to professional authority. For example the belief that parents are only interested in the education of their children rather than a wider interest in school policy and practice; or the belief that parents do not have the knowledge or experience to question the practice of teachers, and thus

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inflexible sense as role theorists have suggested, but rather as a notion which is fluid and subject to constant amendment and change.

should know their 'place' in relation to authority. Teachers might believe, on the other hand, that their professional training gives them the authority to make decisions about the organisation of learning and the right to autonomy in making them. Teachers may also believe that parents are only concerned about the progress of their own children, or, in some cases, are apathetic to the process of education and the contribution they, the parents, can make.

Both sets of beliefs, as I argued in part one, are not necessarily universal but reflect the beliefs of the dominant tradition. They have come to be questioned by a different and emergent tradition which draws upon very different values and beliefs: that children will not make progress in their learning unless their parents are valued as 'complementary educators' and contribute their knowledge and skill, with teachers, in support of the learning process. A recognition of parental rights and authority leads to a belief in the role of parents-as-partners with professionals in developing policies for, and in the broader governance of, schools. Such beliefs, I will argue, are those which underpin recent education reform and, in so doing, have created a tension in schools where the practice of the parent-school relationship is played out in the context of the beliefs of the dominant tradition.



**Figure 1 : Analytical Framework**

	<b>Dominant</b>	<b>Emergent</b>
<b>Beliefs (Knowledge)</b>	Privileged professional knowledge Deference to professional authority	Parents as partners in the education of their child Recognition of parental rights, responsibilities and authority
<b>Practices</b>	Exclusive Marginalising parents Teacher autonomy	Inclusive Parental participation Public accountability
<b>Structures (Institutional Arrangements)</b>	Closed school governance Professional elites	Open school governance Plurality of stakeholder/representatives

**3.2 Practices**

Practices form the primary activities that carry and embody actors’ beliefs and the organising principles of institutions. A practice is a complex rule-governed activity shaped by clear criteria. As MacIntyre (1981) defines them, practices are ‘any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative activity’ which are shaped and defined by standards of what a good practice is. Doing well in a practice requires acceptance of these standards and practising the capabilities which ensure good practice.

As the narrative in the first chapter illustrated, the dominant tradition created practices which established clear boundaries between parents and the schools. These boundaries reinforced teacher autonomy and kept parents on the margins of their child's education. Parents were invited into school for consultations about the progress of their children; the

practice of the 'open evening' requires parents to form queues to meet their child's individual teachers, waiting for their turn and a time-limited interview. Parents would be invited to attend school plays or concerts in which their children were performing, or to take part in social functions, perhaps to raise money for the school. Practices did not extend to involving parents in the policy process of the school nor as contributors to the learning process. To a great extent, the practices excluded parents.

The practices of the emergent tradition, informed by different legitimating beliefs, I will suggest draw parents into a rich array of activities in partnership with teachers in the life of the school. These are practices which require parental participation in the education of the child. They include parents in the life of the school and enhance public accountability.

These may include:

- home/school reading or maths schemes
- regular meetings for parents on curriculum issues
- form group or year group link meetings
- involving parents in the assessment of coursework
- parents assisting in the classroom
- use of parents as a learning resource
- formal involvement of parents in school planning and policy decisions
- formal involvement of parents in evaluation of the school
- parents surveys or questionnaires

- home/school compacts or agreements

The stability or change generated through routinised 'taken for granted' practices, established by the beliefs of the dominant tradition, is based on the assumption that increased reflexivity about practice by agents is usually a result of the disturbance of routines. This thesis will explore the way in which education policy reform has acted as such a disturbance to the 'taken for granted' norms of the dominant tradition of the parent-school relationship and how increased reflexivity on the part of parents and schools is producing revised emergent tradition(s). An examination of routine practices (by parents and schools in relation to parents) will reveal the extent to which the dominant tradition is being carried forward to the future as they become embodied in institutional structures.

### ***3.3 Structures***

The production and reproduction of social structures by agents through reproduced practices over time is based on the assumption that all social action draws upon already established structural properties – 'rules and resources' - to create a present 'social reality' which will influence and affect future 'structures'. This notion of the 'duality' of structure will be applied to the institutional structural arrangements to ask questions about the way in which 'structure' both 'conditions' practice (either in an enabling or constraining mode) and is transformed by practice. For example, the capacity of agents to exercise agency will be dependent upon individual/collective access to resources. 'Knowledge' of the school and the curriculum is, for example, a key resource guarded by educational professionals. I will explore the hypothesis that the moral and social norms in schools as

organisations are excessively rule-bound in relation to parents as well as pupils, rules which are an intrinsic part of the structural arrangements which have, until recent reforms, kept parents on the margins of the institution. As indicated in the previous chapter, institutional structures within the dominant tradition have excluded parents, literally, from the school premises and constructed minimal time for parent-teacher consultation, often no more than ten minutes each year and then in a semi-public space not conducive to private discussion. Under the dominant tradition 'closed' systems of school governance did not recognise any place at all for parent representatives in discussion about future policy and practice.

As a result of education reform, a more 'open' system of school governance is, now, structured in such a way as to give parent representatives a 'voice' in each school and, more recently, in the local administration of schools. I will suggest that this results from an emergent tradition which believes that schools should be more open to parents. And yet, an examination of how institutional structural arrangements are formed and/or maintained, in practice, will, I suggest, reveal the way in which the interests and values of the dominant actors, those who have the most 'resources' and can shape the 'rules', may prevail, to maintain a dominant tradition of the parent-school relationship. I will ask, to what extent does the interaction between parents and schools within a reformed education policy actually result in transformed institutional arrangements? If so, what these are and how they are arrived at. In summary, the research will draw upon structuration theory to explore the extent to which the practices of parents and schools are reproducing or

challenging the dominant tradition, the beliefs which drive them and the institutional arrangements which are thus developed to support them.

#### **4. Conceptual Framework : A typology of parental practice**

In order to apply the background theory of structuration, the parent-school relationship has been conceptualised according to a typology of parental practice as evidenced in the literature.<sup>3</sup> The thesis examines the changing relationship between parents and schools and argues that they reflect changes in the relationship between the public and the state during the post-war period. (See Clarke and Stewart, 1992; Burns, Hambleton and Hoggett, 1994; Gyford, 1991; Hogett and Hambleton, 1990; Simey, 1988) Two aspects of this relationship have been central to understand the changes;

- the extent to which public policy has conceived the public as active or passive;
- the extent to which public policy has defined the public as an aggregation of individuals or as forming local and national collectivities.

The inter-action of these dimensions creates a typology of very different relationships between the public and the state as shown in Figure 2 below.

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter One for a detailed examination of the literature and a discussion of parental roles.

**Figure 2 : Dimensions of the Parent-School Relationship**

	<b>Individual</b>	<b>Collective</b>
<b>Active</b>	Consumer (Neo-liberalism)	Citizen (Reformed governance)
<b>Passive</b>	Client (Post-war dominant tradition)	Subject (Pre-war)

The public as passive subject of the crown and state was the dominant forum of the polity pre-war. The remaining three concepts of the public although typifying historical periods are likely to be living forms in the present period. What is uncertain, and an empirical question, is the extent and distribution of types across the public sphere. For the purposes of this study I have defined the types as follows:

#### ***4.1 The Dominant Tradition: Parent as Client***

The post-war period of social democracy has been termed by Perkin (1989) the 'age of professionalism'. The good society would be delivered by the specialist knowledge produced by professional teachers (doctors, planners etc.) grounded in formal training. Such expertise allows the professional to judge the needs of 'their clients' who place their trust in professionals. Within this framework parents were passively dependent on the authority of the school and its teachers.

#### ***4.2 Neo-Liberalism : Parents as Consumer***

The challenge to the domination of the 'professional as provider' resulted in a period which sought to involve the public in the governance of public services, shaped by the values of neo-liberalism. Public services such as schools were made more responsive and accountable to parents who were empowered as consumers to choose the schools they preferred for their children. Consumer choice in a market place of competing schools, it was agreed, would improve their performance and public accountability.

#### ***4.3 Reformed governance : Parents as Citizens***

At the same time as encouraging individual consumer choice in education, public accountability was also to be guaranteed through reformed systems of governance which engaged parents as citizens and required representative decision-making and collective action. Running parallel with individual consumer rights and competitive choice, a democratic system of local school governance within the context of local management of schools, highlighted the need to address the collective public (and local) problems which face society and local communities – for example, social exclusion or economic regeneration. Resolving such problems requires a different relationship between the public and the state in which citizens become actively involved in a participative local democracy, acknowledge responsibility as well as exercising rights and deliberate upon the public issues which face public services (Barber, 1984).

A fourth dimension has been added to this typology to reflect a parallel strand in the literature which presented a challenge to the dominant post-war tradition of professional provider: parent as co-educator.

#### ***4.4 Parent as co-educator***

The increasing recognition that parents were also producers of knowledge, and a significant influence on their children's learning outside of school, resulted in a parallel challenge to the domination of the professional. As the literature review in Part One shows, a conjunction of social science research and sympathetic public policy called for a realignment of the parent-school partnership in the interests of developing an holistic approach to supporting educational achievement.

These four types have been operationalised in terms of the respective beliefs, practices and structures as shown in Figure 3.



**Figure 3 : Operationalising Parental types**

	<b>Attitudes/Beliefs</b>	<b>Practices</b>	<b>Structures</b>
<b>Traditional</b>	Marginalised parents Professional dominance	Parent-teacher association Formal parent-teacher consultations	Closed governance Strong professional boundary
<b>Co-educator</b>	Parents as the 'first' teacher of pre-school children Holistic view of learning at home and school Challenge to teachers as the only producers of knowledge	Family homework schemes Shared Reading programmes Curriculum information for parents Constructive parent-teacher consultation Family learning centres	Open schools welcoming parents as partners in the learning process Informative, supportive arrangements for parents
<b>Consumer</b>	Neo-liberal view of parents Individual rights Parental choice Parental 'consumer' based monitoring of progress	Open evenings Marketing information – prospectus, league tables Reporting to parents on pupil progress	Responsive institutions to consumer demand
<b>Citizen</b>	Acknowledging the parental 'voice' Parental responsibility Collective nature of the parent body	Parent-governors Annual Parents' Meeting	Partnership governance Dialogue, deliberation and discussion

## **5. The Research Design**

To investigate the above hypotheses the following research questions have been posed;

1. How do we understand the current pattern of parental attitudes, beliefs and practices with regard to parental involvement in schools?
2. To what extent do current attitudes, beliefs and practices continue to be influenced by a dominant tradition?
3. To what extent are current institutional structures and practices reproducing the dominant tradition?
4. To what extent are current institutional structures and practices challenging the dominant tradition and promoting a new relationship with parents?
5. What parent-school relationship can be interpreted from the analysis?

In order to test the general hypothesis and explore the more specific research questions using structuration theory and the conceptual typology set out above, the study was designed to gather data from a large number of parent respondents using quantitative survey methods and, as a result of this analysis, progressively focus, using qualitative methods, on structure and process in one case-study school to generate an in-depth understanding of the parent-school relationship.<sup>4</sup> This two-phased design enabled analysis of parents' practices and beliefs as a large-scale sample and in sub-groups of class, gender and ethnicity to test out patterns in terms of the dominant tradition and emergent new traditions prior to applying structuration theory, in the light of the survey findings, to

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<sup>4</sup> The research design is adapted from a wider project No: L311253003 on which the author was the principal researcher entitled 'New Forms of Education Management' funded by the Economic and Social

one secondary school case-study. This approach also had the merit of manipulating one large data set rather than dealing with the complications of analysing and comparing fifteen smaller data sets for each school. Combining both quantitative and qualitative methods in research design has been carried out by a number of other investigators in education (Woods, 1979; Ball, 1981; Woods et al, 1998). Studies which draw upon both quantitative and qualitative data, as Bryman (1988) points out, can be designed for a number of purposes:

- in order to examine one or more discrete social collectivity, possibly in a multi-site or multi-method study,
- in order to further triangulate measurements by employing more than one method of investigation and more than one type of data (Lacey, 1970),
- to generate hypotheses through qualitative methods to facilitate quantitative research and vice versa,
- in order to 'fill out gaps' in ethnographic research with quantitative data,
- in order to establish both the structural and the processual understanding of social life (Ball, 1981),
- to address the problem of generality (Silverman, 1985),
- or to establish and investigate causal connections between items.

This study was designed with the distinction between structure and process in mind as indicated above, acknowledging that a large-scale survey of parents, generating

quantitative data, would be most appropriate for testing out hypotheses concerning the pattern of the parent-school relationship and to inform the subsequent qualitative case-study research into the process of the parent-school relationship. Having established data through survey methods as to the current structural patterns of the relationship – what is going on – the purpose of the research design was to investigate and interpret why these patterns appeared to be emerging (and causal connections if any) through qualitative research. This is an approach taken by Delamont (1976) in her research on the patterns of interaction in school classrooms. This approach was designed to present both a more general (and generalisable) picture than case-study alone and a deeper contextual understanding of the practice of the relationship than could be ascertained from a static survey. In so doing it was hoped to counter the criticism of qualitative research in one case-study as being partial, illustrative or anecdotal. It was also an attempt to trace the 'dominant tradition' at both macro and micro levels. The phased approach adopted also made it possible to refine the research questions in the light of quantitative survey data and inform the subsequent case study. Having used both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect quantitative and qualitative data however, the analysis is essentially qualitative, in the constructivist/interpretist tradition since it focuses on the changing practices of the relationship.

The study was constructed in two phases. Phase one comprised a **survey** of all parents of Year 9 pupils in 15 secondary schools across the UK from which patterns of parental type were analysed. Drawing upon these results Phase Two consisted of a **single-site case study**.

### ***5.1 The Survey***

The first set of data was collected from a large number of parents attached to a number of schools throughout the United Kingdom. These data were collected using a survey methodology and a questionnaire instrument.<sup>5</sup>

A survey method was chosen since it is an efficient and effective method of gathering large-scale responses from parents in a number of schools from which to discern patterns of practices, knowledge and attitudes. A random but focused sample of parents was constructed of pupils in the third year of secondary education in 15 secondary schools across the UK. This particular year group was chosen because it is a point in the child's education at which parents would have had some experience of the parent-school relationship on which to draw, as well as being engaged in the process of making examination option choices. This is a point in the child's career when parents are most likely to be engaged by the school in a significant relationship and therefore most likely to be disposed to reflect on their experience for research purposes.

Fifteen secondary schools were chosen for study based on their local context as part of a comparative and longitudinal, qualitative and quantitative study of the patterns and processes of institutional management across England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland. Local education authority contexts were selected according to the relative impact of public policy, as indicated by the extent of restructuring towards market formation. Two primary indicators were used; the extent of institutional self governance

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<sup>5</sup> A copy of the questionnaire is in Appendix I.

(the number of schools within the local context accorded grant maintained status) and the extent of assertion of public choice (the number of parental appeals at secondary transfer). Second order selection criteria included levels of socio-economic disadvantage, political complexion and local authority type. Two secondary schools were selected for study in nine local contexts. (Four LEAs in England; one LEA in Wales; two education divisions of the former Strathclyde Region in Scotland; two Education and Library Boards in Northern Ireland.) Schools were chosen for low/high market activity (based on admission applications ratio to standard number data); high disadvantage (using free school meals data) and high diversity (using ethnic minority origin data) corroborated by accounts of 'good practice' by LEA advisers according to criteria presented to them (Ranson et al, 1997 pp11-12). Three of the schools approached declined to take part in the parental survey. Throughout these schools questionnaires were distributed to 2,601 parents and 1043 responses received. This represents a response rate of 40.09%.

For the purposes of analysis the survey responses were treated as one cohort rather than 15 separate school cohorts in order that patterns of parental practice, knowledge and beliefs could be investigated within a large-scale sample. The choice of schools for the purposes of the parental questionnaire was therefore instrumental and the sample of parents taken as illustrative but not representative of any Year 3 secondary parent population. Using the large-scale sample also allowed for further analysis by sub-groups of social class, gender and ethnicity since the literature suggested that the traditional practices, knowledge and beliefs of the dominant tradition were significant in terms of those structural characteristics. By way of such further analysis it was hoped to highlight

how cultural and socially defined 'rules' and 'resources' might impact on the reproduction or challenge to that tradition.

#### 5.1.1 Questionnaire Design

The design of the instrument was intended to seek data which would illuminate and explain the extent of reproduction or challenge to a dominant tradition in parental involvement in schools through the components of the tradition which I have conceptualised as practices, knowledge and beliefs/attitudes. This was achieved by way of a design which sought to operationalise the key concepts of the parent-school relationship discussed above: practices, beliefs, knowledge and attitudes.

Questionnaire items were designed to operationalise these concepts. These items were chosen as indicators of the dominant and emergent, radical traditions, conceptualised as traditional, consumer, co-educator and citizen. Items were presented as closed questions in order that the strength of parent responses might form a quantitative measure of their relationship to the school. The instrument also included a section on the background of respondents in order that analysis by sub-groups could be carried out.

This approach to questionnaire design is based on the work of Lazarsfeld (1958) whose approach to the measurement of a concept through its underlying dimensions has been well documented. It is a method which, as Bryman and Cramer (1997) point out: *'serves as a means of bridging the general formulation of concepts and their measurement, since the establishment of dimensions reduces the abstractness of concepts'* (p60). They illustrate the method by drawing upon the work of Hall (1968) who proposed five

dimensions of professionalism, for which indicators could then be selected and measured with large groups of respondents, using the survey method.

Such an approach is appropriate here since possible dimensions of the concepts have been established in advance as part of the theoretical framework. Bryman and Cramer (1997) recommend such deliberation '*since it encourages systematic reflection on the nature of the concept that is to be measured*' (p59). However, as they go on to point out, some researchers devise methods for measuring a concept without specifying any dimensions in advance but still employ analytical techniques which allow them to search for dimensions. They cite the example of Brayfield and Roth (1951) measuring job satisfaction.

#### 5.1.2. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire items have been grouped into the following analytical sections:

- *Practices* (Sections A) - parents' recent involvement in their child's schools and (Section E) their views on changes to current institutional practices which might improve their involvement
- *Knowledge* (Section C) – parents' awareness of their statutory rights as parents
- *Beliefs* (Sections B and D) – parents' opinions on home-school liaison practices in their child's school their attitudes towards home-school liaison generally.

*Section A. The practice of parental involvement.* This section asks parents to record which meetings and events they have recently attended and which documents about education and their child's school they have recently read. It also asks parents if they have helped their child at home and invites them to record if they are formally involved in the



school as a voluntary helper or paid worker and if so how. There are eighteen items in this section to which respondents are asked to record positively or negatively. (A1A – A4E)

*Section B. Parents beliefs : Satisfaction with home-school communication and participation.* This section asks parents to register agreement or disagreement with a range of statements which describe school practices such as; 'The information I get from school is easy to read.' A four-point Likert scale is used - strongly agree; agree; disagree; strongly disagree. There are eleven items in this section. (B5 – B15)

*Section C: Parents' knowledge of legal rights.* This section tests parents' knowledge of their legal rights regarding their child's education by asking them to respond positively, negatively or register 'Don't know' to a number of statements such as, 'It is a parent's duty to make sure their child attends school.' There are four items in this section. (C16 – C19)

*Section D: Parental attitudes to home-school liaison.* This section asks parents to agree or disagree with a number of attitude statements regarding home-school liaison, such as, 'Teachers know best what children learn.' A four-point Likert scale is used. There are fourteen items in this section. (D20 – D27)

*Section E: Parents beliefs on improvements for closer home-school liaison.* This section asks parents to respond positively or negatively to a range of statements indicating

different types of improved practice, such as, 'An opportunity to have a say in school policy-making.' There are six items in this section. (E28 – E33)

*Section F: Personal information.* This section asks parents to indicate gender, (male or female) ethnic origin (Bangladeshi, Black African, Black Other, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, White, Other) and type of work (Managerial, manual, professional, clerical). There are three items in this section. (F34 – F36)

Figure 4 below, using Section D Parental attitudes, shows how concepts have been operationalised through indicative questionnaire items.

**Figure 4: Section D: Parental Attitudes – Indicative Questionnaire Items**

*Traditional:*

- Teachers know best what children should learn.
- It is important to develop links between home and school to help the management of children's behaviour at school.
- It is important to develop links between home and school to enable problems to be solved at an early stage.
- It is important to develop links between home and school to improve levels of attendance.
- Parents are only concerned with the needs of their own children.
- Schools must do what the government tells them, parents can't make a difference.

*Co-educator*

- Parents can help their child's education at home.
- It is important to develop links between home and school to increase parental interest in and understanding of their child's education.
- It is important to develop links between home and school to increase teacher's understanding of the importance of home in education.

*Consumer*

- It is important to develop links between home and school to raise levels of children's achievement.

### *Citizen*

- It is important to develop links between home and school to enrich the life of the local community.
- Parents should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do.
- It is a good thing that parents are on school governing bodies.
- A few parents on a governing body can speak for all the parents. (Measured by the strength of negative responses.)

The instrument was translated into four ethnic minority languages; Bengali, Gujarati, Somali and Urdu, for parents who required a copy in their native language.

A pilot questionnaire was tested with a small number of parents with third-year pupils prior to administration, to check that the meanings of questions was unambiguous and written in language that could be easily understood. This was also an opportunity to ensure that instructions on the survey instrument were clear and concise.

The questionnaire was administered to parents with the cooperation of participating schools. This resulted in a variety of approaches each designed to fit best with local practices to get the best possible response rate. In the majority of cases the questionnaire was administered by the school via 'pupil post' by form tutors with a covering letter from the headteacher encouraging participation. A pre-paid return envelope was enclosed to the University of Birmingham. In some schools return questionnaires were collected in the usual manner by the school and returned to the University in bulk. When this approach was adopted confidential return envelopes were given to all respondents clearly addressed to the appropriate contact in the school. In one school the questionnaire was administered by staff to parents attending a parental consultation evening and parents were encouraged to complete the form during the evening.

### 5.1.3 Statistical analysis

The data was analysed using Excel and SPSS computer software packages. Responses to the survey produced nominal or categorical data. These data call for non parametric statistical tests. The most appropriate for addressing the concerns of this thesis is chi-square.

The data was analysed using the following process.

1. Description of summary responses. (Basic frequency - count and percentage. Rank data)
2. Cross-tabulate items and look for strong relationships. (Cross-tabulations - Practices x Beliefs/Knowledge)
3. Test for statistical significance. (Chi-square test applied  $< .05$ )
4. Look for differences between responses from different groups of parents by gender / class / ethnicity / active parents. (Cross-tabulations)
5. Test for statistical significance. (Chi-square test applied  $< .05$ )
6. Analyse responses to check relationships between indicator items as measurements of concepts employed and thus verify patterns of responses in terms of operationalised concepts. (Factor analysis)
7. Analyse responses to identify groups of individuals who have similar practices, knowledge and beliefs in terms of the operationalised concepts. (Cluster analysis)

By applying statistical tests by this process it was possible to analyse patterns in the data which supported or refuted the hypotheses. These patterns provided a foundation for in-depth qualitative study within a case-study of one school.

## ***5.2 The Case Study***

A case study method was chosen for the second phase of study.<sup>6</sup> It is a qualitative method which allows the researcher to rigorously examine, and therefore better understand, the processes and meanings of the social reality which is the parent-school relationship.

Having established patterns of attitude and behaviour through large-scale quantitative survey analysis, the case-study method was chosen as most appropriate to apply structuration theory to a context specific illustration of the parent-school relationship.

From this within-case analysis it was possible not only to test the suitability of the theory but also to collect relevant data and establish a 'dialogic' research process between the evidence and the ideas (Ragin, 1987). The aim of the second phase of the research was to attempt to understand what is currently happening in the parent-school relationship as a result of public policy reform, but also to go beyond mere description to understand how the relationship is developing ie. to try to establish causality (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998b).

As Lofland and Lofland (1984) suggest, understanding context specific causal relationships allows the researcher to ask fundamental questions about the conditions, the circumstances and other factors which facilitate or not the parent-school relationship.

Through analytical induction, the patterns emerging from the survey data was tested

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<sup>6</sup> The case study school selected for study was one of five case studies to which the author contributed as part of the research team on ESRC Project No: L311253003

through the case-study to ascertain the extent to which patterns were supported, qualified or subjected to revision (Manning, 1982; Miller, 1982).

The case study was not chosen to be typical of other cases, although it was chosen to reflect a combination of certain conditions which, it could be asserted, do replicate the contemporary experience of the parent-school relationship in the inner-urban post-LMS, post ERA secondary school of the market environment and parental choice. It is a case which is, as Stake (1988) suggests, is 'instrumental'. That is to say that the particular case itself is of secondary interest to facilitating the interest in the parent-school relationship. It is an appropriate research vehicle or instrument to investigate the prime interest in the parent-school relationship.

*'The case is often looked at in depth, its contests scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but because this helps us pursue the external interest ... The choice of case is made because it is expected to advance our understanding of that other interest.'* (p88)

A case study approach is also a most appropriate method within the interpretive paradigm since it requires the researcher to reflect on observations and data collected to understand local meanings and the particular views of the actors involved (Erickson, 1986). In this study of the parent-school relationship, developing the context-specific dialogue between structuration theory and parent attitudes and practices within one particular case-study was chosen as the most appropriate method to explain and understand current practice.

### 5.2.1 The Case-Study Design

Between July 1994 and January 1996 tape recorded interview data were gathered from the headteacher, teaching staff, governors and parents over three 'phases'.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the period of the study interviews were carried out with the headteacher, the two deputy headteachers, ten members of the teaching staff, the Chair of Governors and three other governors and twelve parents. A full list of interviewees is given in Appendix II.

At all stages semi-structured interviews were carried out, progressively focused throughout the study, to enable a balance to be struck between focused study to test hypotheses and an open stance, so that the interviewer remained alert to the individual and collective narratives of the interviewees, their understandings and meanings. It was in this way possible to develop a 'structured conversation' with interviewees consistent with the constructivist/interpretist methodology (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

During the first phase, open-ended interviews were carried out with the headteacher, the curriculum deputy and the member of staff with responsibility for home-school liaison. A copy of the interview frameworks used in the case study is in Appendix III.

During Phase Two more detailed interviews were carried out with teaching staff, including heads of department, focusing on curriculum and assessment across the school but particularly in English and Mathematics. This focus was chosen as a prime indicator of

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<sup>7</sup> From the wider ESRC project a team approach was adopted to the collection of this data. However all interviews with parents and governors in the case-study cited here were carried out by the author. The author wishes to acknowledge the permission of the other members of the team to draw upon all the interview data for the purposes of this study.

school improvement and pupil achievement and, therefore, also a central concern for the parent-school relationship.

These key issues emerged as:

- Cultural diversity – race and gender, equality of opportunity.
- Shared values – amongst staff and with pupils and parents.
- Mechanisms for supporting disadvantage – curriculum support and working with families.
- Working with parents – home-school liaison.
- Institutional management – processes and structures for managing change.
- Curriculum development – differentiation, active learning and assessment.

At this stage of the study it was also possible to begin to draw up a narrative of home-school liaison, and the importance of the relationship with parents, which was informing the management of change and impacting on school governance.

Phase three further operationalised the focus on pupil progress and achievement, and broadened the scope of the study to include the parents of pupils who had been judged by staff to have made progress recently. Form tutors were interviewed individually during the school day and parents were interviewed individually or in pairs, for their convenience, during parent-teacher evenings. The headteacher was interviewed again and interviews with the Chair of Governors and other governors were carried out.



### 5.2.2 Conducting Interviews

All interviews were carried out in the school and planned in advance so as to ensure maximum convenience for interviewees. All interviewees were given the broad outline of the topics to be covered in the interview in their appointment letter, advised of the length of the interview, which was generally 45 minutes to one hour in length, permission sought for tape recording and confidentiality assured. All interviewees gave consent to be recorded. This method was chosen to allow the interviewer to listen carefully to responses, concentrate on the narrative of the interviewee and develop a dialogue by following up appropriate references. Care was taken that the tape recorder was not intrusive and respondents were reassured at the beginning of the interview not to be self-conscious. In all cases interviewees responded to questions in a relaxed manner and appeared to be at ease. Whilst interviews were held in a classroom or office setting, care was also taken to position furniture as informally as possible with interviewer and interviewee side by side at a table rather than across from one another, to establish a more equal relationship. Parents were offered the services of an interpreter if required but this was not taken up.

The interview process began with the interviewer explaining the research process and the project, reiterating confidentiality and gaining permission again for recording. It was particularly important to put respondents at their ease and build up trust as quickly as possible during a single interview. The first few questions, particularly with parents, were general and opinion seeking, asking for their views about the parent-school relationship,

before teasing out more specific issues and critical incidents where they arose.

Interviewees were allowed a lot of scope to develop their views and concerns even at a risk of leading the conversation up a few 'blind alleys'. Questioning was open-ended with supplementary probing follow-ups. As Ball (1991) has suggested, the aim was to make maximum use of 'cue' questions to encourage respondents to open up. With less articulate parents, the technique of playing back to respondents a shared meaning of what they had said and gaining confirmation during the course of the interview worked well. Parents were encouraged to talk rather than led to assume a view or stance. Only when a parent had consistently articulated views and talked of practices which implied a traditional or emergent radical role were they played back to them with the conceptual 'label' of consumer, co-educator, citizen for confirmation.

### 5.2.3 Analysing interview data

Transcripts of the interviews were analysed using coding categories consistent with the conceptual framework but also progressively focused on the emerging dialogue around the key issues identified in previous phases of the study. In this way a rounded picture of the parent-school relationship was contextualised within the specific institutional setting of managing change.

## **6. Critical Reflection on the Research Process**

### ***6.1 Methodological and Ethical Limitations***

Researching parental involvement raises a number of methodological and ethical issues which necessarily impact on the reliability of the data collected and the validity of the

conclusions reached. Whilst the design of the study – adopting a variety of methods and techniques – attempted to minimise these, there are a number of issues which must be noted.

#### 6.1.1 Validity and reliability of data

Questionnaire design based on concept measurement, as explained above, is open to criticism in terms of the validity and reliability of the measures used. Whilst in this study the measurement indicators of concepts were arrived at after much consideration of the dimensions of the concepts in the light of the research literature, they are open to interpretation by each respondent. Data gathered in this way should, therefore, always be treated with caution since a perfect 'fit' between the concept and the measurement cannot be assumed. Nor can the measure be assumed to be applied consistently (Bryman and Cramer, 1997). For example, the parental practice of attending the Annual Parents' Meeting is a justifiable a priori measure of parent as citizen, since it is a new practice in the history of the parent-school relationship which relates to notions of the parent body as a collective, with an interest in holding the corporate governing body, and therefore the school as an institution, to account. However, it may not necessarily always be the case that a parent who attends such a meeting regards herself as an interested citizen, any more than an interested consumer, either at the point of attending the meeting or at other stages of her relationship with the school. In such a case the validity of the data may be called into question as to how far it is a measure of the concept. In the case of an attitudinal measure, for example interpreting a parent who strongly agrees with the statement; 'Teachers know best what children learn' as a parent in the traditional mode, may be true

for that respondent at that particular time but may vary over time. There is also the question of what may mean strong agreement from one respondent may mean something different to another. The reliability of the data is therefore called into question. An improvement on the research design employed for this study would be to repeat the questionnaire twice or more to re-test the consistency of the data over time against the same items.

Researching parental attitudes and beliefs using survey techniques requires rigorous design and control mechanisms to ensure that the instrument is clear and unambiguous, but also that the sample of respondents is adequate for the purposes intended. It must be acknowledged that responses to questions which ask parents to give an 'impressionistic' answer indicating levels of satisfaction with the home-school relationship, should be treated with caution since they will fail to capture the complexities of that relationship. Such responses are likely to be very much 'coloured' by recent experiences and may fail to convey data which illuminates a general position. If a parent has recently had a bad experience this would be likely to 'contaminate' their overall view. More likely, however, would be for a parent to respond in a more positive vein in spite of more troublesome episodes, particularly if they are concerned that the school might identify their response. Indeed, the motivations of parents to 'give a good account' of themselves in survey responses and to therefore skew responses towards the positive is an important consideration in interpreting the statistical results. It is important, therefore, also to be aware that it is only possible to minimise but not eliminate bias using such techniques. Such factors have been taken into account when drawing conclusions from the survey

responses which are particularly problematic for a large-scale arm's length postal survey such as the one carried out.

A second important consideration is the representativeness of the sample and the extent to which parents 'self-select' for survey work and selection for interview. Due to the scope of the survey, as part of a wide project, across fifteen secondary schools in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, it was not possible within the resources and timescale available to implement a rigorous sampling mechanism which would accurately ensure a representative sample of parents in terms of either ethnicity, gender or social class nor in terms of positive or negative relationships with the school. Instead a sample which was both convenient and purposive was constructed which identified parents of all Year 9 pupils in each school as parents who would by virtue of being 'mid-term' have enough experience of the parent-school relationship to respond to questioning, but also to remain engaged in that relationship as their child reaches the critical stage of choosing options for public examinations. To this extent they could be said to be typical but not representative of any parent body. As Cohen and Manion (1994) point out, such techniques should be termed 'non-probability' samples which are illustrative but not generalisable (p88). In a study which is investigating a relationship between parents and the school, the same caveats must be made about the non-representative nature of the institutions taking part.

On reflection, whilst the survey methodology adopted allowed for large-scale statistical analysis of over 1000 parents, in future research it would be more appropriate to build in resources for the construction of a representative sample from which results would be more generalisable. However, even on that basis, the survey method remains a limited

method to generate understanding of a relationship which is imbued with a variety of meanings and many complexities.

#### 6.1.2 Relationships with case-study respondents

In the case-study, as the interview data shows, a major limitation was making contact with the number of parents originally intended for interview. A research design which relied on the school mediating appointments between the researcher and parents was a severely constraining factor. Given that this particular study was being carried out 'at a distance' geographically from the chosen school, there were logistical difficulties in conveniently making arrangements to meet with parents. In the event it was necessary to make a number of approaches and an extra visit to the school, on an evening when parents were in school for consultation meetings with teachers, for maximum convenience. It was also necessary to widen the scope of parents outside the original group since the response had been so poor. The possibility of engaging with a large number of parents, particularly those who are not closely involved with the school, was denied due to the design of the research. Future research requiring interview with parents should be designed in such a way that the researcher can be more flexible and consequently available to parents at a time and place which suits them, and to make contact direct with the parent rather than relying on the school to mediate.

Interviewing as part of the case-study method raises ethical considerations about the researcher-researchee relationship. As Banister (1994) has pointed out those who are the focus of research scrutiny are no longer regarded as 'subjects' or 'objects' but as

'participants' which denotes a more reflexive attitude towards the imbalance of power, particularly when interviewing parents, between the 'expert' researcher and the 'lay' interviewee. Such considerations were very much given consideration in carrying out interviews with parents and I was careful to play down my role as expert and play up my own identity as a parent in order to empathise with interviewees and put them at ease on the basis of a more 'equal' dialogue (Richardson et al, 1996). This allowed me to position myself in the role of 'participant researcher'.

Interviews with parents also raise considerations about the extent to which the research process should be 'intrusive' in a private or personal domain. Whilst confidentiality was guaranteed to all respondents it was important to be aware of the ways in which the relationship between researcher and interviewee may be influenced and therefore changed as a result of such intrusion. Although there were no incidences of this during the study, I was also mindful of the potential difficulty of becoming a mediator or counsellor to parents who needed help with their relationship with the school. A semi-structured approach to interviews was adopted in order to probe the quality of the parent-school relationship to give interviewees an opportunity to expand on both positive and negative episodes. It is also recognised that conversely, developing trust between researcher and respondent is an important precursor to a meaningful dialogue and this is difficult to establish in one interview only. Here again, I needed to be open to the possibility that parents may wish to give a good account of themselves under scrutiny and be wary of being over-critical of the school despite confidentiality. As Davies (1996) found with headteachers, researchers always need to be alert to the agenda of the interviewee. On

balance, for future research of this kind I would build in a repeat interview schedule in order to develop trust and create better conditions for a deeper exchange. It is clearly a characteristic tension when researching the parent-school relationship to keep in balance the rights of the parent as respondent to be treated fairly, with parity of esteem and in a spirit of reciprocity whilst maintaining an objective and analytical stance.

Part Two has set out the methodological considerations of the study. Part Three will report the findings from the empirical data.



### **PART THREE**

## **THE PARENT-SCHOOL RELATIONSHIP – A CASE OF CONTESTED TRADITIONS?**

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **THE PARENTS' SURVEY**

#### **A survey of the beliefs and practices of parents of third-form pupils across 15 secondary schools**

This chapter details the findings from an analysis of the questionnaire survey. Section One reports on the descriptive data, including the pattern of responses by sub-groups of ethnicity, class and gender. This section deals looks at the extent to which the overall responses indicate the continuing reproduction or not of the dominant tradition of parental involvement. It also reports on any discernible patterns indicating significant differences in responses from the sub-groups by ethnicity, class and gender.

Section Two analyses the data by way of deconstructing the dominant tradition. Factor analysis is reported here. This section checks whether responses do combine in the ways proposed by the a priori specification of conceptual dimensions. The results of cluster analysis are also reported in terms of the factors resulting from the factor analysis. This analysis interrogates the way in which different groups of respondents have responded to the items in the questionnaire and thus begins to identify parent 'types'.

Section Three draws together the patterns from the data in order to refute or support the research hypotheses and raise further questions for the second phase of the research in case-study schools.

## **1. The Survey Responses**

A survey of all parents of third form pupils across fifteen secondary schools in England, Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland was carried out during the Spring Term 1995.<sup>1</sup>

A common questionnaire was used after consultation over a draft with all participating schools. The only variation was in language used relevant to each region, for example in Scotland what are known as governing bodies in England, Wales and Northern Ireland are termed schools boards. Only two questions were omitted for a Scottish version of the questionnaire appertaining to the Annual Parents' Meeting and Report which are statutory requirements in England, Wales and Northern Ireland but not required in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

A variety of approaches was adopted with schools in order to achieve as high a response rate as possible. Translations were prepared in four ethnic minority languages: Bengali, Urdu, Gujarati and Somali. In the main, surveys were mailed to parents either directly from the school or from the research office at the School of Education.

Questionnaires were distributed to 2,601 parents and 1,043 responses were received. This is a response rate of 40.09%. Respondents were asked to indicate their gender, ethnic origin and type of work. They were also asked if they were actively involved with the school, either in a paid or voluntary capacity. The data show that the majority of

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<sup>1</sup> The only exception to this was JB Community School, part of the middle and high school system in a shire county, where second form parents were surveyed rather than first form which would have been the equivalent pupil age group. A survey of first form parents would not have given us the same 'mid-term' view from parents of the parent-school relationship

<sup>2</sup> A copy of both versions of the questionnaire is attached in Appendix I

respondents were female and white. It is unsurprising that most responses were from women since it is usually the case that parental contact with school is maintained by mothers or other female carers. Seven out of the fifteen schools serve multi-ethnic populations and therefore a spread of ethnicity was expected from the responses. It was not possible to collect precise data on the ethnic origin of the total number of parents surveyed and, therefore, not possible to confirm whether the ethnic breakdown of responses received is statistically representative. Nevertheless, the data set collected does reflect the full range of ethnic backgrounds of parents surveyed for the purposes of illustration.

The same is true for the data collected on type of work, which will be used as a proxy for class, since, here again, it was not possible to collect precise data for the original sample. The data do reflect all types of work with over one-third falling into the manual category.

Very few of the respondents described themselves as being actively involved with the school, although it is interesting to note that 17.4% were teachers. Table 1 gives the figures.

Table 1 : Profile of Respondents

	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents*
<i>Gender:</i>		
Male	307	30.6
Female	695	69.4
<i>Ethnic Origin:</i>		
Bangladeshi	31	3.1
Black African	35	3.5
Black Caribbean	26	2.6
Black Other	11	1.1
Chinese	4	0.4
Indian	88	8.8
Pakistani	48	4.8
White	713	71.1
Other	47	4.7
<i>Type of work:</i>		
Managerial	121	13.0
Manual	392	42.1
Professional	253	27.1
Clerical	166	17.8
<i>Active Parents: **</i>		
Parent-Governor	61	6.4
PTA Member	70	7.4
Teaching Staff	168	17.4
Volunteer Staff	53	5.6
Non-teaching Staff	64	6.7

n=1043

\*Some respondents did not reply to these questions. Percentages have been calculated from responses from those who did answer the question.

\*\*Respondents were asked to indicate yes or no to this question. The percentages indicate the positive replies.

For the purposes of further analysis by different types of parent, these categories were collapsed into the following sub-sets:

- Ethnicity
 =
 Indian Subcontinent (Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani)  
 Black (Black African, Black Caribbean, Black Other)  
 White Other (Chinese and Other)
- Social Class
 =
 Middle-class (Managerial and Professional)  
 Working-class (Manual and Clerical)

Table 2 : Profile of Respondents by Sub-set

	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents*
<i>Gender:</i>		
Male	307	30.6
Female	695	69.4
<i>Ethnic Origin:</i>		
Indian Subcontinent	167	16.7
Black	72	7.2
White	713	71.1
Other	51	5.1
<i>Social Class:</i>		
Middle-class	374	40.1
Working-class	558	59.9

n=1043

The questionnaire was organised in sections in order to investigate **practices, knowledge, beliefs and attitudes**. It was hoped that in this way data might be collected which would illuminate the extent to which the practices, knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of the dominant tradition were still upheld and practiced. Data were also sought on practices, beliefs and attitudes which could be said to exemplify a challenge to the dominant tradition. Some of these are a direct result of public policy and legislation and others have emerged from a more enlightened professional philosophy designed to engage parents more in the education of their child.

The questionnaire was designed in six sections as below:

- A. Parental Involvement (Practices)
- B. Satisfaction with school practices (Beliefs)
- C. Legal Rights (Knowledge)
- D. Attitudes
- E. Improvements in the parent-school relationship (Desirable practices)
- F. Information about the respondent

For the purposes of analysis the data has been group into practices (Sections A and E)

knowledge (Section C)beliefs (Sections B) and attitudes (Section D)

### ***1.1 Looking at Practices, Knowledge, Beliefs and Attitudes***

#### **1.1.1 Practices**

The most common practices for the involvement of parents in schools can be classified into two types. The first type is individual ‘quasi-private’ meetings, usually with a member of teaching staff, in connection with academic progress or pastoral care. Similar events would be those which invite parents to attend in support of their child in a public performance at which the parent is observer. Such events designate the parent as a traditional non-participant, as do social events. The second category of practices is not only more public by nature, but also oriented towards participation or contribution by the parent. Formal communication from school to home also follows these categories. Pupil reports are private, individualised documents, whereas the Annual Report to Parents, newsletters, published examination results, school prospectus and parents’ charter are public documents.

Parents were asked to indicate which meetings they had attended which the school organised to involve parents in their child's education. They were also asked to indicate with which written communications they were familiar. In Section E parents were asked to indicate which practices would be most desirable to improve home-school links. The responses are given in ascending order in Table 3.

**Table 3 : Practices**  
[All figures are percentages]

A2A I read the school report on my child's progress	98.8
A2B I have read the school newsletter	88.3
A2C I have read the school exam results	87.6
E31 Homework I can share with my child supported by the school would help me work more closely with my child's school	86.4
E28 More flexible arrangements for meeting teachers in school would help me work more closely with my child's school	86
A1A I have attended the parent-teacher consultation evening	82.8
E29 More written information from school would help me work more closely with my child's school.	79.2
A2D I have read the school prospectus	75.7
E33 An opportunity to have a say in making school policy would help me work more closely with my child's school	73.5
A2E I have read the Annual Report to Parents from Governors	72
E32 A written contract between parents, pupils and the school would help me work more closely with my child's school	57.5
A2F I have read exam results from local schools	57.1
A1E I have attended the pupils' play, concert or presentation	56.3
A2G I have read the Government's Parents' Charter	48
E30 Home visits from teachers would help me work more closely with my child's school.	38.3
A1CI have attended the school social event.	35.7
A3I have helped my child's learning in a school scheme to support learning at home	30.8
A1BI have attended a curriculum information evening	29.9
A1D I have attended the Annual Parents' Meeting	21.3

n – 1043

\*Some schools had not held curriculum evenings which will affect the response to this question.

\*\*Questions not included in Scottish survey on Annual Parents' Meeting and Report as not applicable. Figures are valid percentages from those who responded.



Table 3 shows that the most popular practices, over 75%, are those which are probably the longest established: pupil report; school newsletter; parents evenings and school prospectus. The desired improvements for future partnership only serve to further elaborate those practices: flexible meetings; more written information. The desire for supported homework programmes with which parents can assist is an interesting development of the dominant tradition of the parent supporting education in the home. And yet this contradicts the small number of parents responding to the survey who had already supported their child with help at home. The importance of school examination results could be construed as a fairly typical, traditional concern of parents who are interested in the achievement of their child, although the very high response rate may indicate a positive response to public policy which has highlighted public examination success.

The least popular practices, below 50%, present an interesting mix. There is very little support for the Annual Parents' Evening, which is unsurprising since low attendance is already well documented (Martin & Ranson, 1994; Martin et al 1994). There is also little support for curriculum evenings and school social events. Less than half those who responded had read the Parent Charter issued by government. Only a third of respondents said they had helped their child at home through a learning support scheme and only a small number wanted home visits from teachers in order to improve home-school liaison. These findings are somewhat contradictory since they suggest a rejection of the dominant tradition. For example, parents attendance at social events is not popular, nor is the classic

practice of the compensatory-professional, a home visit. There is also a less than enthusiastic embrace of practices in a more radical tradition, such as attendance at curriculum evenings, supporting children at home and attending the Annual Meeting.

There are two findings, however, which do suggest a significant challenge to the dominant tradition. Despite lack of support for the Annual Parents' Meeting, 72% of respondents said they had read the Annual Report to Parents. Alongside this, 74% of respondents said they would welcome the opportunity to have more of a say in school policy-making. This suggests that many parents do wish to assert their voice regarding the school but do not have the institutional mechanisms available to them.

Table 3 also indicates that parents are most likely to become involved in individualised, more private activity directly relevant to the progress of their own child. This has been the implication of practices developed within the dominant tradition. 98.9% say they read the last report on their child's progress from school and 82.3% of parents say they attended the last parents' consultation evening with teachers. The level of responses, however, for more formalised, public practices, such as the Annual Parents' Meeting, are much lower. There is more interest from parents in events which involve their child, which bears out the individualistic approach, and the least involvement in those which are not only potentially more participative occasions, but also focus on an issue which has not been regarded as a legitimate area of interest for parents, such as curriculum evenings. Despite the extremely high interest in information regarding the individual child, there is also high interest about the school generally (newsletters, exam results and prospectus). There is also higher

interest than expected on comparative information such as examination results from other local schools.

1.1.1.1 Significant differences between sub-groups of parents

Cross-tabulated data for gender, social class and ethnicity against practices are shown in table 4 below in descending order. Those cross-tabulations which show statistically significant distributions are in bold type.

Table 4 shows that there are no statistically significant differences between middle-class and working-class parents. This is, in itself, a very significant finding since the conventional wisdom within the dominant tradition has suggested that middle-class parents are more active and involved in their child’s education than working-class parents. These data suggest otherwise. However, it is worth noting that a greater proportion of middle-class parents than working-class parents who responded attended all meetings: such as the parents evening, pupils play or concert, school social event, curriculum evening and Annual Parents’ Meeting. A greater proportion of working-class parents than middle-class parents who responded, however, wanted more flexible arrangements for meetings, more written information and more supported homework programmes. It may be, therefore, that the dominant tradition is borne out by higher levels of involvement by middle-class parents with working-class parents, seeking improvements which are more in tune with their needs.

There are a number of statistically significant differences by gender. The data show that, overall, a higher proportion of female respondents than males attended meetings and read

school documents, but in several cases the levels of involvement were comparable. For example, there is little difference between the number of female and male respondents who

Table 4: Practices By Social Class, Gender and Ethnicity (Descending Order)  
[All figures in percentages except total sample numbers.]

	All	Middle Class	Working Class	Male	Female	Asian	Black	White	Other
Total number in sample	1043	374	558	307	695	167	72	713	51
A2A : Child's Report	98.8	98.7	98.9	98.7	99.0	98.8	98.6	99.0	98.0
A2B : School Newsletter	88.3	88.1	88.4	84.7	88.8	<b>80.7</b>	<b>87.9</b>	<b>89.6</b>	<b>83.3</b>
A2C : School Exam Results	87.6	89.4	86.8	88.0	88.1	86.3	83.1	89.3	86
E31 : Support for Homework	86.4	85.7	86.9	87.1	85.0	<b>88.7</b>	<b>97.2</b>	<b>84.4</b>	<b>81.6</b>
E28 : Flexible meetings	86.0	85.6	86.2	<b>88.7</b>	<b>84.3</b>	90.6	91.2	83.6	90.2
A1A : Parents Evenings	82.8	84.5	81.6	<b>78.6</b>	<b>84.0</b>	<b>76.0</b>	<b>70.6</b>	<b>85.1</b>	<b>78.4</b>
E29 : More written Information	79.2	75.9	81.5	<b>85.1</b>	<b>77.1</b>	<b>86.4</b>	<b>84.3</b>	<b>76.7</b>	<b>87.8</b>
A2D : School Prospectus	75.7	77.5	74.4	70.7	76.4	<b>62.0</b>	<b>76.7</b>	<b>78.7</b>	<b>64.6</b>
E33 : 'Voice' in policy-making	73.5	75.6	72.1	<b>77.7</b>	<b>71.0</b>	<b>80.8</b>	<b>87.0</b>	<b>69.1</b>	<b>88.0</b>
A2E : Annual Report	72.0	74.4	70.2	<b>65.3</b>	<b>73.8</b>	60.5	75.4	74.1	70.8
E32 : Written Contract	57.5	58.5	56.8	55.4	59.5	<b>76.4</b>	<b>72.7</b>	<b>53.2</b>	<b>51</b>
A2F : Exam results Other schools	57.1	58.7	56	57.3	56.3	53.5	54.2	57.1	61.2
A1E : Pupils play/ Concert	56.3	59.1	55.3	52.7	56.3	53.9	53.8	56.7	46
A2G : Parents Charter	48.0	50.6	46.2	42.8	48.9	<b>47.7</b>	<b>54.1</b>	<b>50.2</b>	<b>46.8</b>
E30 : Home visits	38.3	39.0	37.8	<b>44.3</b>	<b>35.3</b>	59.2	51.6	30.7	46.0
A1C : Social Event	35.7	39.0	33.5	34.5	35.1	35.1	34.5	36.7	20.0
A3 : Help at Home	30.8	31.3	30.5	35.6	29.6	<b>47.7</b>	<b>35.4</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>41.7</b>
A1B : Curriculum Evening	29.9	32.8	27.9	31.8	28.3	24.7	33.3	31.3	19.1
A1D : Annual Parents' Meeting	21.3	22.7	20.3	<b>26.5</b>	<b>18.6</b>	<b>22.8</b>	<b>36.7</b>	<b>18.2</b>	<b>27.9</b>

In bold type distribution statistically significant at chi-square < 0.05

attended the school social event (35%). The same proportion read the school report on pupil progress (99%) and the same proportion read the school exam results (88%). The dominant tradition is supported, however, by data which show that a higher proportion of

female respondents attended the traditional forms of parental activity, namely attending the parents' consultation evening with teachers (84%) and pupils' play or concert. (56%)

The statistically significant differences focus upon attendance at meetings. A greater proportion of female respondents than male respondents attended the parents' evening which is what would be expected. However a greater proportion of male respondents than female respondents wanted more flexible arrangements for meetings and also more written information. A greater proportion of male respondents than female respondents wanted an opportunity to have a voice in school policy-making. This suggests that male respondents wish to have more opportunity to become involved but require a more supportive stance from the school. Although the numbers are very small it is also interesting to note that a higher proportion of male respondents than female respondents attended the Annual Parents Meeting.

Despite the low actual numbers of male respondents who attended meetings, the close comparisons between levels of responses from male and female does suggest that the involvement of males is at a higher level than we would expect relative to females. These data show a gender comparison which reveals an equal contribution by both males and females to their children's education.

When analysed by ethnic origin, there is a distinct pattern which shows that the behaviour of white respondents remains in a more limited, traditional model whilst the involvement

of Black , Asian and 'Other' respondents may embrace a broader conception of the parent-school relationship.

Statistically significant items indicate that a greater proportion of White respondents than other ethnic groups are involved in traditional practices of parental involvement. A greater proportion of White parents read the school newsletter, attend parents' evenings and read the school prospectus. However, a smaller proportion of White parents sought more supported homework programmes than Black or Asian parents. A small proportion of White parents wanted more written information or an opportunity to have a voice in school policy-making, a substantially small proportion help their children at home and a very small proportion attend the Annual Parents' Meeting. Black parents, on the other hand, appear to be the most assertive group since a greater proportion of them compared with other ethnic groups want supported homework programmes, more written information and an opportunity to have a say in school policy-making. In fact, it is interesting to note that a higher proportion of parents in the Other group compared with any other ethnic group want more of a say in school policy-making. The Black parents group also has the highest proportion of attendees at the Annual Parents' Meeting. The data suggest that Asian parents are not as assertive but want more written information. This group also demonstrates the highest proportion of support for a written contract between home and school. Most significant, however, is the high proportion of Asian parents who said they had helped their child at home compared with other ethnic groups.

Some of these differences may well be explained by a language barrier if communications are not translated into ethnic minority languages or interpretation facilities are not available. Nevertheless there is a suggestion that it is Asian, Black and 'Other' parents who are most challenging to traditional practices. As was pointed out in the case of gender, parents from minority ethnic groups may also be those for whom traditional practices are not the most suitable mechanisms for their involvement.

#### 1.1.2 Knowledge of Legal Rights and Duties

Responses to Section C indicate that parents are very knowledgeable about their legal rights and responsibilities. (Table 5) Such knowledge is ostensibly a presupposition of market consumerism. However the basic parental right to choose a school for their child, and the basic parental responsibility to ensure their child is educated, have been components of the dominant tradition, since they were originally part of the 1944 Education Act. It is clear from the data, however, that a smaller proportion of parents are likely to be aware of their right to have their child educated as they wish, than understand their rights to complain and question the delivery of the National Curriculum. This finding is unsurprising, since the main thrust of government policy has been to construct parents as consumers who will hold schools to account for their performance and effectiveness. Through the Parents Charter, and other informational literature pre-1997, a well resourced publicity campaign was carried out to ensure parents were aware of such statutory rights.

Table 5 : Knowledge of Legal Rights and Duties by Social Class, Gender and Ethnicity  
(Descending Order)

[All figures are percentages except total number in sample]

	Total Sample	Middle Class	Working Class	Male	Female	Asian	Black	White	Other
Total number in sample	1043	374	558	307	695	167	72	713	51
C17 Duty to attend school	98.80	98.40	99.10	96.40	99.60	97.00	97.20	99.60	94.00
C19 Right to complain about progress	88.80	87.30	89.90	<b>83.20</b>	<b>90.00</b>	80.00	88.60	91.10	70.00
C18 Right to ask about National Curriculum	82.00	82.40	81.70	81.80	81.60	<b>80.00</b>	<b>98.60</b>	<b>82.90</b>	<b>80.00</b>
C16 Right to have education they wish	73.10	71.70	74.10	72.00	73.10	72.70	64.30	74.00	70.00

In bold type: distribution statistically significant at chi-square <0.05

#### 1.1.2.1 Significant differences by sub-groups of parents

There are no distinctive patterns by sub-group. Two items show statistically significant distributions. One indicates that a higher percentage of women than men are aware of their right to complain about progress being made by their child. This confirms the notion that more female parents/carers are likely to have had direct experience of making a complaint. The second shows that a very high percentage of black parents, relative to other ethnic groups, are aware of their right to ask schools how they are teaching the National Curriculum. This suggests that this group of parents has the most experience of seeking clarification about the curriculum in school.



### ***1.1.3 Beliefs***

Section B provides data on the parents' point of view of school custom and practice. The series of items in Section B was designed to test levels of satisfaction on the part of parents with the modes by which the school and its staff conduct the relationship with parents. Responses to the statement should give an insight into where the school locates itself in relation to parents: for example if the school is regarded as part of the community; if meetings are conducted in such a way as to facilitate the parent 'voice'; if information meets the needs of parents; whether there is a general feeling that the school understands the parent perspective and the extent to which parent governors communicate. The levels of agreement or disagreement can be interpreted as parental 'sympathy' (passive/loyal) or 'challenge' (active/resistant) to current practices and the implications explored as to parental expectation of the parent-school relationship.

The positive responses to the statements outweigh the negative in all cases except one which enquires about communication between parent-governors and parents. Indeed, there is a very high degree of agreement which indicates very high levels of satisfaction with school communication (Table 6). This confirms the expectation that the majority of parents are in sympathy with the school and could be described as passive/loyal. The low level of communication between parent governors and parents is not unexpected, since there is very little practice of this type in schools, and presents an opportunity for schools to develop, as some are beginning to do. It is unclear whether parents would welcome

more regular contacts, although the high level of disagreement suggests that they are not satisfied with current arrangements.<sup>3</sup>

Table 6 : Beliefs  
[All figures in percentages]

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
B5 The school is welcoming for parents/guardians	48.1	49.2	2.1	0.6
B6 The information I get from school is easy to understand	35.7	60.3	3.3	0.7
B7 It is useful to attend school meetings because what parents say does count	31.3	54.0	12.8	1.9
B8 It is useful to attend school meetings because you get to hear what the school is doing	35.4	59.0	4.9	0.7
B9 It is easy to talk to the headteacher and staff	40.5	52.8	5.7	1.0
B10 The school keep me well informed about the work my child is doing at school	34.7	47.0	16.0	2.3
B11 It is easy to get information from school about anything I don't understand	27.7	59.5	11.3	1.5
B12 The school is part of our community	38.0	52.7	8.0	1.3
B13 The school understands the education I want for my child	30.8	54.9	12.0	2.3
B14 The school understands how I can help my child's education	23.7	59.1	15.8	1.4
B15 Parent-governors communicate with parents regularly	10.8	39.3	38.2	11.7

n = 1043

Responses seem not to indicate a 'hierarchy' of satisfactory practices. Parents are most satisfied with the welcome they get in the school - 48.1% are in strong agreement - this is the highest level of strong agreement. Yet, following on from this, there is a cluster of responses in strong agreement at around 35% regarding the conduct of meetings and information, which suggests high satisfaction across a range of practices. Indeed, levels of agreement are also consistently at a high level, ranged between 60.3% - 47.0% across 10

<sup>3</sup> This question was badly designed since it invites a response as to fact rather than expectation. This would have been better achieved through asking if parent-governors communicated sufficiently.

out of 11 statements. If the statement about parent-governor communication is set aside, responses indicate satisfaction at a consistently high level.

Further investigation of the strong agreement responses does, however, suggest lower levels of satisfaction with practices which might move beyond the professional perspective of parent-school relationships. This indicates possible room for improvement in understanding the parent perspective of home-school relations.

#### 1.1.3.1 Significant differences by sub-groups of parents

Application of the Chi-square test seems to suggest that there may be a gender issue around parental satisfaction with school process and practice. (Table 7) The proportion of positive responses in strong agreement from men is mostly higher than women. This suggests that men may be in a more 'sympathetic' relationship with the school than women, which might be reflected in their usually more distanced or more formal relationship with the school. A greater proportion of women than men attend parents' consultation evenings but a greater proportion of men than women attend the Annual Parents' Meeting.

Table 7 : Beliefs by Social Class, Gender and Ethnicity  
(Responses to Strong Agreement in Descending Order )  
[All figures in percentages except total number in sample]

	All	Middle/C	Work/C	Male	Female	Asian	Black	White	Other
Total number in sample	1043	374	558	307	695	167	72	713	51
B5	48.5	49.3	48	46	48.5	48.8	58	46.7	46
B9	40.8	39.6	41.5	41.4	39.7	36.2	41.2	41	45.8
B12	38.5	<b>38.4</b>	<b>38.6</b>	<b>39.5</b>	<b>36.8</b>	37.4	42.2	37.8	30.6
B6	36.4	37.5	35.7	35.2	35.4	32.9	49.3	35.5	30
B8	36.4	36.8	36.2	<b>37.8</b>	<b>33.9</b>	41.6	44.6	32.9	40.8
B10	34.5	35	34.1	<b>37.3</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>38.7</b>	<b>49.3</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>42.9</b>
B7	31.7	32.5	31.2	<b>31.9</b>	<b>30.8</b>	35.9	41	28.9	39.1
B13	30.5	29.9	30.8	<b>29.7</b>	<b>30.6</b>	36	33.3	29.1	29.2
B11	27.4	26.7	27.9	<b>29.4</b>	<b>26.1</b>	26.4	33.3	27	31.3
B14	23.8	23.3	24.2	<b>23.6</b>	<b>23.4</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>27.9</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>20.4</b>
B15	10.5	10.3	10.7	12.1	10.1	<b>12.8</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>19.1</b>

(In bold type: distribution statistically significant at chi-square <0.05)

#### 1.1.4 Attitudes

Section D of the survey seeks parental attitudes to home-school liaison. These are generally positive and constructive. Responses to a range of positive statements resulted in very high levels of agreement. (Table 8) This supports data from Section B since it indicates a high degree of support.

Attitudes can be categorised in terms of the dominant tradition. Strong levels of agreement with a number of statements suggests a deferential attitude which we would associate with the traditional, compensatory home-school relationship.

The statements in Table 8 can be categorised in this way. The high proportion of strong agreement responses to D20/D22A/D22C-F indicate that traditional attitudes predominate

amongst parents. For example 54.8% believe home-school links help the management of children's behaviour at school and 58.9% believe it will improve levels of attendance. Such attitudes situate the parent on the margins of the child's education, concerned with pastoral care only.

Table 8 :Attitudes  
[All figures in percentages]

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
D20 Parents/guardians can help their child's education at home	52.0	43.5	3.8	0.7
D21 Teachers know best what children should learn	21.5	49.5	26.4	2.5
It is important to develop links between home and school to:				
D22A-Increase parental interest in and understanding of their child's education	50.4	48.3	0.7	0.6
D22B-Increase teachers' understanding of the importance of home in education	38.0	57.3	4.4	0.3
D22C-Raise levels of children's achievement	50.7	47.4	1.6	0.3
	54.8	43.7	1.2	0.3
D22D-Help the management of children's behaviour at school	61.2	36.4	2.1	0.3
D22E-Enable problems to be solved at an early stage	58.9	38.9	1.9	0.3
D22F-Improve levels of attendance	40.7	53.7	5.2	0.4
D22G-Enrich the life of the local community				
D23 Parents/guardians should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do	39.6	49.7	10.0	0.7
D24 It is a good thing that parents are on school governing bodies	39.2	54.9	4.5	1.3
D25 A few parents on a governing body can speak for all the parents/guardians	16.7	43.6	33.0	6.7
D26 Parents/guardians are only concerned with the needs of their own children	18.6	33.2	42.2	6.1
D27 Schools must do what the government tells them, parents/guardians can't make a difference	9.9	22.7	43.7	23.6

The lower proportion of strong agreement responses to D21/D22B/D22G/D23/D24/D25/D26/D27 indicate small but significant levels of challenge to those traditions, and the emergence of more progressive attitudes which challenge the old compensatory model, based on the pre-eminence of teacher knowledge. For example only 21.5% of parents strongly agree that, 'Teachers know best what children should learn' and only 38.0% strongly agree that, 'Home-school links increase teachers' understanding of the importance of home in education'.

Parents' sense of their own agency is most strongly expressed in response to, 'Schools must do what the government tells them, parents/guardians can't make a difference' where only 9.9% strongly agree. It also implies a strong parental voice against the state.

Responses to five of these statements D23/D24/D25/D26/D27 are of particular interest and relevance to issues of governance and the active contribution of parents to decision-making in the school. A total of 89% agreed that parents should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do. 94% agreed that it is a good thing that parents are on school governing bodies. Furthermore, the nature of representative democracy is questioned in that 40% of respondents disagreed that a few parents on the governing body could speak for all parents, and yet 48% disagreed that parents were only concerned with the needs of their own child. This begins to suggest that parents are seeking greater participative democracy in schools.

#### 1.1.4.1 Significant differences by sub-group of parents

The data in Table 9 above give responses to the attitude statements by sub-groups. From these data we can see that the responses from each group are quite similar in scale.

Furthermore only a small number of these data indicate statistically significant distribution within groups

The responses from middle-class and working-class parents indicate no discriminating pattern between the two groups, although it is interesting to note that responses from these two groups of parents are so similar, given the predominance of a tradition, which suggests that working-class parents may have less positive attitudes towards education. Responses to two statements are statistically significant. Both of these relate to school governing bodies. In response to the statement, 'It is a good thing parents are on the school governing body' 39.3% of middle-class parents strongly agree as do almost the same number of working-class parents – 39.6%. In response to the statement, 'Parents on the governing body can speak for all parents', only 15.7% of middle-class parents strongly agree, in comparison with 17.1% of working-class parents. This response, which is statistically significant, is also interesting since it is the only statement in response to which a higher proportion of working-class parents strongly agree. As Table 9 indicates, there is a pattern in these responses showing that at least the same proportion, or a higher proportion, of middle-class parents are in strong agreement in every other case. This pattern does, therefore, reinforce the belief of the dominant tradition that more middle-class parents are likely to have positive attitudes towards their child's education and their contribution to the parent-school relationship.

Table 9 : Attitudes by social class, gender and ethnicity  
[All figures are percentages except total number in sample]

	All	Middle/C	Work/C	Male	Female	Asian	Black	White	Other
Total number in sample	1043	374	558	307	695	167	72	713	51
D22E Solve problems at early stage	62.20	64.40	60.80	58.20	62.10	57.00	73.10	61.50	54.90
D22F Improve attendance	59.60	61.50	58.30	60.90	57.80	66.70	73.50	55.30	66.70
D22D Behaviour management	55.90	57.70	54.70	53.80	55.00	50.00	70.60	54.30	64.00
D20 Parents can help at home	52.80	54.20	51.80	55.70	50.20	56.30	65.70	49.10	60.80
D22A Increase parental interest	50.90	53.10	49.40	51.20	49.00	52.20	72.10	47.30	58.80
D22C Raise achievement	50.90	54.40	48.50	54.70	48.40	63.10	59.10	46.80	56.90
D22G Enrich local community	41.70	43.20	40.70	41.80	39.30	43.20	53.80	39.10	40.80
D24 Parents on GB	39.50	<b>39.30</b>	<b>39.60</b>	41.90	37.00	42.30	54.40	35.90	49.00
D23 Parents more involved	39.30	39.40	39.30	41.20	38.30	46.80	50.80	36.40	41.20
D22B Increase teachers understanding	38.50	41.40	36.60	41.20	35.70	44.60	52.40	34.40	46.00
D21 Teachers know best	20.50	20.10	20.80	<b>27.00</b>	<b>19.20</b>	<b>38.00</b>	<b>31.80</b>	<b>16.70</b>	<b>26.00</b>
D26 Parents only concerned with own child	18.30	18.20	18.40	<b>24.10</b>	<b>15.90</b>	<b>28.10</b>	<b>24.20</b>	<b>15.20</b>	<b>25.50</b>
D25 Parents on GB can speak for all	16.50	<b>15.70</b>	<b>17.10</b>	20.20	14.60	23.40	28.80	13.10	24.00
D27 Must do what Govt. says	9.70	10.10	9.40	<b>13.50</b>	<b>8.20</b>	<b>15.90</b>	<b>16.10</b>	<b>7.50</b>	<b>14.00</b>

In bold type: distribution statistically significant at chi square <0.05

The responses from male and female respondents also indicate a pattern. With two exceptions (D22E and D22D), a higher proportion of male respondents strongly agree in



every case, although the number of responses are distributed fairly evenly. Responses to three statements show statistically significant distribution. These are also statistically significant in terms of ethnicity. These are also three statements which reveal significant attitudes towards the dominant tradition and are worthy of particular attention. Not least because a pattern emerges between groups.

Responses to the statement, 'Teachers know best what children should learn' are significantly different by gender and ethnicity. 27% of male respondents strongly agree with this, compared with 19.2% of female respondents. A much higher proportion of respondents from the Indian Subcontinent (38%) strongly agree with this in comparison with a lesser number of Black parents (31.8%), White parents (16.7%) and 'Other' parents (26%). This suggests a more deferential attitude on their part towards professional knowledge and thus an orientation to reinforce the dominant tradition. In response to the statement, 'Parents are only concerned with the needs of their own child' this pattern is repeated. This further suggests a more conservative, traditional approach to the parent-school relationship. It is again repeated in response to the final statement, 'Schools must do what the government tells them, parents cannot make a difference'. Notwithstanding the low levels of strong agreement with this statement, that the pattern is repeated suggests further passivity and deference to the authority of the state. This would be a key indicator for the continuance of the dominant tradition.

## **2. Analysing tradition : Comparing Practices with Knowledge, Beliefs and Attitudes.**

I have asserted that the reproduction of a tradition depends upon sustaining a certain set of practices with a body of knowledge and set of beliefs which legitimate those practices. The task was to analyse how far patterns of practices, knowledge, beliefs and attitudes could be deduced which would indicate the continuation of the dominant tradition, and to what extent the conceptual framework of traditional, consumer, co-educator and citizen was in evidence.

Taking the mode of responses to each question it is easy to see an overall pattern of parental practices, knowledge, beliefs and attitudes. These are given in Appendix IV. From these data it is easy to gain an impressionistic view that parents who responded are mostly involved and supportive of the practices for parental involvement in their children's schools. The only practices which most parents do not support are curriculum information evenings, school social events and the Annual Parents' Meeting. The only communication most do not read is the Government's Parents' Charter. Most of them are unsure about school supported homework programmes. In general, most parents are in favour of a range of improvements for home-school practices except for home visits by teachers. They are mostly knowledgeable about their statutory rights and responsibilities. They are all happy with school practices to involve, inform and consult with parents and hold very supportive attitudes home-school partnership. It could be said that in general the attitudes of parents who responded assert a positive contribution to their child's education. Most parents believe that parents can help their child at home. They do not believe that parents

are only concerned with their own child and they do not believe that, 'Schools must do what the government tells them'.

These data suggest a very positive picture. However, there are no discriminating indicators which support or refute the hypothesis that the dominant tradition continues to be reproduced or challenged. The data here again is contradictory. In this regard, the section on beliefs is most helpful since there are consistently high levels of strong agreement that home-school links are important, not least to develop parental interest and understanding of their child's education, and the suggestion of parents positioning themselves as co-educators with teachers. This in itself suggests a challenge to the dominant tradition which keeps parents on the margins.

Two types of statistical analysis were used in order to try to establish if there were any strong relationships between items and to see if the responses confirmed the hypothesis that the dominant tradition continues to be reproduced through parents' beliefs, attitudes and practices. Firstly, a factor analysis was carried out in an attempt to establish which practices, beliefs and attitudes might correlate strongly together and, if so, which of them might confirm or deny the research hypothesis. Secondly, bearing in mind the newly established factors, a cluster analysis was carried out on the responses to try to establish how respondents had answered and whether these parent groupings displayed tendencies towards reproduction of the dominant tradition. In order to carry out these analyses the data have been treated as interval data.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See Bryman & Cramer (1997) pp57-8 for an indication of the trend in social science survey analysis to

## **2.1 Factor Analysis**

Factor analysis of the responses indicates ten major factors which may be of interest. The most important four factors broadly reflect the conceptual design of the questionnaire, indicating strong relationships between items within four separate sections Beliefs, Attitudes, Practices and Improved Practices. There are two further, but less important factors, which coalesce around Practices from Section A1 Practices (Meetings) and from Section C Parental Rights. Factor 6 is determined by a small number of items relating to parents as active contributors to the educational process and Factors 8, 9 and 10 are determined by one or two distinct items only.

For the further purposes of analysis Factors 1 – 4 will be discussed here since they are statistically the most important. (These are the factors showing total variation, using rotation sums of squared loadings, of 3 or above.) These factors are *explanatory* since they suggest an explanation of parental type in terms of the distinction between beliefs, attitudes and practices, and also in terms of the distinct concepts of the dominant tradition and emergent radical traditions of co-educator, consumer and citizen.

### **2.1.1 Factor One – Traditional (Sympathetic/Supportive)**

Factor One is characterised by closely correlated high scoring responses to Section B of the questionnaire about parents' satisfaction with home-school links, with high scoring

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treat multiple-item scales as having the qualities of interval items. For the purposes of these analyses all nominal data eg. Ethnicity, class and gender have been excluded.

responses to D21 'Teachers know best' and C17 'Duty to attend'. The items associated with this factor are given below with loadings in ascending order.<sup>5</sup>

Table 10 :Factor One : Traditional (Sympathetic/Supportive)

Item	Loading
B11 It is easy to get information from school about anything I don't understand	.745
B13 The school understands the education I want for my child	.733
B9 It is easy to talk to the headteacher and staff	.731
B10 The school keep me well informed about the work my child is doing at school	.709
B5 The school is welcoming for parents/guardians	.707
B14 The school understands how I can help my child's education	.700
B12 The school is part of our community	.679
B6 The information I get from school is easy to understand	.668
B8 It is useful to attend school meetings because you get to hear what the school is doing	.649
B7 It is useful to attend school meetings because what parents say does count	.602
B15 Parent-governors communicate with parents regularly	.487
D21 Teachers know best what children learn	.340
C17 It is a parent's duty to ensure their child attends school	.303

Loadings arrived at from rotated component matrix using Ward Method Principle Components SPSS

With the exception of B15 and B7, all items concerned with parental satisfaction with home-school links correlate highly with this factor. This is an interesting finding since it emphasises beliefs about practices within the compensatory rather than participatory model which is an important characteristic of the dominant tradition. This is reinforced by

<sup>5</sup> Items which correlate less than 0.3 with a factor have been omitted from consideration.

the relationship between these items with the last two items within this factor. Items D21 and C17 are also indicative of the dominant tradition, suggesting attitudes which are deferential to professional knowledge (D21) and which suggest a limited definition of the parent-school relationship with the parent confined to a duty to attend school (C17). Indeed, this duty was a mainstay of the dominant tradition, as set out in the 1944 Act, and remains the substance of many parents' relationship with their child's school in cases of poor attendance. Despite the lower loading of items D21 and C17, their identification within this factor suggests that it is characterised by attitudes and beliefs of the dominant tradition.

This factor indicates that there is a relationship between parental satisfaction/support for home-school links and attitudes/knowledge which are deferential towards the school. It seems to be the case that parents who are very satisfied with home-school links also have confidence in teachers and, therefore, position themselves in a minimalist position in their child's education.

This raises two questions: to what extent do mutually sympathetic and reinforcing home-school links reproduce a dominant tradition, which keeps parents on the margins in passive mode, because parents have actively chosen to sympathise and support, or because they have been denied the practices and knowledge to become more assertive? And, to what extent are some parents defining themselves in a limited, traditional mode as a result of attitudes or beliefs about their own self-image which effectively disable them from a more assertive relationship?

### 2.1.2 Factor Two – Co-educator (Constructive-Supportive)

Items in Section D of the survey concerning attitudes towards home-school links are heavily loaded on Factor Two. These items are given in ascending order in table 11 below.

Table 11 : Factor Two : Co-educator (Constructive/Supportive)

Item	Loading
It is important to develop links between home and school to:	
D22F-Improve levels of attendance	.811
D22D-Help the management of children's behaviour at school	.810
D22E-Enable problems to be solved at an early stage	.788
D22C-Raise levels of children's achievement	.770
D22A-Increase parental interest in and understanding of their child's education	.756
D22B-Increase teachers' understanding of the importance of home in education	.708
D22G-Enrich the life of the local community	.642
D20 Parents/guardians can help their child's education at home	.610
D24 It is a good thing that parents are on school governing bodies	.553
D23 Parents/guardians should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do	.491
D25 A few parents on a governing body can speak for all the parents/guardians	.314

The main characteristic of this factor is the inter-relationship between a specific group of attitude statements. In particular the absence of item D21, 'Teachers know best what children should earn' which features in factor one. The conceptual clarity of this factor

rests upon the relationship between high scores to attitude statements endorsing a positive/constructive approach towards home-school links (D22A – G) and item D20. Item D20 is a key item in operationalising the concept of parent as co-educator. It is therefore possible to interpret this factor as constructive/supportive, since respondents to D22 are being asked to positively endorse the importance of home-school links under a variety of guises. Three items which are also loaded on this factor, although less so, D23/D24/D25, reinforce the constructive approach to parental involvement through representation on the governing body. Whilst it would be possible to construe these items as more properly fitting the active citizen model of parental involvement, their inclusion here is not inconsistent with parent as co-educator.

Interpretation of this factor should be qualified, however, since the items which are loaded most strongly on it could be construed within the realms of the dominant tradition. D22F/D/E signal attitudes which highlight the dominant tradition of the parent concerned with attendance and pastoral care, rather than academic achievement.

### 2.1.3. Factor Three – Consumer (Informed/Accountable)

Items in Section A of the survey are heavily loaded on Factor three. The items which load most highly on it are those from Section A2 which asks parents which information they had studied in the past year. These items are given in table 12 below in ascending order.

With the exception of the Annual Parents' Report, the items most highly loaded on this factor constitute consumer information. It is interesting to note that the most highly



loaded factor is school examination results, ie. school league tables, introduced by the last Government as public information for parents making a choice of school for their child. The inclusion of certain practices and the omission of others within this factor is significant. The loadings indicate that social events, information evenings and public presentations in school are more characteristic than the Annual Parents' Meeting. These are all events which fit within a consumer type ideology and position the parent as passive/observer. It is significant that the traditional type of parent-teacher consultation evening is not part of this factor which further emphasises the consumerist concept of parental involvement. This assertion is further emphasised since reading the child's progress report, although included in the factor, has a relatively low loading compared with other types of information for parents.

Table 12 : Factor Three : Consumer (Informed/Accountable)

	Item	Loading
A2F	Exam results from local schools	.733
A2D	School Prospectus	.698
A2G	The Government's Parents' Charter	.692
A2B	School Newsletter	.666
A2C	School Exam Results	.650
A1C	School social event	.488
A1B	Curriculum information evening	.444
A1E	Pupils' play or concert/presentation	.442
A2E	Annual Parents Report	.438
A2A	Child's Progress Report	.333
A1D	Annual Parents' Meeting	.309

2.1.4. Factor Four – Citizen (Active/Accountable)

All items in Section E of the survey which asks parents which improvements they would like to further encourage parental involvement are heavily loaded on Factor four. These items are shown in table 13 below.

This factor is interesting because it includes all the responses to Section E with no exceptions, but more importantly because it links these with attitude statement D23, ‘Parents should be more involved with decisions about what schools do’. This item is indicative of the parent as citizen and it is unsurprising, therefore, to discover a factor which links this item with all those seeking improvement in the current arrangements for parental involvement. This factor seems to suggest, however, that more active parents are seeking more information (the highest loaded item); flexible arrangements for meetings which suit parents' commitments; broadly ‘a say in making school policy’; and home visits by teachers, in preference to a written contract or supported homework schemes, which are currently the mechanisms being developed by the profession to encourage parental involvement.

Table 13 : Factor Four : Citizen (Active/Accountable)

	Item	Loading
E29	More written information from school	.702
E28	Flexible arrangements for meeting teachers in school	.672
E33	An opportunity to have a say in making school policy	.659
E30	Home visits from teachers	.656
E32	Written contract between parents, pupils and school.	.637
E31	Homework I can share with my child supported by the school	.604
D23	Parents should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do	.300

The four factors are helpful in explaining parental involvement in terms of distinct beliefs, attitudes and practices. To a large extent they reflect the internal consistency of the sections of the questionnaire instrument, but at the same time make explicit important links and omission with other items. However, the broad picture seems to suggest that whilst beliefs, attitudes and practices are important factors there is little interrelationship between them. Since the research hypothesis is predicated upon such interrelationships in the interests of the reproduction or not of the dominant tradition, these findings only go so far in explaining patterns of parental involvement in schools.

However, the factors clearly do suggest that the concepts of traditional, co-educator, consumer and citizen are present in the data and therefore warrant further investigation both within the questionnaire data set and the qualitative case studies.

## ***2.2 Cluster Analysis***

The factor analysis having clarified the coherence and consistency of responses to items in terms of the conceptual framework, it is necessary to see how parents have responded to the items in terms of the factors which have been identified. In a large sample such as this one it is not easily possible to do this. A computer package such as SPSS will carry out a cluster analysis to sort respondents into groups, or clusters, of those who have answered similarly. Such an analysis helps to identify the extent to which the factors are evident amongst different groups of respondent. On the basis of such an analysis it may be possible to identify a parent of a 'traditional' type or of an emergent 'radical' type. The cluster analysis was carried out only on items from Sections B/C/D of the questionnaire.

These are the items interrogating, beliefs, knowledge and attitudes. These data are four-point Likert scales in Sections B and D and a three-point Yes/Don't Know/No scale in Section C. These responses have been treated as interval data. The analysis revealed five clusters of respondents. The demographic make-up for each is given in the table below. Cross-tabulations were carried in terms of the five clusters against all items, firstly to ascertain the characteristics of each cluster in terms of its demography and predominate practices and, secondly, to investigate the patterns of attitudinal responses for each. These data were analysed in terms of the four factors identified above. As a result of this analysis each cluster has been labelled to describe its main characteristics.<sup>6</sup>

Table 14 : Cluster Groups  
[All figures in percentages except total count]

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5
<b>Ethnicity:</b>					
Black	7.4	4.7	6.5	9.6	5.2
Indian					
Subcontinent	15.6	14.7	25.8	18.9	14.9
White	69.9	75.9	48.4	63.6	71.1
Other	5.2	3.0	-	6.1	6.2
<b>Gender:</b>					
Male	29.4	28.0	35.5	29.4	31.4
Female	67.2	70.3	51.6	68.9	67.0
<b>Class:</b>					
Middle Class	36.8	34.1	32.3	39.9	34.0
Working Class	56.1	54.7	38.7	52.2	56.7
<b>Active Parents:</b>					
Governor	8.3	3.4	6.5	5.3	5.2
PTA	10.4	3.9	9.7	6.1	3.6
Teaching Staff	23.0	12.5	16.1	14.0	10.8
Volunteer	6.7	5.6	3.2	4.4	3.1
Non-teaching	9.5	5.2	3.2	4.4	5.2
<b>Total Count</b>	326	232	31	228	194

<sup>6</sup> A full set of cross-tabulated data is given in Appendix V

As shown in table 14 above, the clusters do not fall out into distinctive groupings by ethnicity, class or gender, although these distributions are statistically significant.<sup>7</sup> The hypothesis that parents may respond in terms of ethnic, class or gender groupings is not supported. Reference to the make-up of the groups in these terms will be highlighted for each cluster, however, and questions raised about possible connections.

#### 2.2.1 Cluster One : Active-Supportive Parents (Traditional-Co-educator – Consumer)

Cluster One is the largest cluster (326). It is made up predominantly of white, female respondents over half of whom could be described as working-class. However, it is not the cluster with the highest percentage of white or female respondents. This cluster has the highest number of 'active' parents including parents who are teachers (23% of the cluster). This cluster of respondents also has consistently the highest numbers of parents who attended meetings or read documents in response to Section A (Practices). However these figures follow the overall pattern. That is to say there are no particular practices which mark out this cluster as distinctive since they reflect the overall pattern of high numbers attending the parents' consultation evening and low numbers attending the Annual Parents' Meeting. However, in comparison with the other clusters, this cluster has the highest numbers of active and involved parents.

In terms of Factor One (Traditional) this cluster has the highest number of respondents who strongly agree consistently in every case. This includes responses to item D21 which

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<sup>7</sup> Chi-square test applied for significance >0.05

are shown below. There is virtually no disagreement (no dissatisfaction) from respondents in this group and (within one exception B15) no strong disagreement to belief statements.

This is also the case for Factor Two (Co-educator) items and Factor Three (Consumer) items. Examples from both these factors are given below for items D21 and A2F

In the case of Factor Four (Citizen), this cluster is not consistently strong and for many items does not have the highest percentage of respondents although there are still high numbers.

This cluster should therefore be interpreted as highly active/involved parents in their child's education. This cluster of respondents are consistently sympathetic/supportive of home-school practices and take a constructive approach to their partnership with the school and their contribution to their child's education. In terms of the factors, this cluster displays more of the characteristics of the dominant tradition, co-educator, consumer than those of active citizen, although this last concept should not be discarded as a dimension.

### 2.2.2. Cluster Two: Passive/Supportive (Co-educator-Consumer-Citizen)

Cluster Two is the second largest group of respondents. (232) This cluster has the highest percentage of white, female respondents and is similar to the first cluster in having just over 50% working-class respondents. It has very small numbers of 'active' parents. This cluster of respondents are less involved in home-school practices than cluster one respondents in all cases. Moreover a much smaller percentage from this cluster attend

school social events, the annual parents' meeting and the pupils play or concert than cluster one, three or four. The numbers of parents who help their child at home or read communications such as exam results from other schools, parents' charter and, significantly the annual report to parents, are low in comparison with other clusters. This cluster has the lowest number of parents who read the annual report to parents. In terms of practice, this cluster of respondents tends towards passivity.

In terms of the four factors identified above, this cluster consistently has very small numbers of parents in strong agreement.

Responses to Factor One items for this cluster are consistently less sympathetic to school practices than cluster one. In all cases a large majority of respondents (on average approximately 80%) agree with all the beliefs statements. This suggests that despite being a passive cluster in terms of practice, this group is supportive of current school practices. As with cluster one there is very little disagreement and (with two exceptions) no strong disagreement. Responses to D21, 'Teachers know best what children learn' within this cluster is a distinctive indicator, since it is the cluster with the most cohesive group of respondents in comparison with other clusters. 68% of cluster two agree with the statement that, 'Teachers know best what children learn.'

This pattern is repeated for Factor Two. In every case the majority of respondents in this cluster agree with attitude statements – consistently approximately 80%. Whilst there is a spread of responses across the scale there is little disagreement and, with three exceptions,

hardly any strong disagreement. It is interesting to note, however, that despite the apparent passivity of this group, an overwhelming majority (72%) believe that parents should be more involved in making decisions about what schools should do, although there is this little strong agreement for this compared with other clusters of responses.

There is no distinctive pattern in the responses from cluster two to Factor Three relative to the other clusters, except that the percentages are always below those of cluster one. The comparisons between clusters for Factor Three are generally small. It is worth highlighting the small numbers of respondents from this cluster who attended social events (22%) and the Annual Parents' Meeting (12%) and who read the Annual Report to Parents (44%) relative to others. Nearly half of this cluster (44%) read examination results from other schools.

This cluster is high scoring for items in Factor Four with two exceptions. 70% of this group do not want home visits (to help them work more closely with their child's school) nor do 52% of them want a written home-school contract. These are high negative scores relative to the other clusters. Across the factors, however, this cluster is oriented towards active improvements in the parent-school relationship and 69% of them say they would like an opportunity to have a say in making school policy.

### 2.2.3. Cluster Three: Negative/Alienated (Consumer)

Cluster Three is a very small group of respondents (31). It is interesting and distinctive since it appears to contain a number of parents who hold negative attitudes and may as a



result be alienated from the school. Whilst the class and gender composition of this cluster is evenly balanced, it is the only cluster which has a minority of white respondents (48%) and a relatively high proportion of respondents from the Indian Subcontinent (26%). However the result from this group should be treated with caution in view of the small numbers. Across all the factors this group is distinctive since there is a consistent spread of responses across the scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

Responses to items in Factor One indicate the disparate nature of this group. Whilst a critical mass, usually around 50%, agree with the belief statements and could therefore be said to be supportive/sympathetic in the traditional manner, there is a small group who strongly agree and, more significantly, a nub of responses which are consistently negative or strongly negative relative to the other clusters. In particular, however, responses to D21 'Teachers know best what children learn' for this cluster indicate the highest degree of challenge to professional dominance since 65% disagree with the statement. This is a much higher percentage than any other cluster.

In terms of Factor Two items, this cluster is consistently negative, with, on average, 75% of respondents disagreeing with the attitude statements and a consistently small number strongly disagreeing. They are also consistently the lowest scoring for Factor Four. In particular against home-school contracts to which 60% are opposed. In response to D23, 'Parents should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do,' this group is significantly in disagreement (71%), in stark contrast to all other clusters.

Responses in terms of Factor Three, however, does seem to indicate the strong consumer orientation amongst this cluster. 39% (nearly as high as cluster one 41%) attend school social events, nearly half (48%) also attend pupils' play or presentation. They are consistently low scoring with regard to reading documents – although this may be explained by the language barrier – and yet relatively high scoring (55%) in relation to the key item A2F – reading exam results from other schools . A surprising number (42%) had read the Government's Parents' Charter.

Cluster three is difficult to categorise constructively. As a group it is easier to define in terms of what it is not. There is no indication that this group follows the traditional model and yet an orientation towards attending social events and pupil presentations indicates traditional practices. This cluster is clearly not supportive or sympathetic towards home-school links, and yet demonstrates little enthusiasm for making a more active contribution to the school in the model of active citizen. Deference to professional knowledge also suggests no orientation towards parent as co-educator. Despite, or perhaps because of, such negativity, this cluster does have an orientation towards consumer behaviour more akin to those parents who 'exit' the system rather than 'voice' an opinion.

#### 2.2.4 Cluster Four: Passive/Challenging (Citizen - Co-educator – Consumer)

Cluster Four is the third largest cluster (228). Although it is also predominantly a cluster of white, female, working-class respondents, there are more black respondents in this

group than the others. This cluster also has the highest percentage of middle-class respondents.

In terms of Factor One, cluster four has high scores for agreement and a consistent number of respondents who strongly agree (around 20%). In general, responses are positive, more so than cluster two but less so than cluster one. What is distinctive about cluster one is that there is a spread of responses, including a consistent small group of respondents who disagree and occasional strongly disagree. Responses to D21 illustrate this point and are typical of the distribution of responses for this cluster. It can be said that there is a higher degree of dissent or challenge to the supportive/sympathetic traditional model from respondents in this group.

For items in Factor Two, the distribution across strongly agree and agree remains in evidence, but the higher numbers are for strongly agree in all cases. For this factor responses in cluster four are close to responses for cluster one and in some cases are the highest score. For items D22C, 'It is important to develop links between home and school to raise levels of children's achievement' and D22F, 'It is important to develop links between home and school to improve levels of attendance' this cluster scored highest for strongly agree responses. More importantly, this cluster scores most highly for D23 relative to all others for strongly agree responses. These responses suggest very positive attitudes towards the parent as co-educator .

Responses in cluster four are also high for Factor Three, although not as high as cluster one. In most cases this cluster tends to be the second highest scoring.

Cluster four consistently scores the highest percentages against items for Factor Four with two exceptions. For E29, 'More written information from school' cluster five scores highest with 83% relative to cluster four with 82% and for E32, 'A written contract between parents pupils and school' cluster one and cluster four each score 67%. This is a distinctive pattern suggesting that cluster four is the most potentially assertive group of respondents wishing to develop a more pro-active parent-school relationship in terms of active citizenship. 78% - the highest percentage – from this cluster would like an opportunity to have a say in school policy-making. Consistent with the orientation of this cluster towards the co-educator model, 91% of respondents wanted more homework they could share with their child.

This cluster is quite challenging to the dominant tradition but scores highly in terms of the consumerist dimension. However it is most distinctive in scores for factor four and therefore suggests a strong orientation towards active citizenship whilst also scoring highly for factor two – parents as co-educators.

#### 2.2.5. Cluster Five: Active/Challenging (Citizen - Co-educator)

Cluster Five is the fourth largest group (194). It is also predominately made up of white, female, working-class respondents.

In terms of Factor One, very few respondents strongly agree with any of the items. For some items a majority agree, but for others there is a significant group who disagree and a few who strongly disagree. This is the most distinctive feature of this cluster. For example on B7, 'It is useful to attend school meeting because what parents say does count' 42% of respondents disagree and 5% strongly disagree. For B10, 'The school keep me well informed about the work my child is doing at school' 41% disagree and 10% strongly disagree. For B13, 'The school understands the education I want for my child' 45% disagree and 7% strongly disagree. For B14, 'The school understands how I can help my child's education' 55% disagree and 3% strongly disagree. For item D21 there is also a high level of disagreement –equal to nearly half of the cluster. This quite clearly indicates a cluster which is challenging the dominant traditional.

For Factor Two, cluster five are extremely supportive with very little disagreement and a distribution across both agree and strongly agree scales although the distribution is typically of the order of 30% strongly agree to 70% agree. Responses to D23, however, indicate less enthusiasm for involvement in decision-making.

In terms of Factor Three, cluster five consistently scores the lowest scores, for example only 8% attend the Annual Parents' Meeting and only 41% (the lowest percentage) read exam results from other schools. A lower number have read the Governments' Parents' Charter (28%).

Responses to items in Factor Four suggest that this cluster of respondents are oriented towards more involvement within the active citizenship model. For a group where there is evidence of strong disagreement, there is very little disagreement with the idea that, 'Parents should be more involved in making decision about what schools do' (D23). This cluster scores consistently highly in this factor, although not always the highest relative to other clusters. 88% want more flexible arrangements for meeting teachers and 77% want an opportunity to have a say in making school policy.

This cluster is the most challenging in terms of the dominant tradition and tends not to be consumer oriented. Whilst the data in this cluster suggest enthusiasm for the parent as co-educator, there is more support for the parent as active citizen given the high percentages for factor four.

### **3. Conclusions**

These findings do suggest that the dominant tradition is being at the same time reproduced and challenged. They do not, however, conclusively suggest any link between practices, beliefs and knowledge. Factor analysis did not indicate any links between responses to Section A items (Practices) and Section B (Beliefs) or Section D (Attitudes). Nor did it produce a factor linking Section C (Legal rights) with any other section.

I believe, however, that the factor and cluster analysis above confirms the usefulness of the conceptual frame employed to analyse the data. These data indicate that concepts of the

traditional, the co-educator, the consumer and the citizen are evident in the responses to the survey. When applied to the cluster analysis patterns can be established in terms of the factors although there are no clear-cut distinctions between the cluster groupings. Nor are there any distinctions between the clusters in terms of ethnicity, class or gender. This in fact confirms what would be expected in any 'typical' parent body in any school, which challenges the conventional wisdom that parental involvement can be distinguished by gender or class or ethnic background of the parent. Perhaps one of the most interesting findings from these data is that whichever way they are analysed, there is no significance in these terms. This finding is a significant challenge to the beliefs of the dominant tradition which positioned working-class and ethnic minority parents within a deficit model. What seems to be more significant is the conceptual model of the parent envisaged by the parent or group of parents.

I would suggest, therefore, that these findings support the research hypothesis in the following ways:

- In any parent body I would expect to find groupings of parents as apparent in the clusters which range from a large sympathetic/supportive group to a small negative/alienated group with more assertive groups in between.
- In any parent body I would not expect to find significant differences of attitude or behaviour strictly in terms of gender, class or ethnicity.
- In any parent body I would expect to find parents who to a greater or lesser extent reflect the conceptual models of parent as traditionalist, co-educator, consumer and

citizen. I would not expect to find that individual parents fall neatly into any of these conceptual types but would expect to find groupings of parents who have tendencies towards one type or another.

Survey analysis of this type is limited in its scope but does indicate dominant patterns from the sample responses. However, since the results from these data are inconclusive, further research is needed. The next phase of the research, collecting and analysing qualitative data through a case study approach, is designed to further test the conceptual framework.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### A SECONDARY SCHOOL CASE STUDY

#### 1. A School Managing Change

Ripley School is a school managing change. Following several years of poor performance there was a need to regenerate the school and create an educational environment in which pupils could achieve. At the same time it became clear that the confidence of local families in the school needed to be rebuilt and a new professional regime began to form an alliance with community leaders to manage the transition.

The school is a mixed comprehensive school with 998 pupils from the age of 11 – 16 serving an urban area where there are high levels of social and economic deprivation. Levels of unemployment are twice the national average and three times the local average. The school has 63% of pupils eligible for free school meals and twelve pupils with statements of special educational needs. There are 54.3 full-time equivalent teaching staff and a pupil-teacher ratio of 18:4. The most recent inspection report describes the school as being in a period of transition and building on its strengths to raise standards.

*'Ripley High School is in a period of transition, with its sights set on raising standards and improving achievement. It has a number of strengths upon which it should continue to build, and a number of weaknesses which need to be the continuing focus of planning and development. It draws its pupils from a city area and they bring a range of learning experiences with them to Ripley. Some have learning difficulties; a much larger group have English language learning needs. The school adds value to their attainments on entry, but it must be sure that it offers richness of educational experience through consistently high standards of teaching.'*

GCSE results showed a marginal improvement in 1994 with 23.4% of pupils achieving 5 or more grades A-C and 88.0% achieving 5 or more grades at A-G. Whilst the proportion of pupils achieving 5 or more Grade A-C is well below the national average (40.5% in 1994) the proportion of pupils achieving 5 or more grades A-G is marginally higher than the national average (86.8% in 1994). Levels of attendance are very high, around 93%, and during the academic year 93-94 there were five permanent exclusions. Nearly all pupils go on to further education - 86% in 1994.

The deputy headteacher describes the school as 'economically deprived but culturally rich'. Over 90% of pupils are from ethnic minority background, mostly from the Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities. For the majority of parents English is not the mother tongue and most do not speak good English. There are 10 Section 11 staff employed in the school and two members of staff have specific responsibilities for home-school liaison. The school was formerly the Girls High School and there has been a public perception that the school has 'gone down' since its change of status. The newly appointed headteacher and her staff are working hard to manage the transition to a school which is regarded as part of the local community and recognised locally for the high expectations and achievements of all its pupils, but in particular of black pupils.

As a result of open enrolment, pupil numbers have shown a slight decrease and the school is currently undersubscribed. In September 1994 there were 177 requests for places against an admission limit of 252. Some pupils from the immediate catchment area have traditionally gone to independent schools under the Assisted Places scheme and there is a slight gender imbalance since the parents of some girls choose a single

sex school. As a result of the local 'market' in education (the school is surrounded by opted out GM schools and a strong independent sector) the school has become, and is known as, a predominantly black school. This has become an issue in parental choice and the school management are aware of racist attitudes both within and outside of the school.

The description of the school given above by the inspectorate highlights the transitional nature of Ripley School at the time of this study. It was a school which had operated within the dominant tradition of strong professional boundaries, and the constraints of a single-sex (girls) grammar school curriculum designed to meet the needs of a certain type of 'capable' female pupil. Within this tradition, the school had educated girls 'successfully' for many years with the tacit shared agreement of the pupils and their families about what their education should be. This population had tended to be mostly white families – a homogenous group who subscribed to the education offered at the school, within the critical benchmarks of the 11-plus examination and the public examination system at 16 years. In every sense the school was a classic example of the post-war model of the education system, through educational professionals providing opportunities to educate a white meritocracy, with the full consent of the public, who were marginalised from the whole process. The study of Ripley School in the mid-1990s revealed the resilience of the old regime and the extent to which the remnants of that regime – subscribers to the post-war dominant tradition – remained a resistant force to the challenge being mounted, of necessity, by a new headteacher, governing body and staff. Although the scope of this study does not allow direct before and after comparisons to be made, interview data from existing staff reveals the problems to be overcome.

### ***1.1 The old regime***

The historical context of the school is important since the institution is at the same time growing from, and struggling with, the past. When the new headteacher took over she describes the school as 'very formal' with a very rigorous, authoritarian regime controlling the public spaces (break-times, lunchtimes, corridor space) but virtually no control over the private spaces of the classrooms where much undemanding work was eventually revealed. This was resulting in very poor examination results – levels of around 12% of pupils achieving five or more A-Cs at GCSE and in particular very poor levels of achievement in the maths department with something like only 14% of the GCSE cohort achieving passes. Since the change of status from selective to comprehensive, staff had clearly not adapted to the challenge of dealing with a range of pupil abilities and some wanted to exclude more pupils. The headteacher explains this situation:

*'Some staff were saying - Why aren't we chucking more kids out of school, and how were we to improve on exam results when we have to teach this rabble. - When I arrived I had to have a staff meeting (blood letting session) about this issue to establish why we can't throw out 5 % of the school population. That was what was happening when I first came here. We were excluding 130 pupils out of a school population of 1,100 either for one day or for any combination of days that we were allowed to exclude children short of permanently excluding them. And to me that was just not acceptable. A school which is doing that and not asking itself why it is happening is a cause for concern.'*

In addition the prevailing attitude of staff was of low expectations from a mixed-ability intake, such an attitude seemed also to mask racist attitudes. The headteacher describes her early experience of staff meetings:

*'I remember being at meetings where in lots of ways, some of them subtle, some of them blunt, people would make statements about well 'what can we expect of these children'. There was an undercurrent of racism which said, what can you expect of these kids who come from deficit background,s therefore by the time they come to the end of their secondary schooling we have every right to think that their prospects are going to be lower than other pupils of a similar age in the town.'*

The old regime of the school was sustained by a power structure in effect maintaining what the deputy headteacher describes as a 'happy failing school'. He explains:

*'It was happy because the staff were all quite cohesive and quite comfortable with one another but what was actually being produced in the classroom wasn't really meeting the needs of the pupils. There was a significant group of staff who held power in the school because the previous headteacher lacked authority. This group held sway and they wanted Ripley to be this comfortable sort of institution where the teaching staff held sway.'*

He goes on to describe how a previous, weak headteacher, faced with a powerful and self-interested senior management team, resulted in strong professional boundaries designed to maintain the institution as a comfortable place for teachers rather than pupils:

*'The power base as I would characterise it before the new head was a clique which involved my predecessor as deputy head, a senior teacher and other staff in the school. The deputy controlled the budget, so he was a powerful figure in the school, and the senior teacher did the supply cover and used to run it in what can only be described as a fairly paternalist manner. Between them they were a neat little clique. They controlled the areas which allowed them to grant favours and hold sway. For example they got NTAs – non-teaching assistants - upgrades and nobody knew why. It was purely grace and favour from this group. Obviously it was sanctioned by the head but there was neither sufficient strength or direction in the head. So the clique effectively ran the school and not the head. They had enough power in the existing SMT to influence his decisions. So they held sway. ... There were people in the school who wanted a different school but had lost hope that it would ever happen.'*

Another deputy head describes how this situation clearly resulted in an inappropriate curriculum:

*'... some of the schemes of work of some teachers had not changed in fifteen or sixteen years, but the school had change dramatically, so that teachers were delivering a curriculum designed for a white girls' grammar school to a mixed ethnic comprehensive.'*

Under the old regime the role of parents was taken for granted in that there was a tacit agreement about the purpose of the school and the processes of teaching and learning, as well as the status of the relationship between home and school. The home supported the school and the school was the domain of the teachers. As a result strong professional boundaries were established since there was, it was assumed, no need for any dialogue with parents and the local community.

But as the population of the school began to change radically, the beliefs, attitudes and practices of the dominant tradition sustained by the old regime at Ripley were increasingly inappropriate to meet the needs of a different set of pupils in a different educational environment. Indeed, so long as the old regime refused to question and reflect on their beliefs and attitudes, nor examine their practices in a rational manner, the school was increasingly lacking in any authority and therefore any local popular consent for its purpose as an educational institutional. In short, the tacit agreement between the school and the local public – and in a market system its customers – had broken down.

In the same way as the historical overview of the need for increased public accountability for the education system nationally demonstrated the need for a new settlement between professionals and the public, so the old regime at Ripley School increasingly became an anachronism as it became clear that the survival of the school,

and the successful education of its pupils, equally required considerable change of practice within the school, and a new agreement between the school and the local community.

What changes were taking place which required such a fundamental response from the school?

### ***1.2 Changes requiring a new agreement***

There were four major conditions which challenged the old tacit agreements and threatened the reproduction of the dominant tradition.

- Systemic change from grammar school to mixed comprehensive school.

It appeared that both school staff and the school management had failed to reassess their situation in the light of the comprehensive system. In many respects, even in the 1990s, it was a comprehensive school continuing to behave as a grammar school.

Weak leadership and management – indeed the school had had a series of headteachers and prolonged periods of acting headship – had failed to address the changes which were required. The change of status from single-sex to a mixed school raised, in particular, issues about what was a most appropriate education for girls in a new context, but also what would be the particular learning needs of boys.

- Demographic population change and economic recession (cultural difference/Asian majority).

The immediate locality – the catchment area for the school – had over the years become populated mostly by Asian families. This trend had coincided with an

economic downturn in Bankfield with the recession in the car industry. This industry had provided most of the employment for Asian immigrants and therefore resulted in high levels of unemployment. Thus the school was faced with pupils suffering both social and economic disadvantage which was likely to affect their educational opportunities in impoverished home situations. For Asian pupils such disadvantage was reinforced by the language barrier and the further concerns which affect education associated with cultural diversity and religious traditions. Increasingly the school needed to offer a curriculum which met the needs of Asian pupils of all abilities.

- Pupil violence fuelling a bad reputation in the local community.

A stabbing incident outside the school involving a pupil – probably ten years prior to the study – was mentioned by several staff and existing parents as having fuelled many rumours that the school was a violent place and pupils carried all manner of weapons. This had resulted in many parents being frightened to send their children to Ripley according to one deputy head:

*'I think it was eight or ten years ago before I came, that there was a stabbing outside the school - which had nothing to do with the school, although it did involve one of the children from the school. But you wouldn't believe the rumours that that still causes - that 'children carry flick knives', 'children go around carrying all manner of weapons', 'they are completely uncontrolled and unruly.'*

This incident was used by many to justify racist stories that a largely Asian school is a violent place.



- Market competition – Grant Maintained schools and the independent sector.

Over a number of years, since comprehensive reorganisation, Ripley school failed to reconnect with any 'natural' constituency. The existence of a strong independent sector in the area had long since created a competitive arena for education.

Conservative education reforms, establishing a quasi-market system for state run schools, only exacerbated this situation and four out of twelve secondary schools in the town opted out of local authority control to become grant maintained. The potential for social segregation created by the quasi-market reinforced the demographic change in the local area such that by 1994 the school had 90% of pupils whose families originated from the Indian subcontinent. The 'bad' reputation of the school described above, as well as poor examination results, were also important factors which would alienate consumers within a market system. The importance of 'public perception' often based on a lack of information or misinformation, in an increasingly individualistic society, cannot be dismissed in such a case as this. As the deputy head reported:

*'What is happening now in this town with enrolment is that we are going to end up with a terribly divided society. We have seen the kernel of that happening here now. There are parents who will not contemplate stepping over the threshold of this school because they perceive it as an Asian school. And with the best will in the world the LEA can do nothing about it. It doesn't matter what the quality of what we have to offer is and I think we do a damn good job. There are catchment areas but parents are increasingly aware of their rights to send their child to a school of their choice and the queues at a school which has only 10-15% non white kids grow almost exponentially whereas we suffer a decline of about 20 or 30 kids every single year. And that is despite all the interesting things which go on here, despite the fact that we really do care about the kids, that we are genuinely achieving.'*

The factors highlighted above (some internal to the institution, some external) were impacting negatively on the school. It was losing support and the number on roll was

falling. For the pupils in the school the curriculum on offer (and in particular the delivery of that curriculum) was becoming increasingly irrelevant, such that pupils were failing to reach their potential.

A new headteacher was appointed. Her brief was to initiate and sustain institutional change which would turn around a deteriorating situation. This would at the same time have to amount to a challenge to the dominant tradition.

## **2. Institutional Change – The New Constitutive Structures**

In order to counter the conditions conspiring to pull the school down, a new agreement needed to be established with the local community (including the families of pupils) which, at the same time, reflected the wishes of that community, and reestablished the authority of the school as a worthwhile educational establishment for the children of that community. This would require new institutional arrangements to win the consent of the local community for the educational values and purposes of the school. This change was brought about through the following measures:

### ***2.1 Appointment of a new headteacher***

A new headteacher was appointed who expressed very clear educational values and purposes. She was from Bangladesh, but had also lived in Pakistan, and had a keen understanding of the racial tensions within those communities which were often translated into the immigrant populations in Britain. Not only do immigrant families from Bangladesh or Pakistan have to overcome the language barrier of learning English, but they speak different languages in the different regions. In Bangladesh the language is Bengali, whereas in Pakistan the language is Urdu. There are also religious

and cultural differences between the two groups which have sparked great rivalries over the years. She explained the tensions:

*'Those historical differences, which actually culminated in a very nasty war really, have lingered and this is partly a cultural state in the subcontinent. These rivalries and tensions between these groups have always been there. Sometimes they come up intermittently and really hit the headlines (cf. the Hindus in India) and something will spark off terrific fighting. The mixture is really interesting and potentially volatile. '*

*'I don't like stereo-typing, but nevertheless there is something which conforms to the stereo-type. Bengalis would describe themselves as being fairly peace loving and interested in poetry, literature and the arts. While the Pakistanis would tend to say - though I can't speak for the whole group and so I'm just pushing forward with the children we have had here as well as my past experiences - that they are much more into martial activities and fighting. This is partly the racial difference as well.'*

Her core educational values were, firstly, to recognise the cultural difference of an ethnic minority population, *'If you are in a minority in this country where a lot of your background and culture is seen in a negative way, then the school has to counteract that'* and then to have the highest expectations of what children from such backgrounds can achieve, *'There are certain non-negotiable starting points like schools are about educating young people and about pushing out their horizons as far as they can for them'.*

At the same time, however, her agenda was to improve public examination results, not only for the sake of the pupils, but also to demonstrate school improvement:

*'We can't lose sight of the fact that a school is about learning in its widest sense, and there is a very important core to that which is getting children through examinations and getting them to do well, particularly in a school like this, because for too long schools like this in very economically deprived areas have prided themselves on being happy, cosy schools. But I don't think that you are doing justice to the children if that is all you are selling yourself on. That hard core of scoring on the qualifications, the exams etc has got to be there, that is the kernel of what it is all about because no*

*thinking parent is going to send their child to a school which says well we want kids to be happy , but it doesn't really matter, or it hasn't consciously address the issues of improving standards of achievement.'*

*'Most school these days would say that because that is one of the things that the legislation has done, it has pushed everyone into thinking of it in that way. I think that is absolutely right, because for too long inner city schools in some areas have short changed children and been content with less than they would have accepted for their own children'*

Whilst her orientation towards change is underpinned by beliefs and attitudes which suggest a more radical agenda of school improvement, she was prepared to keep some of the institutional practices designated 'traditional', not least because she recognised them as important to parents.

*'... children going into assembly. It is a fairly traditional school. We hang on to those sorts of things fairly overtly. These things are very important for parents. When I took over the school it was very formal, and in lots of respects it still is. And there are things there that I hung on to because I think they are important for a number of reasons, partly because I value them myself. ... I think having a very purposeful environment is very important, I don't like children racing around doing their own thing. I think they have got to know and understand the code of conduct that we expect from them and that their behaviour has got to mesh in with that, otherwise they will know that we are not going to be pleased. So it is very much a directive approach, not overt control, but aiming towards self-control and self-discipline in the youngsters.'*

## **2.2 Appointment of a new senior management team**

Two new deputy heads were appointed, and a new senior management team established to, *'reach out to other parts of the school and find allies'* in a strategy of persuasion. This process is described by one deputy head as, *'four people storming the existing structure'*. One deputy took control of the budget, which had been in deficit for two years, and turned it into a surplus for the next three years. This was an important move to disable the old regime's power base. At first there was much resistance from staff to the philosophy of change. As one deputy head describes:

*'I can still remember the headteacher confronting people and making them feel very uncomfortable when they said things that were contrary to her approach. It started off with people perhaps being directly told that that was not an acceptable philosophy. She challenged the (dominant tradition) and her approach has become widespread.'*

Despite resistance, strong leadership challenged the 'public language' of the old regime which accepted low expectations and low achievement, and continued to persuade staff of the important value of different beliefs and attitudes. The deputy head again explains:

*'When Mrs Green took over the old power structure held on to power for another twelve months or so and tried to contest some of Mrs Green's important principles but because of her strength and determination and because the SMT gradually started to reach out to other parts of the school and find allies in the school. At every level in the school we found allies who had wanted a different school but had lost hope that it would ever happen. When they began to see that the SMT were strong enough to make it happen, then they began to associate themselves with the SMT. .... With the advent of Mrs Green the old culture was all challenged and over a period of time has changed. (most) Staff have come to accept her more child centred approach. I think the majority of staff now associate with what she is trying to do. Some of the opponents have gone and those that remain are more and more a minority. Now the old tradition numbers 10/12 out of 50. When the staff was nearer to 60 the number was over 20. .... That started out as a small group of people - Mrs Green, Jane, Carol, and me speaking out in public forums against the old tradition, saying we don't accept that, this number has gradually grown. Now more and more people - David and Brian and Miriam - are willing to speak in the public forum and say I don't accept that'*

The importance of creating a core management team who share common educational values was central to the politics of change, as one deputy described it:

*'They are similar thinking people and obviously once you have got that, that spreads to other people and very much now there is a feeling that some of the people who weren't of like mind and who are still refusing to agree are being frozen out by those people who are starting to come in, the circle is getting bigger without a doubt. More and more people are feeling comfortable with the situation.'*

### ***2.3 Appointment of new governors***

New governors were actively sought by the school who would create closer ties between the school and the local community. As a result the governing body does now reflect the ethnic mix of the school. The Chair and Vice-Chair of governors are Asian males as well as long-standing local councillors. They are both nominees of the local education authority. One parent governor is a Pakistani woman who has been a primary school governor locally and is well known by parents. Another parent governor (male) is of Greek origin. Whilst he acknowledges that he does not truly represent parents, he strongly defends the rights of the white, Christian minority in the school. Other LEA governors have links with the Authority and one co-opted governor (a white woman) is a professional employed on the Section 11 team for the LEA and brings valuable expertise to the governing body, particularly regarding support for pupils facing difficulties as a result of English being their second language.

Parental views, opinions and wishes are taken into account by the governing body in their decision-making, directly and indirectly, although there is an overriding sense of having to 'keep control' and not 'give way' indiscriminately to parents' wishes. This latter view is more often expressed by school staff although LEA governors concur. The headteacher and co-opted governors more often than not find themselves playing a mediating role since they do recognise the importance of parents' wishes.

The concerns of parents which come to the attention of the governing body tend to be synonymous with cultural or religious concerns which, in turn, are often regarded as concerns from 'the community'. This means the local Asian community who make up

the majority of families in the school. There are several examples of such cultural issues, for example in connection with religious teaching in school, the delivery of sex education, the teaching of community languages (Urdu and Bengali), or single-sex provision of physical education. An illustration of the practice of the governing body, and the contribution of individual governors to one substantive issue, is given below.

- The wearing of headscarves.

The school has a uniform code which has been flexible enough to accommodate girls wearing traditional Asian dress. The particular issue of girls wearing headscarves, in keeping with religious traditions, had not previously been a concern but was a practice growing in popularity and required a policy decision to amend the uniform code.

Parents raised the issue with the headteacher who then brought the matter to the attention of the governing body. This generated vigorous debate, since some governors were concerned to acknowledge the religious values of families, whilst others (including staff) were concerned about the school being seen 'more and more as a Muslim school' and the possibility of 'starting a flood that might lead to all kinds of things...'. There was also the concern expressed that such a policy change might signal encouragement to the more extremist religious groups within the Muslim community. These views had to be mediated to come to an agreement within the governing body, and the decision was taken to amend the uniform policy to accommodate the wearing of headscarves. This decision appears to have diffused the situation and one governor has described the outcome as a 'non-issue'. The involvement of parent governors in this situation is again quite individualistic. Mrs YH, who is a well-known member of the Pakistani community, was supportive of the policy change and actively involved in advising on how the change should be implemented. Mr CA, a district councillor from

amongst the Pakistani community, helped to mediate with the more extreme groups from the local Mosque. Dr P, a Greek-born Christian, had not become involved nor expressed strong views for or against the change.

Other issues indirectly respond to parents' concerns for high standards of academic achievement which are important for the school in a vulnerable market situation.

Whilst raising standards of education for all pupils is an intrinsic good to be pursued, the spectre of public examination league tables looms large. The practice of the governing body on this matter also reveals a great deal about the role played by parent governors.

- Links between governors and subject departments.

The governing body has been at the centre of recent changes in the school to improve standards of achievement. This has focused on the low expectations of teaching staff of Asian pupils and the examination performance of subject departments. The Chair describes this as:

*'The Governors decided to have certain teachers from certain Departments to come to the Governing Body and therefore we more or less questioned them and said why is it your children are falling down in such and such a subject and why is such and such a thing happening. We do that to every Department.... We are just asking certain teachers - like the Head of Maths has come down and he has told us what is happening and then we can go back to last year and see what the progress was of the children and how many pass GCSE...'*

Alongside the programme of presentations, individual governors have been assigned to different subject departments. Two parent governors are involved. Mrs YH is linked to the Technology Department and the Science Department. Although she had not yet



been in the Science Department, she had spent three days in the Technology Department observing lessons and commenting. This is a sensitive area since, as she acknowledged 'we don't want to get teachers' backs up'. Nevertheless she did not deflect from raising her concerns:

*'I went into one of the classrooms, a Year 11 class, and it took the boys about 10, 15, 20 minutes to settle down to any type of work and once they had settled down they were doing something that was really - something that I would plan to do with 7 year olds. ...they were cutting out bits of paper from a magazine and when I asked the teacher and he said well they need to be directed. ...you see this is a very low expectation of the boys. ...There are also good lessons but also I felt that children needed more input on how to go about investigating certain things step by step and then let them do it themselves. When I brought that back to the Head of Year, particularly that first class, I saw they said there was a behavioural problem. I'm not surprised there was a behavioural problem because there was a lack of interest, there was no challenge, there was nothing challenging there for the children'*

*'So the Head of Year said he took over those boys for a little while and they were ok. I took them to the Library and they were running riot and had to bring them back but generally in the class they were good, they were better behaved. But it was like that wall there, well that's behavioural, we can't do anything about it. But I wanted to put that to him so that OK I'll talk to my staff and we'll see what we can do. There must be some way of getting those boys to do something interesting. If there's a group of them in there causing problems then split them up into different classes or give them something more challenging to do, I don't know, I just felt that there was a blank wall there and that's it, behaviour, we can't do anything more about it. ...I left my suggestions with the Head of Year and I asked him to pass them on to his staff as well and I put positive things down as well. I didn't want the staff to think well she's come in, she doesn't know anything about teaching. We've been teaching so many years, she's telling us. I saw one of the teachers - she had the children sitting down at the beginning, talked about what they were doing and what they were going to do today, they went away, did it, came back at the end, what did you do, how far have you got, this is what we're going to do next week, which I thought was just wonderful.*

Another parent governor is linked to the Maths Department. He described the strategy of the governing body:

*'...the Governing Body started picking out certain subject areas for example Maths, English and Science were the main subjects, and we noticed that particularly Maths and Science as well as English we were getting poor results compared to other local*

*schools and where there were less Asian children. At the same time we looked at some of the research and surveys which showed that Asian children are better in Maths compared to white children. So we bought that and said why is it not happening in our school, what's the problem, what is wrong. What we did was we invited the Heads of those subject areas, for example the Head of Maths and asked him - the governing body asked him what is the problem, what do you think is going wrong and try to tackle the situation. Not sort of forcing anything on him, simply to find out what is the problem so how can we tackle this issue you know to raise educational standards and exam results especially looking at the research you know... Now to my understanding it came out at that time that the Head of Maths had been in post for quite a number of years and the perception in the Department was that Asian youngsters are not good achievers and they didn't expect from the children high standards or high achievers. So the message we gave them was that we would like - we tried to persuade them that they are as good as the English children and you should expect from them more than you would normally and that's the only way to have that influence. Now we did the same for the other subject areas and we are in the process of doing that again and we have elected a governor representative for each subject area and every now and then that governor visits the department and sees how things are going.'*

*'I'm visiting the Maths department on Monday and I will be seeing children at work, what sort of work they're doing, especially I'll be more concerned this time about the homework. Whether they are set homework on a regular basis and whether the homework is checked or not and what mechanism there is to give feedback to some of the children who've done the homework and done it wrong, what feedback is being given, how much teacher time is being spent actually giving some sort of feedback to them.'*

## **2.4 Establishing an agreed strategy of school improvement**

An audit of four core curriculum areas was undertaken by the local education authority (at the invitation of the school) - Maths, Science, English and Technology. Whilst the school recognised that Maths and science were weak departments and that there was much room for improvement in technology, the English department was not causing concern. The strategy was to look at core departments rather than targeting weak departments. The main purpose of the process was to improve examination results but this required improvements in many areas i.e. teaching and learning styles, departmental leadership and how the department worked as a team. The drive to improve exam results was made quite explicit to staff, as the deputy head explains:

*'It was made clear to Heads of Department that exam results had to improve. They were told exam results had to improve'*

Departments were set very clear targets. In the first year a 5% increase which was achieved and then 5% the next year. This process was supported by regular review meetings which discussed questionnaire data supplied by the heads of department. From these discussions requirements for support and resources were identified. In addition, staff had to predict examination grades for Years 10 and 11 which were realistic but optimistic. These targets were then used for further review meetings when predictions were set against mock exam grades and strategies for each child developed. These strategies were then discussed with the pupils individually. The important role of heads of departments as middle managers was recognised by senior management as key to this process. Deputy heads spent a lot of time supporting them to develop their role. Some departments required more support than others as one deputy head explained:

*'We recognised that not every middle manager was as capable as they should be. There were a significant number of middle managers who were and could take more responsibility. Not enough of them are proactive and there are some very weak links who need a lot of support. ... We have been trying to create a different culture within the middle managers, so that they take on a more active role in the school and have a whole school awareness as well as managing their teams more effectively. This has worked with some but not all.'*

## **2.5 Establishing a reformed ethos – acknowledging cultural diversity**

A new alliance of headteacher, senior management and governing body began the process of changing attitudes and beliefs about the recognition of cultural diversity, its relevance for learning and, most importantly, high expectations of black pupils. Whilst

structures were introduced to facilitate easy access for parents to teachers on pastoral issues, such as the weekly surgery for parents to meet the headteacher and the system of form tutors, changing attitudes of staff within school required the introduction of a new value system which acknowledged and recognised black and Asian cultures, whilst not neglecting the white minority of pupils and their cultural background. The head approached this by initiating an environment in which rigorous professional argument was expected and respected. She asserted:

*'People can say whatever they like, but they must be prepared to stand up to criticism and stand up to argument and that is what people are not prepared to do. Their views must stand the test of research and evidence and they must engage in a professional debate about it.'*

For some staff the debate about pupil expectation questioned their very professionalism and was interpreted as undermining the ground on which they stood as teachers, of what they are trying to do as professionals. This fear was challenged head-on by one deputy head who said:

*'I question the fundamental right of a teacher if they don't actually believe that children have potential... ...the role of the teacher is to facilitate that potential.'*

Different cultural backgrounds of Pakistani and Bengali pupils have been openly celebrated in the school. The school includes Urdu and Bengali as language options at GCSE as well as French and German. Bengali youth workers are invited into school and provide positive role models for pupils, and a lunchtime club invited speakers to talk about relevant issues for Asian pupils, such as arranged marriages. As one member of staff said, the school '*seeks to celebrate those cultures and make sure we have representations from all three or four cultures that we have*'.

Pastoral tutors within the school have become aware that cultural differences can lead to real tensions in the lives of some of the students. They have had to become sensitive to the intolerance in some Asian families to boy/girl relationships and the ongoing practice of arranged marriages in prospect for some students. Both the celebration of the bilingualism (sometimes trilingualism) of students, and the acknowledgement that translation and interpretation facilities may be required for their parents, has become part of the ethos of the school. In short, staff are encouraged to value different cultures rather than maintain a hierarchical view of White cultural dominance and, in particular, to value the Asian cultural family background of students. This is summed up by one pastoral tutor as follows:

*'It is quite tempting to take an hierarchical view of it and say that the Asian culture has got to learn to be like white British culture and I don't think we take that view here. I think we take a much more 'what we can learn from other cultures' approach... Its a synthesis... its not taking a view that we have to teach them our culture.'*

The importance of the support of the families of students, in the context of valuing cultural difference, is also highlighted by another;

*'The strength of the family, is the biggest strength that we have within the school. The strength of the school comes from the family.'*

## ***2.6 Creating an ethos of mediation, negotiation and persuasion***

An acknowledgement and recognition of cultural difference has required a different management style within the school, both internal management and external relations albeit within formal structures and processes.

Clear lines of communication have been established between the school and parents concerning both pastoral and academic issues. This has been formalised within a system of Year heads and form tutors. These members of staff have become the main point of contact for most parents, either formally or informally. These tutors acknowledge their role as mediators between different viewpoints or positions on issues held by the school, the student and the parent. Such matters can often centre upon reconciling differences of cultural identity for students whose lives at school and home can create significant tensions. An example is given by a pastoral tutor:

*'In Year 10 we have a group of boys with considerable relationship difficulties. They have quite an image in the school. But one of them had a significant problem in that he couldn't manage his cultural identity at home and his school identity which was one of the school 'heavies' - an image he particular wanted to keep. It came to a head one afternoon. I can't remember what he had done but something so bad that I'd taken him home to his father. I had never seen anything like it. I sat in the living room and he stood in the corner with his head bowed and his hands cast down while his father went through everything with me and apologised to me for what had happened. That's cultural difference.'*

Such an example highlights potential dilemmas for students. It is recognised by the headteacher that mediation between the home and the school will often be necessary in the interests of the student. She explains:

*'...kids have to swap identities constantly on a daily basis. The relationships with parent vary hugely... but here a typical case might be a pupil being exposed to our message to question and be proactive and even challenging in certain situations. Yet the child might leave here and go to the Mosque School and the kind of traditional learning by rote and don't ask questions. The kid has to constantly swap hats between us. '*

This scenario has implications for the way pupils learn since they are accustomed to learning by rote outside of the school. The headteacher describes how the school tries to counter this:

*'We have to get over the point that they need to be thinking about what they are reading, picking up the ideas within the text to make sense of what it is trying to say. They need to look at questions and work out what it is they are asking, rather than just assuming it (the meaning) is just there.'*

This creates a real need for the school to mediate between school and home to challenge a culture in the home which is deferential to authority. The headteacher says they have to take an 'extra step' to educate parents, as well as students, into a new way of learning:

*'A lot of our parents have not been to school and lot of the way children are being brought up is to be recipients of the information from adults. And so if one of the stated aims for the school is to make children proactive in their learning, we have to overcome this barrier where children are seen as being done to, you will listen to the teacher. That's very much the message we get from parents, children will listen to what the teacher says. Whereas we are saying we want the children to be involved in their own learning. So we have to take an extra step, if you like, not only educating the children to be proactive learners who think for themselves but educating the parents to support this and make the parents proactive in support of their children's learning. It sounds obvious but (thinking) can be a problem can't it. We need to let parents think that that (thinking) is a good thing.'*

More open structures for direct access and dialogue between the school and the parents of pupils were also set up. For example the headteacher initiated a weekly surgery where she would be available to meet parents on a 'drop-in' basis. Year heads spend time with parents both individually and in groups. Many individual meetings concerned pupils causing concern, and parents were invited in to discuss the matter at the invitation of the school. Sometimes group meetings were convened by the school for a particular purpose. Home-school liaison staff were available to meet parents in their homes if appropriate. Staff are aware that Asian parents may lack information and understanding of the education system and the school, and tend to display a

deferential attitude towards the authority of the teacher. This is all regarded as part of a cultural tradition which needs to be challenged. An example of this is a recent homework group:

*'We had a big concern about homework. We had a meeting asking parents to come in so we could talk to them about why their children were having problems handing work in on time. Now in a different context/school where there was a different kind of cultural expectation the parents would have been firing questions at me - what is the school doing about this and this is a problem and that is a problem. Now here, I wasn't asked one question. The expectation was that I was there to tell them what to do, which is in a cultural tradition but also old-fashioned. In our tradition - 15 years ago in this country the view was parents are there to be told what to do by teachers and teachers are there to tell parents what to do. It was like that.'*

Meetings such as this one demonstrated the need for staff to negotiate with parents, and mediate between the different positions, to persuade them to become more proactive in the education of their children. This is described by staff as developing parents;

*'What we see as our role within the school is that we are developing not only the parents understanding of the education system and informing them - we inform that about the National Curriculum, we inform them about everything so do in school, we send letters home in English and also in our two major languages which are Urdu and Bengali.'*

The importance of mediating cultural differences with parents too is highlighted:

*'On the issue of cultural differences, our concern within the school is that we are aware of the cultural differences and what we say to parents and what we articulate with each other, is that they need to have an understanding not only of the British education system but the fact that within British society they are being raised within a society that does question what is happening. We don't, I think, articulate that enough with parents, but we do try first to encourage them to support their children's learning.'*



Exchange and dialogue has begun to be established between the school and local community leaders, both by the school inviting members of the community to come into school, and by school staff going out into the community. The school also 'posts' work in the community, for example in the local supermarket. In particular, the school seeks to involve community leaders in influencing and mediating cultural change between the school and the community. This is described by one tutor as an important way to try to effect change;

*'We are involved quite a lot with community leaders, we are developing that all the time. You have to find the opinion leaders, the change agents, within the community and if you can influence them that actually has quite a powerful impact on the view the community at large has. We have some very good home-school liaison staff who are very familiar with who the opinion leaders are.'*

The whole process of initiating institutional change and tackling key issues was informed by the values of educational partnership between the school and the home. This meant that the school had to reach out to parents. The school thus placed a high premium on good relations with parents of pupils. In the school prospectus the headteacher says: 'The system of care for individual pupils at Ripley places particular emphasis on good communication between school and home'. She adds: 'There are numerous occasions during the year when parents are welcomed in the school'. This required new institutional arrangements (structures) to encourage and sustain a more open and constructive partnership with parents.

## ***2.7 Institutional Arrangements for Parents***

The headteacher and staff are developing an open door policy for the families of pupils and are seeking to be increasingly responsive to the wishes and concerns of parents.

The school governing body works in close partnership with the headteacher in developing the school and has a large number of black governors who are representative of the different cultural backgrounds of the parent body.

The institutional arrangements for involving parents in the school are focused upon the parent's role in supporting the education of their child. The emphasis is on communication between home and school.

For prospective parents to the school there is an Open Evening so that parents of children due to transfer can make an informed choice about what is best for their child and parents are also invited to visit the school during the school day to see it at work. To assist parents who wish to make a visit, a supplementary sheet detailing the arrangements are included in the School Prospectus. When prospective parents have accepted a place at the school they are invited to a New Intake Evening which gives parents a further opportunity to talk to the headteacher and staff in more detail.

There are formal arrangements to inform parents of their children's progress at school. Each pupil receives a report twice a year. Pupils are invited to comment on their own progress alongside teacher assessments. These comments are reported to parents with suggestions from the school to improve progress. Parents are invited to attend 'regular' teacher consultation evenings with the pupil – typically twice a year – to discuss progress reports. In the School Prospectus these occasions are described as a *'valuable opportunity to discuss concerns and give praise for work done during the year'*. The role of the staff is to *'discuss the report and advise parents about their child's school work'*. Members of staff are always available at these events who can

act as interpreters for Bengal and Urdu speakers, and arrangements can be made for other languages. The school issues a briefing note for parents on pupil assessment which clearly and concisely sets out the cycle of reports and meetings. The importance of the contribution of parents is emphasised.

*'We try to make sure parents know how their son/daughter is progressing at school and have developed ways of communicating to you the information you want and need. We also need to know how parents feel their child is progressing and of any circumstances which might affect progress, such as extra help available at home and of course any feedback parents can give. Pupil attainment is a major focus of our partnership between parents, pupils and teachers, and all three of use must ensure that pupils at Ripley achieve the best they are able to do. We will inform you of any problems your child may be experiencing which we identify and will actively seek your support in reaching a solution.'*

The school produces a range of briefing notes for pupils and their families which gives clear and concise information about subject areas. These notes give the names of all points of contact, are written in a clear style and are presented in a 'user-friendly' A5 size format with line drawings. Only one of these, produced by the English department, specifically invites parents to discuss any aspects of the work of the department.

Parents are asked to support pupils' homework, not only by providing a suitable place for pupils to work but also in checking that homework is done. The school provides each pupil with a personal planner in which parents are encouraged to indicate that they have seen the homework for each week. In the Homework Policy Statement the support of parents is further emphasised, *'Parents are asked to support both their children and the school by ensuring that homework is completed'*. To enable them to

do this, the school provides parents with a copy of their child's homework timetable and ways in which they might assist.

Parents are invited to social events throughout the year and the school issues a calendar for parents at the beginning of each academic year which shows the dates of parents' consultation evenings, pupil progress reports, social events and holiday dates. There is a Ripley Newsletter sent home each half-term so that all families connected with the school are kept up to date with events and changes that are occurring in school. The school organises year group Certificate Afternoon presentations which are open to parents. These events celebrate the individual success of pupils whose parents are encouraged to join in the congratulations.

There are no formal arrangements for parental involvement in the pastoral care of pupils, but form tutors will make contact with parents when they judge a matter is of concern. The role of the form tutor is emphasised in the School Prospectus as the first point of contact for parents. A briefing note for parents on the pastoral care arrangements in school emphasises the importance of the home-school partnership:

*'Supporting pupils is a partnership between school and home. The Head of Year and Form Tutor will get to know families through personal contact on occasions such as consultation evenings and at other times if tutor or parent request it. A team of bilingual teachers helps communication with families.'*

The other point of contact is the headteacher who maintains an open door policy with parents. She holds an after-school surgery for parents until 6pm each Monday and makes herself available for parents as much as possible at other times. The surgery is communicated to parents in the School Prospectus and in the pastoral care briefing note.

The school has a parents' association which all families are invited to join. The Ripley Association organises social events, supports the parent consultation evenings and raises funds for the school and local charities.

The main issues of the school development plan for 1995/96 are:

- Raising pupil achievement
- Reviewing curriculum provision
- Follow up to Ofsted
- Management and Professional Development
- School Promotion and Community Links
- Resource Allocation

Parental Involvement is one 'strand' of the first issue which is being developed in two ways:

- To work with parents of Year 10 pupils to develop higher standards of achievement through COMPACT
- To review the timing of parents' evenings

Community links is one 'strand' of school promotion issues which is being addressed by further developing links with junior school teachers, pupils and parents.

The school has no vacancies on the governing body. By law the school must have four parent governors. These governors are elected by the parent body. At the last election there were four candidates for two vacancies.

By law the school must also have a clear policy for parental complaints. This is set out in the school prospectus. The first point of contact is the headteacher, then the governing body and the Local Education Authority.

It is clear from this account that formal structures were established to develop school-parent partnerships which would impact positively on the education of the child, at the same time as reinforcing a mutual agreement between the school and families (and the local community) to legitimate the purposes of the institution. These structures represented a significant challenge to the dominant tradition, and yet the practices of parental involvement suggest that the dominant tradition remains a strong residual element.

### **3. The Practices of Parental Involvement**

The practices of parental involvement suggest that only limited advance was made towards a full and constructive partnership with parents. It appears that the dominant tradition is still reproduced through practices, as much as new practices begin to foster a more radical tradition of parental involvement. For the most part, although structures were designed to foster direct parental involvement, in practice, they resulted in involvement on behalf of parents.

### ***3.1 Institutional Practices***

#### **3.1.1 The Practice of Staff**

Apart from the headteacher, school contacts with parents are mostly handled by a small number of staff, usually members of staff who are part of the Section 11 team. These staff carry out home visits as appropriate. From Year 9 onwards, parents get half-yearly reports on pupil progress, and information meetings are held for parents by Heads of Year 10 and 11. The usual practice, however, is for parents to be seen individually when concerns or problems arise. Whilst the headteacher wishes to encourage partnership with parents throughout the whole school, she recognises that this has not yet been achieved. Members of staff who are involved with parents describe the relationship with them as good or close, but also acknowledge that developing partnerships is a 'subtle and difficult process'. Initiatives to develop a closer partnership with parents, such as in the English Department, are slow to develop and tend to have remained as an information giving exercise. The language barrier has been a distinct problem in developing relations with Asian families, and bilingual teachers are used to help with communications. Future policy in the department will be to visit every pupil in a tutor group in their home.

For most parents, however, contact with school is through parent consultation evenings with school staff, to discuss pupil performance. These are conducted in a traditional manner, by appointment with subject tutors, in the school hall. Attendance at these meetings is described as 'good' by the headteacher and interpreters are available to assist with parents with poor or no English.

### 3.1.2 The Practice of Parents

#### 3.1.2.1 Choice of School

Due to the very poor reputation of the school in the locality, the perception of staff and current parents is that many prospective parents do not consider the school at all.

Although the reason for this could be poor examination performance, there is a strong feeling amongst the white minority of parents that this is a result of racist attitudes as well. This is described by one parent as 'snob value'. The injustice of this situation is remarked upon by several white parents:

*'Damon High School has a good reputation – it's a couple of miles away – some people still think it's a wonderful school – people still perceive that as the sort of white middle class school – I think they'd be shocked if they really looked around before they made any decisions – I think its very sad that people just don't give this school a chance but I think things are changing.'*

*'I know of parents who would not even consider Ripley simply because it is Asian – that is fundamentally racist – I've come in for some stick from colleagues who say how could you send your son to Ripley but when you speak to the people who have worked with Ripley their perception is very, very different.'*

These same white parents are the ones who have made an active choice to send their children to Ripley and regard their minority status constructively, although with some reservations:

*'We live in the catchment of Ripley but when my daughter was changing schools we looked at the three schools closest to our house and felt most comfortable here and so we chose it. It was a family decision. I had lots of sleepless nights over it (the choice of school) – it was difficult and to be honest until we came and looked we hadn't seriously considered this school which I think is very sad – we perhaps shared the perception that lots of people out there have that this wouldn't be the school for our daughter – the racial mix leads people to believe that this is the school for the local Asian community and not necessarily for anyone else. Ten years ago someone from the Sixth Form knifed somebody else outside the school premises but the mud stuck and I think the view is that you come to Ripley and you get knifed, its just ridiculous really.'*



*'We had quite a choice of secondary school – we looked round them all.'*

*'The school was actually in our catchment – we were in the Damon High catchment area – we visited both schools on both occasions with my son and daughter – we looked round Ripley and he fell in love with Ripley'.*

The evidence suggests that the reputation of the school is much better amongst the Asian community, although many Asian families choose it because it is the local school. This in itself is an important consideration for families with daughters, many of whom are chaperoned to and from school:

*'Most people live near and choose this school first – this was quite a good school and is a good school compared with quite a few other schools – they do have quite a few good teachers.'*

*'The school's got a bad name but it's really a good school.'*

*'This is the school which is near us in the area – if one of your children goes to one school then automatically the primary school send your other children there – they will give you a choice of other schools as well but at the end of the day you will end up in the same school – if you want to go to the other school its not that easy you sort of have to force yourself through the door'*

*'Other the years I think Ripley has built up a very good reputation among ethnic minorities here – the school has come across sort of as a competent school – I come in contact with members of the ethnic minorities and in general they have said good things about Ripley.'*

#### 3.1.2.2. Relations with school, the headteacher and staff

Relations between the school and parents are always described as good. The efforts made by the headteacher and staff to welcome parents and maintain an 'open door' has had an impact. Not least with prospective parents, where there is clearly much effort to create a friendly and relaxed atmosphere at open evenings which allow the school to demonstrate its strengths.

*'The four of us came and looked round... we just all felt this was the right school for us – because the staff made such an effort here – my son, who was then eight, absolutely loved it and the staff made such an effort to speak to him and sort of involve him – they were just so welcoming – they have done every year since because I've come to the intake evenings making the tea.'*

*'We were very impressed with the reception that we got here – very welcoming, very very open, that is what really impressed us.'*

It is just as important for parents to feel welcome throughout the year and feel comfortable to approach the school with queries or concerns. A parent who had some discipline problems with her daughter describes the relationship with staff as 'you always know where you stand'. She says:

*'Sometimes the facts of the situation are not terribly fair but I can always approach the school directly and make an appointment to speak to somebody and manage to sort it out. I am very happy with the response by the school – if you get in touch they will phone and invite you to talk – there is always a follow up – they always phone and say. They always make you feel you're welcome and can come in and complain.'*

This situation compares favourably with another local school where this parent 'felt as if she daren't do so'. She described the points of contact for parents:

*'Usually the Head of Year or Mrs Green (the headteacher) or the form teacher first. It depends on the problem but it doesn't matter who I go to it still gets sorted out. I once went straight to the headteacher but there is a pecking order. I had a problem with one head of year who was out of order so I didn't go to him I went to the next in line... You know exactly the order, I have never been made to feel that I was wasting time.'*

Asian parents were also impressed with an open atmosphere:

*'We're quite happy... it is very easy to talk with staff... they smile and talk and are very polite – I listen to what the head is saying... I think she is quite right – she will come and talk to you.'*

*'I think it is best to come and sort out the problem – there must be a way out – there must be some kind of solution... all the teachers are welcoming.'*

Other Asian parents describe how they have solved behavioural problems with the help of the headteacher:

*'I went and seen the headteacher and explained everything how it happened and what happened. I had to come and see the headteacher and I got near enough the same words because the headteacher was only explained by my son's teacher so he (the teacher) only listened to one side of it. Then we tried to explain to him and then she understood what really happened.'*

*'I have been in contact with her (headteacher) many a time regarding my own children and other issues and have always found her to have a listening ear... an extremely pleasant and outgoing person who would give you an impression that she should do anything she could to help you. I wrote a letter (about my daughter) and she wrote back explaining the situation, as a result of that letter my mind was put at ease.'*

This same Asian father has also been in contact with other members of staff:

*'I have a lot of respect for Mr Brown and Mrs White they are extremely good communicators, they are very fair, they are very strict and very helpful – I have come across all these people in many respects and have found that they're willing to help – letters have usually been the normal way of communicating.'*

### 3.1.2.3. Parents experience of formal involvement

The most common form of involvement for parents in a formal setting is the parent-teacher consultation evening. Students are also encouraged to attend so that a three-way dialogue can take place. One parent describes the risks involved:

*'At the last parents' evening Pauline was so rude and walked away when one of the*

*teachers dared to criticise some aspect – but that was a one-off and normally the three sides discuss whatever the problems are – on the positive side she hears the praise – it's a bit like in hospital when they really tell you what's wrong with you, these days instead of out in the corridor discussing it behind your back – it's the same sort of thing – I think good or bad I think they need to hear it, so its good.'*

Other parents valued the dialogue which took place:

*'The first one was a bit chaotic in the sense that there wasn't an appointment system – English people tend to queue very easily and some Asian families find queuing foreign – the next consultation evening was organised on an appointment system so that was better – there is a dialogue – an exchange – definitely a partnership.'*

For several parents the formal consultation evening is just one event in an ongoing dialogue with the school through progress reports and informal parent-teacher meetings. This was noticeable amongst both white and Asian parents:

*'(We know she 's progressing) ...she takes a report home – she shows her report – she comes home and tells us – the report is no problem to read – I normally come to parents' evenings, they are useful – you can see what she 's doing and you can tell they must be teaching them quite well.'*

Another Asian father was unsure about the frequency of consultation meetings but nevertheless had the confidence to approach teachers as appropriate:

*'Parents' evenings, they tell us about his progress, how he is getting on, whether he is doing his homework or not, behaviour, they ask us if there is anything we are not sure about, they are very helpful ...I am not sure how often parents' evenings, I think once in every three months, one at the beginning of the year and one at the end, school reports are good and easy to understand, anybody can understand its so simple. I always ask his teacher if he is alright – if I see any problem in my son then I will just make appointment with them to come and discuss...'*

All the parents interviewed were clearly concerned about the academic progress their child was making and used the consultation evening to get information and monitor progress. Other parents said they attended the meeting just out of interest. Most parents also used the homework diary system to enter into a written dialogue with the

school, as well as face to face contact, although it was unclear how often parents actually contributed in this way. Parents also used homework as a guide to their child's progress.

There was very little interest in other formal occasions. One parent mentioned their attendance at the Ofsted parents' meeting (where they reported no more than 12 parents present only 3 of whom were white). Another said they would have normally gone to the Annual Parents' Meeting but couldn't remember when it was held and probably must 'have had something else on'. There is a very wide variety of practice between parents and governors. Links between parents and parent governors on the governing body are non-existent formally and, as a result, parents seemed unaware of what governors do and had not contacted governors on any matters. As one parent said 'my best route would still be as an individual parent'. Another Asian parent said 'we don't even know who they are – we don't know who to contact.' On the other hand, some of the Asian parents interviewed had informal, personal links with the Chair of Governors who is known in the community as a local politician. One parent said:

*'I can go and talk to him – they do tell you when something's going on - they will come and knock on your door and say do you wish to come round and hear all about it.'*

Another parent had recently taken a problem to him:

*'A week ago I had a problem and I told him and he made it known to the teacher and we had a meeting like this – he lives near my house.'*

The majority of parents are not involved in the Ripley School Association. Despite the best efforts of those involved, and staff support, it is proving impossible to enlist more

parents and, in particular, to recruit volunteers from amongst the Asian population.

One parent who has been involved summed it up as a 'dead loss':

*'Ripley Association is a bit of a dead loss, about 3-4 white parents and a few members of staff... started by a West Indian lady but she only came a couple of times. I have been involved with fund raising events like fashion shows and car boot sales, raised some funds, not a big amount. The events are not well supported. It's the same old five parents who turn up for meetings, the staff run the meetings. We sent out letters to the new intake in September with details of the first meeting but nobody new turned up. We get involved from induction evenings for new parents and have meetings once or twice per term. We don't seem to be able to get Asian parents interested, I think they may have helped with the food at one social event but perhaps it was the staff.'*

Another parent, who is the treasurer of the Association, explains the difficulties in getting support:

*'It tends to be the white parents who get involved so we're not really representing the school community and its very difficult to organise social events that will appeal to everybody ...we keep trying (to draw in other communities) but its very difficult – I've stood at the entrance hall at parents' evenings trying to ask people if they would get involved or even ask if they would give us an idea that if we organised it they would support it... ...a lot of the Dads of the kids tend to work evenings and shifts, a lot of Mums still don't speak very good English or it would be frowned on if they wanted to come out to meetings in the evenings.'*

#### 3.1.2.4. Issues, conflicts and challenges

Whilst there is a high level of satisfaction and appreciation of the school amongst parents, this does not mean that there are no conflicting issues between parents and teachers. The overriding concern of the school is to deal with any conflicts positively, and to agree constructive solutions in the best interests of the student. The headteacher was often mentioned as a mediator in such matters, and was always seen to give parents a fair hearing, and a full explanation of follow-up action.

Such issues are usually communicated face-to-face by appointment and often begin with a meeting between the parent and the member of staff concerned. Sometimes parents would write in the first instance. Often parents go straight to the headteacher or bring her in at a later stage if a matter is not easily resolved. Usually conflicts concern pastoral care and behavioural issues rather than curriculum. There were very few instances where parents challenged the quality of teaching. Parents clearly felt that they got satisfaction with any complaints and one of the strengths of the school approach to parents was the importance of talking through problems and mediating agreements.

One parent told of difficulties being experienced with his son with special educational needs:

*'He went through a funny period in Year 7 that nobody could get to the bottom of, he became fearful of school. Looking back I think a lot of that was down to stress, he is a very anxious boy. At Christmas he just went through a phase of not really being able to cope. We received outstanding support from the school, they were very flexible, very understanding, did an awful lot of work with James. It was very plain that everybody in the school knew there was a problem and dealt with it very, very sensitively, from the headteacher right the way down to the head of year, deputy head of year, tutor. His support teacher was spectacularly supportive. We worked with the school and the school worked with us to get through it. I don't think he would have received the support in any other school in Bankfield really.'*

This same parent (a teacher) questioned the Maths curriculum:

*'There was one issue regarding some maths work that wasn't appropriate. We are conscious in any school you will get weaker areas teaching wise and he happened to be in one of those areas – he is not in the area anymore, the school looked into that.'*

Another parent described several disciplinary problems, one of which was brought to her attention by the school:

*'There have been quite a few incidents about discipline, I felt some were unfair, staff were a bit heavy handed. There was an incident with a water fight when she got the discipline she deserved, I agreed with that. But another time a teacher (who has since left) was out of order and I came to school and said so. I had a word with Mrs Green (the headteacher) and she assured me that it wouldn't happen again, she supported me.'*

At another time her daughter was developing a bad relationship with her form tutor who stays with the same class all through the school:

*'Penny was unhappy with the form teacher. I got a letter from the school. I felt she was being picked on and it was getting out of hand. I sent a letter and was invited to a meeting with the form teacher, the head of year and Penny. It was good to sit and talk it all out, quite clever really, it started off with us and the Head of Year and then the form teacher came in, and then Penny, and then we all went and left the form teacher and Penny to finish it off. I didn't feel Penny was getting away with anything, we knew she had to toe the line, it was being able to sort it out which is something I have never been able to do at the other schools – it cleared the air.'*

Despite such issues professional boundaries are firmly maintained. One parent on the Ripley Association had a suggestion to provide lockers for the students to save them carrying so much baggage around the school. Despite much parental support for the idea, the school maintained that corridors were not wide enough to accommodate lockers and were not practical. The difficulties of mobilising a collective 'voice' of parents in support of a point of view is highlighted in this example:

*'I had a suggestion for what it (Ripley Association funds) was spent on but it turned out they (the staff) don't think its very practical to get lockers in school for kids ...I think all the parents I've spoken to think it would be a wonderful idea but the staff are looking at it from a more practical point of view, I suppose they envisage if we had lockers they would just be vandalised. I feel very cross about it actually but I can see their point of view. They (the parents) all think it's a wonderful idea but they can't be*



*bothered to come to the meetings and put their views forward and that's the white parents ... at the meeting last week there were only three of us there. I don't think I actually discussed lockers with any of the Asian parents. ...it's slightly shelved at the moment. They're (the staff) saying the corridors aren't wide enough to have the lockers and that the school was only built for 600 or 500 pupils, a lot less than now.'*

### 3.1.3. The practice of the governing body and parent governors

The governing body at Ripley High School meets termly. The meetings are described as formal and business is dealt with efficiently. A system of sub-committees is operated. There are no vacancies. The Chair and Vice-Chair are long-standing members of the governing body. The composition of the governing body reflects the ethnic mix of the school. As well as having a full complement of parent governors, one of which is the Vice-Chair, one of the co-opted governors and the Chair of governors are former parents of the school. However, the governing body is also highly 'professionalised'. One co-optee is a member of the non-teaching staff from within the school. Another co-optee works for the LEA as manager of the Section 11 project. One of the parent governors is highly educated to doctorate level and another is an experienced primary school governor and is studying to be a teacher. Governors spoke of the governors who 'don't take part' and yet seemed unable to suggest viable mechanisms to encourage wider participation.

The Chair of governors, a Black male, is an LEA appointee and a local politician. He describes the governing body as a 'negotiating' forum and the relationship with the headteacher as 'near enough a partnership' rather than a Board of Directors model. The workings of the governing body are described as formal by the teacher governor, who as a new member of the governing body finds he is often 'overawed' by those members who are also local councillors. There are no 'factions' within the governing

body but several strong 'voices' - some parent governors, some LEA or co-opted governors - which will result in debate and disagreement usually resolved with a vote. One co-opted governor described the governing body as a 'caring family' but one in which strong voices can be asserted. Another parent governor was more critical and suggested that there was a regime of LEA councillors with the headteacher who, in the face of weak teacher and parent governors, dominated proceedings and disempowered the few strong, independent voices.

The governing body works closely with the headteacher and senior management and will lobby the LEA when policy decisions may adversely affect the school. The Chair describes the governing body as 'assertive'. He too acknowledges that there is discussion and debate where people have strong ideas and strong views which are difficult to change. Nevertheless agreements are reached and collective decisions arrived at – even if this is sometimes not easy. The Chair clearly intends for the governing body to assert its authority within the school to improve standards. He says, *'Yes we will use the authority. There is no point in having it... If you have it then you should use it otherwise you can't get a good school'.*

#### 3.1.3.1. Links with parents

Links between parents, the community and governors are in the main established and maintained through informal relations and networks. The Annual Parents' Meeting is very poorly attended. Some governors try to attend presentation events at the school when there is a chance for them to be introduced to parents. There are no formal representative groups for parents within the school, nor in the locality, but there is a County Association of Parent governors. Parents are not, for example, invited as

observers to open governing body meetings nor are there any formal arrangements for parent governors to establish routine contacts with parents. Individual governors see their representative role differently. One parent governor sees herself very much as a representative of parents. She is a Pakistani woman who feels that because she was educated in Britain she can help get the views of less articulate parents across to the school. She is an experienced primary school governor and well known in the local community:

*'Because I live very much in the community and I used to work at the Primary school for many years before I became a governor in the High School, a lot of the parents in the community know me and I've had a few parents come knocking at my door because it's more like a friendship thing as well not just oh well she's a governor we'll go to her. I know a lot of parents walking along the road and I say oh, how do you do. My parents have been here in this country a long time and live in this community, and a lot of the families around here I know them as well and it's through them that they know me as well and some of them just say hello because they know my family, but they know also that I'm a governor and they can approach me...'*

The Chair of Governors, a local councillor, is also clear that his role is to represent local parents rather than his local party. He says:

*'I'm representing the community and also I'm doing it for the benefit of the children in the area. ... most of the parents I've known over the years have full confidence in me and my attitude towards things, so I'm not doing it on a political basis.'*

He emphasises the importance of parents having confidence in him and the governing body:

*'...most of the children here are from the Asian family and therefore it brings a certain amount of confidence into the parents by even given a chance to come to school to talk with the teachers, and they have freer access because they know they have people from their own nation who are governors at this school ... a parent might come to me and say so and so happened at school. I might have a talk with the Head and by the end of the day that parent and myself might come back to see the Head and probably the Head wouldn't tell that parent anything different ... but it gives that parent more confidence because they had a certain amount of confidence that*

*something is happening... you have to make sure that something's done.'*

However another parent governor, a Greek male who is not regarded as part of the local community, has very little contact with parents on a day to day basis and as a consequence feels that he represents parents *'by intuition rather than by democratic decision'*. He acknowledges that this is not *'true representation'*. The lack of contact is against his expectations and he believes that it is due to apathy or the language barrier, although he also recognises the added barrier of cultural difference.

*'I would expect that as a parent governor to actually be contacted by quite a few parents. Unfortunately there is a tremendous amount of apathy in parents actually contacting governors. We find a lot of Asian parents have a very poor command of English. They can hardly speak to their children in English never mind actually contact the person who may be of a different background. So I have maybe one or two parents who would ever make any complaints and contact me about certain things. Very poor contact.'*

Despite some good informal links between some governors and parents, the perception is that there is very little contact and parents are not assertive enough. One parent governor compared the parent population at Ripley with a more middle-class population:

*'In any other school, in any middle-class white school, you'll find parents in and out of that door, but our parents don't do that, they just leave it to - may be that's where the problem is and we have to try to get parents in more. We do open evenings, other meetings, we're always pushing the parents, any complaints you have please come and tell us because teachers need to know and they need to improve on that and they want to know and they want to improve.'*

This level of activity is echoed by one of the co-opted governors who laments the lack of involvement of parents and the community.

The practice of contacts with parents and the representation of parents is clearly an individual matter for individual governors. However, the likelihood of more effective representation of parents' views, and the frequency of parental contact, seems to depend upon the extent to which individual governors have close personal ties within the community. As previously noted, the school has no institutional arrangements which seek to improve representation, and despite recognition of the language barrier the arrangements for translation or interpretation are minimal. For example, a summary of the Annual Report to Parents is translated into community languages and Section 11 staff are employed as interpreters when required.

#### 3.1.3.2. The practice of parent governors

Parent governors each had 'causes' to which they were particularly attached. For Mrs YH it was adequate recognition of the religious values of Islam; for Mr CA it was the standards agenda and maximising pupil academic achievement and for Dr P it was the acknowledgement of the needs of the white, Christian minority in the school, standards of homework and the provision of special needs. Mrs YH had therefore identified strongly with the 'wearing of headscarves' issue and taken a key role in the

implementation of the policy. Mr CA had become a key member of the team linked to departments to push through the raising standards agenda. Both of these parent governors appeared to have become part of a dominant regime within the governing body who worked closely with the headteacher. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that Dr P had been successful in advancing any of his causes, although he described himself as a 'strong personality' and regarded himself and one other female governor as the only 'pro-active' people on the governing body. He described the other parent governors as 'very, very weak' and the governing body as dominated by a 'clique' of the headteacher, the Chair and Vice-Chair (both male Asian Labour local councillors) who are habitually re-elected.

#### **4. Beliefs and Attitudes and the Boundaries of Parent-Professional Knowledge**

The interview data revealed two key issues for parents at Ripley School: raising standards and examination success; and racism and cultural difference. These have been used as illustrations of their beliefs and attitudes towards the school. The final two sections look at beliefs and attitudes towards the parent-school relationship; drawing upon data from both parents and staff, and school governance; drawing upon data from parents and governors.

##### ***4.1 Raising standards and examination success***

It is clear from the interview data that parents have very positive attitudes towards the main agenda in the school of raising standards and promoting examination success.

The attitude of parents towards their child's educational experience at school centres upon their child being 'happy' - it being clearly stated that happiness is a precursor to academic achievement - and for them to make progress towards examination success.

In this context, parents want information of progress and believe that regular testing is a good idea. One mother said *'I think the system of testing is an excellent idea'* although she did not support league tables of schools. Another parent supported testing so that parents have good information *'to weigh things up'*. Asian parents, in particular, were ambitious for their children to succeed in examinations and mentioned pupil progress reports as their main source of information. This is summed up by one parent:

*'The most important thing, I like to see my child happy and he likes school and perhaps he will achieve as exam as well. After he will be going to college and university so he should get good grades. I want him to go as far as he can, I would like to send him to University.'*

Another Asian parent, which was not typical, believed that league tables were a 'good thing':

*'Well then everybody knows the result of the school and what's happening and especially you can compare schools from Bankfield, you can compare one school to the other, who is doing better, in which way how many children have done better in which school. So you can work out at the end of the day why is it this school's children haven't done better than the other school and you can start thinking straight away what are the weaknesses and say okay next time I will go and ask the teachers why is it our school didn't do better than the other school. To me every school should have a competition with the other school to bring their school on top of the list.'*

These views suggest, not surprisingly, a consensus view around the importance of raising standards in terms of examination performance and is consistent with the dominant agenda from senior management in the school, including the governing body, that the school has a responsibility to have the highest expectations of all pupils, and provide the best teaching possible, to ensure maximum examination success.

#### 4.2. Racism and cultural difference

The majority of parents interviewed were aware that the school had had a bad reputation locally but believed that things were improving. For white parents the bad reputation revealed racist attitudes in the locality. As one white parent said, *'it is classed as an Asian School – people couldn't honestly believe Penny was going to Ripley'*. The attitude of the white parents who had actively chosen Ripley School was strongly anti-racist and supportive of multi-cultural education. One parent expressed strong pro-Asian attitudes:

*'Race doesn't worry us at all she wouldn't have come here is she wasn't comfortable with the amount of Asians, ...all her friends are Asians, ...there are only three white girls in the class. Asian girls are extremely nice, quite honestly, they are less of an influence than white girls...'*

Others were conscious of their child being in the white minority but were unconcerned, or saw it as a benefit.

*'It did cross our mind that this is a predominantly Asian or Afro Caribbean or whatever school, we were conscious that Thomas would have been in the minority... we know that for Thomas race never enters into it, we weren't worried about that...'*

Other parents were more positive of the multicultural environment:

*'Most of her friends tend to be Asian – I think she's gained from it because she has seen how the other half lives. I think Paul feels it more, he's in Year 8 and he's desperate to conform... he's naturally the odd one out in the class, there are three white boys in his class... They've benefitted enormously from being in the minority in as much as everyone knows who they are because they are in such a minority, everyone – all the other kids are perhaps one of a crowd... ... I think all the white children are going to be known. Mine have had brilliant opportunities here and they've been picked for cross country teams and swimming teams and they've been in a steel band...'*

*'I feel that he is just part of the group ...I get the feeling that he is seen as a Ripley pupil rather than a white Ripley pupil...'*

One white parent expressed strong anti-racist attitudes which may help to explain her satisfaction with the school:



*'I've been brought up to be the same to everyone, colour, creed or whatever. You just accept people as all human beings and I've always felt that way.'*

Although the Ripley School Association is run by a group of white mothers, the feeling expressed by one of them indicated a widespread anti-racist attitude since this group were trying to encourage the involvement of more black parents. She said, *'I think we'd all be delighted if we could (encourage more black parents) I really do but it's just finding people'*.

Asian parents are also aware of the 'bad' name. One parent said, *'The school's got a bad name but it's really a good school'*. They are surprised that more Asian families do not support it.

In almost every case, however, any parental concerns about racism were overcome by the initial welcome and the subsequent 'open' stance of the school towards parents.

Ultimately, for these anti-racist parents, it is the prospect of the 'improving' school and the 'different' approach which they believe is important for their child. Their personal experiences supported this belief.

One white parent, a teacher, was aware of the need to present a positive image of the school to parents

*'I think Ripley is aware that they've got a reputation and part of the reputation is racially biased and they are actively seeking to raise the image of the school... the main way is trying to show to parents their commitment to the children.'*

Several of the white parents used the word 'different' to describe the approach of the school:

*'Completely different attitude at Ripley – I wanted a change and this school had so much to offer – a different attitude towards parents and pupils, towards everything.'*

This seems to mean a school which considers the individual needs of the child, including their academic achievement, in comparison with other local schools which are described as 'very academic' or a 'pressured environment'. Another parent said:

*'...it had a different ethos, that's the impression we got, that the 5A-Cs in the rival school were far more on the agenda than they were here – not that exams were ignored but for the needs of our lad that seemed to be less of a consideration than other issues.'*

Cultural and religious diversity is an issue for the school. Consistent with their anti-racist attitudes expressed above, white parents had positive attitudes towards their children embracing Asian values and Muslim religious festivals, such as Eade. One white mother said she was 'delighted and honoured' that her daughter had been invited by her Asian friends to join in their Eade celebrations – for which a day's holiday from school was sanctioned by the school.

Asian families do feel strongly that the school should observe certain Asian values.

Asian parents referred to the importance for them of segregated classes, in particular for physical education and swimming, in observance of their religious traditions. One Asian parent said he would prefer the school to separate boys and girls for all classes.

And yet another Asian father didn't want 'stronger cultural recognition' because he felt it was important for his children to be integrated into English society. He was quite happy with the current arrangements within the school.

### 4.3 The parent-school relationship

The attitude of the headteacher and heads of year towards parents is to seek to work with them openly, in partnership, to achieve the best education for the pupil.

However, there is sometimes a mismatch between the attitude of the school and the attitude of parents about what sort of education that should be. The headteacher described the relationship with parents as one with some tension, *'Tensions between what the school wants to do and what parents will accept'*. She feels that parents value education and recognises that the families of pupils see education, *'as a passport to success and family honour'*. Nevertheless she sees it as part of her role to emphasise the importance of education and the opportunities for further education. This is particularly important for Asian girls, some of whose families envisage a domestic existence for them in the future.

There is clearly a willingness on the part of staff to work to develop a more positive partnership with parents in order that, *'parents can be more proactive in the education of the children'*. However, since all staff were not interviewed there is no evidence to suggest that this view is held universally. The attitude of staff towards parents is that they need to be given more information about the education the school is providing since this may be quite different from the experience of the parents. The attitude is that the parents need to be educated into the ways of the school:

*'A lot of our parents have not been to school and a lot of the way that the children are being brought up is to be recipients of the information for adults and I think one of our stated aims so far as the school is concerned... is making them proactive within their education.'*

Whilst staff recognise that engaging parents as partners will require them to challenge cultural traditions, there is a sense that this will be relatively unproblematic. As professionals the attitude towards parents seems to be that they, the professionals, have the solutions and that parents will be pleased to receive them. In fact, the lack of assertiveness on the part of parents is remarked upon by one member of staff as an 'unfair balance of power':

*'We talk to parents a great deal individually and together in groups. We want to encourage them to feel a fairer balance of power in the school. I think that the balance of power in our school tends to be on our side a bit, so the parents tend to defer to us in everything. My sister works in a large comprehensive in the North. She is always astounded at the co-operativeness of our parents. She has to deal with parents who come in and say don't you give my kids detentions or I will come and thump you. That is very rare for us. Indeed, we get it the other way round; will you thump the kid for us.'*

Parents' attitudes and beliefs about the school express much sympathy for what the school is trying to achieve and deference to the knowledge of the professionals.

Nearly all the parents interviewed said they were 'happy' or 'quite happy' with the school, even those who had had cause to complain on some occasions. Others said they felt the school was 'doing the best they can'. Some expressed more explicit support for teachers:

*'I think they're doing as well as they can. Don't know much about national curriculum. I know they have to stick to the guidelines and they're told what to cover. I leave that to the school. I'm quite happy to let the school get on with actual learning. We pay the teachers. This is their job, what they're here for. As a parent I consider the other parts of education very important for me, I'm there to support her as she grows up talking to her about things and helping her to make her own decisions and develop as a person. Also anything out of school, dancing, I encourage her by running about so if she wants picking up then we'll do it. The actual learning is the school's job. She's got the school life and her home life, obviously the two intermingle with friends but I know I can trust the school to get on with that and they'll let me know of any problems or Penny will. We know about the hassle for teachers and the goalposts changing every two minutes. Teachers have a difficult job, I don't*

*envy them.'*

Another Asian parent said:

*'In general I'm very supportive of teachers. I think they have done a lot of hard work to bring these children successfully into the system and to nourish them into adults. They are faced with parents who don't know anything about the system at all.'*

Only one parent interviewed was openly critical of teachers, and this was because she had worked alongside teachers as a member of the PTA:

*'They get away a bit lightly here because the majority of parents assume that everything ... that the teachers know what they're doing and that they're doing the best for the kids, but if you work with a few teachers you find out that that's not right. I think they just assume that everything here is done properly and I don't think they ... like I didn't question this PE thing. [The availability of lockers for PE equipment for pupils to use instead of carrying all their kit.] I'm cross now that Pauline has staggered round unnecessarily. I should have questioned it sooner but I was going down the same road assuming that everything was okay and it didn't occur to me to question it. I think that possibly happens here more than ... They don't challenge enough, not because they're not interested but I think possibly they assume that the teachers know what they're doing.'*

#### **4.4 School Governance and the Governing Body**

The Chair of Governors recognises the importance of having good relationships outside of the school within the community. He says, *'We have strong community links... ...Most of the people in the community know who are governors at Ripley'*.

However he does not speak directly of any relationship with parents. Although the governing body has a full complement of parent governors, the attitude of parents to the governing body and their parent representatives is generally that they are an irrelevance and of no interest. This is particularly the case for those Asian parents who recognise that they do not really understand the school system. The governing body

and the processes of governance are remote to parents, except for those who have personal contacts with governors outside of school.

The only parents who expressed a view about the governing body were two governors who for different reasons were familiar with the process. One parent, who had been a parent governor when her child attended nursery, expressed concern about proper representation by parent governors:

*'Parents, they're bound to have the best interests of the school at heart but there might be some parents who don't always go about things in the right way or who maybe don't represent the views of the majority of parents but they just manage to get themselves voted on.'*

The other parent, a teacher in another school, expressed the same reservations:

*'I think its bizarre to expect a parent to walk into - or any governor really - in terms of pushing the parent governor forward as the representative of parents would take quite a lot of adjustment and it would mean that the task involved would be far greater than I would imagine a lot of parents would want to take on board.'*

Attitudes of parent governors towards the involvement of parents - and their role in facilitating that - reveals a similar lack of interest. One parent governor, who described the Annual Parents' Meeting as 'a facade' believed that parents were 'apathetic'. His attitude towards his fellow parent governors, who he believed were 'ineffective', was also disparaging:

*'There are only two parent governors, myself and another one, who say you must do something for the sake of the children and really nothing happens.'*

His attitude towards parent governors is that the power they have 'in principle' is not translated into practice:

*'There is a lot of power with parents in principle but as I say as most of them they're not trained, they're not professional people, they're all listening rather than in a pro-active role.'*

Other parent governors express the belief that parents need to be 'in dialogue' with the school, and that governors and staff should be using existing opportunities to 'let the parents know it's your children, you should take a greater interest.'

## **5. Conclusion**

Ripley School at the time of this study was a school facing great change. A central characteristic of that change was to develop a partnership with parents of pupils. This was a necessary part of winning back public consent for the school. The development of that partnership was also predicated on the belief that parents had to be part of the change process. Rather than be passive supporters of the school as in the dominant tradition, parents would be required to become active participants in the development of the school and the education of their children. In the context of reformed public policy which cast parents as consumers, co-educators and citizens, the school provides a good illustration of how the dominant tradition may be challenged. The relationship between Ripley School and its parent body had in the past been rooted in the dominant tradition of strong professional boundaries and marginalised parents. In the face of structural systemic change, a new regime has sought to challenge that tradition and educate parents into a new relationship based on dialogue.

The way in which a new headteacher and senior management team have sought to effect change has been to create new institutional arrangements or structures within which new practices invite parents to play a more participative and assertive role. However the beliefs and knowledge of parents and staff are slow to change and remain rooted in the dominant tradition, resulting in low expectations from staff and deference and passivity from parents.

The realisation that Ripley School was becoming ineffective led to the appointment of a new headteacher, who in turn, appointed new senior management and governors to effect change. These changes were informed by a set of beliefs and attitudes that parental support for the school had to be revived in the local community, and the involvement of parents in school had to be improved so that they become more engaged with the school and more involved in the education of their child. In short a reversal of the old beliefs that the school could deliver a good education with parents playing a marginal role.

The case study seems to suggest that there is evidence of attitudes and practices at Ripley which reinforce the role of the parent as 'consumer'. It must be acknowledged that such beliefs are a reflection of structural change in the education system which introduced a quasi-market in education, based on parental choice of secondary school. The effects of the quasi-market were adversely affecting Ripley School compounded by racist attitudes and beliefs. These are summed up by the deputy head:

*'There are parents who will not contemplate stepping over the threshold of this school because they perceive it as an Asian school. .... It doesn't matter what the quality of what we have to offer is - and I think we do a damn good job.'*



A prime motivator for change at Ripley regarding parents, was the attitude that parents were consumers. A belief by some staff, although not supported by the headteacher, that the school was doing a good enough job, was translated into regarding parents only as choosers of schools and not as co-educators. These beliefs informed new practices around open evenings for prospective parents, where school staff were very successful in welcoming new parents and demonstrating the caring ethos of the school. Such practice serves to reinforce the belief amongst parents that the process of choosing the school is of importance. Although many parents interviewed were aware of the bad reputation of the school, they proceeded to make a positive and active choice of the school based on their experience at the open evening. As one said;

*'I had lots of sleepless nights over it (the choice of school) ... to be honest until we came and looked we hadn't seriously considered this school ... we perhaps shared the perception that lots of people out there have that this wouldn't be the school for our daughter – the racial mix leads people to believe that this is the school for the local Asian community and not necessarily for anyone else.'*

Such parents are acting as consumers and positively opting for the school. They tend then to be the parents who most actively support the school and have good relations with staff. The parent above is now an active member of the Ripley School Association. This suggests that a parent who plays a consumer 'role' may then be a traditional 'sympathiser' in relation to the school.

However, this is not always the case. Another parent who was an active chooser who said, *'We had quite a choice of secondary school – we looked around them all'* was subsequently quite challenging of school practice regarding discipline:

*'There have been quite a few incidents about discipline. I felt some were unfair, staff were a bit heavy handed. ... one teacher was out of order and I came to school and said so.'*

Here is an example of a parent acting as a consumer and yet adopting an assertive, radical stance.

Both the above parents were white parents. Asian parents interviewed were all passive choosers of the school and opted for the nearest school. For some of these parents exercising choice was an uphill battle which they decided not to pursue.

*'This is the school which is near us in the area – one of your children goes to one school then automatically the primary school send your other children there – they will give you a choice of other schools as well but at the end of the day you will end up on the same school – if you want to go to the other school its not that easy you sort of have to force yourself through the door.'*

Such parents are not behaving as consumers. In contrast to the active choosers, such parents may be less sympathetic. Another Asian parent explained:

*'I have been in contact with her (the headteacher) many a time regarding my own children and have always found her to have a listening ear.'*

As a group, however, these tend to be the parents described by the school as passive and deferential. The ones the school will seek to educate to have greater involvement in their child's education. The Asian parent cited above concurs with this view:

*'In general I'm very supportive of teachers. I think they have done a lot of hard work to bring these children successfully into the system and to nourish them into adults. They are faced with parents who don't know anything about the system at all.'*

In an effort to develop a more positive partnership with parents, institutional arrangements have been put in place by the new headteacher, and practices encouraged which invite parents to have a closer relationship with the school as co-educators of their children. The data suggest that this has been more difficult to achieve. It could be surmised that this results from residual attitudes that professionals really know best and that parents, particularly Asian parents, are regarded in a compensatory model.

The practice of the school is to give more information to parents to enable them to contribute as **co-educators**. For example, leaflets on curriculum areas and assessment and the use of homework diaries. The school has also tried to make parent-teacher consultation evenings more welcoming and has provided interpreters for Asian parents who may have language difficulties. Clear lines of communication are also in place for parents to have access to form tutors and heads of year. The headteacher has a weekly surgery. Whilst parents do avail themselves of these opportunities, few challenge the school on curriculum issues. Most of the instances reported by parents concerned behavioural matters. Only a parent who was also a teacher raised concerns with the school about the Maths curriculum. Staff tend to regard parents as needing education themselves, and particularly talk about the deference of Asian parents. Whilst staff express a desire to develop a positive partnership with parents, as more active contributors, their attitudes towards parents does not position them as equal partners in the educational development of children. The data suggest that parents are deferential to the school and teachers – they are the educators not the parents. As one parent says:

*I'm quite happy to let the school get on with the actual learning. We pay the*

*teachers, this is their job, what they're here for. As a parent I consider ... I'm there to support her as she grows up ... anything out of school, dancing I encourage ... she's got her school life and her home life ... teachers have a difficult job.'*

Nevertheless, most of the parents interviewed took a close interest in their child's progress, attended consultation evenings and read progress reports.

There is, however, very little evidence of parents acting as **citizens**. With the exception of parent governors, the majority of parents interviewed were not interested in playing a more formal role in decision-making or other organised activities. The Ripley School Association was poorly supported (exclusively run by a small core of white parents despite their best efforts to recruit others) and the Annual Meeting for Parents was poorly attended. Even the Ofsted parents meetings had a very low turnout. Parent governors are the exception since they have all played an active role in the school improvement programme and have become actively involved in issues of concern. Although there is no formal representation of parents by parent governors, they clearly see their role as a public duty which extends beyond private interests. These are parents who expect to have a say in the development of the school and to be able to have some influence. Despite their good intentions and best efforts, however, the majority of parents do not make use of their representatives to put forward views or concerns. They are described by one parent governor as apathetic. This is an attitude rooted in the dominant tradition which suggests that no contact from parents is a sign of a lack of interest in education.

Whilst the new regime at Ripley School have initiated practices and structures designed to encourage parents to play a more participative role, it is clear that this will

take time to develop. Traditional attitudes and beliefs do prevail, which maintain strong professional boundaries, although staff are beginning to educate parents to become more assertive and proactive. The continuance of such attitudes seems to be a constraint on the effectiveness of new practices and, so far, presents an obstacle to further radical developments.

The case study seems to support the survey findings that the attitudes and beliefs of parents can be conceptualised as traditional, consumer, co-educator or citizen and that the position of parents within the parent-school relationship can be characterised as tending towards sympathy/passivity, as predominantly in the case of the Asian parents, or challenge/activity as demonstrated by the accounts of a small number of white parents. However, the evidence does not suggest that different parents are statically positioning themselves as traditional, consumer, co-educator or citizen. Just as the cluster analysis of the survey respondents suggests blurred boundaries between the concepts, so the case-study evidence shows that a parent who positions herself as 'traditional' and is sympathetic and passive, can also behave as a consumer who is interested in examination results and the performance of the school. Subsequent research carried out with Carol Vincent has further demonstrated the permeability of such conceptual boundaries with active parents in school-parent forums (Vincent and Martin 2000 Forthcoming). What is particularly interesting in the case-study accounts is the way in which the revised, and superimposed, structures and practices put in place by the school to encourage parental activity within a more constructive parent-school relationship are being mediated by parents with traditional attitudes and beliefs. This seems to suggest that whilst there is an evolution in the contribution of some parents to the parent-school relationship, beliefs and attitudes remain contested. The extent to

which this is so, the trajectory of change and the relative influence of reformed institutional structures and practices will be explored in the final chapter.

## **PART FOUR**

### **THE CHANGING PRACTICE OF PARENT-SCHOOL RELATIONS**

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **UNDERSTANDING CONTINUITY AND CHANGE**

The first part of this thesis explored the history and recent literature of the role of parents in schools and proposed that this had been shaped by a dominant tradition which was being challenged in recent years as a result of policy reform and new professional practice. The primacy of attitudes and beliefs has been suggested as a key component in the reproduction of a tradition through routine 'taken for granted' practices. Structuration theory has been used as an appropriate tool for investigating these routine practices and for explaining the extent to which institutional structures, practices and beliefs shape the current parent school relationship.

Using both quantitative survey data and qualitative case-study data, parental practices and attitudes have been explored to test the hypothesis and to further understanding of the current role of parents in the relationship using a four-fold typology of the role of the parent; traditional, co-educator, consumer and citizen.

The empirical work of this study - the survey and the case study, taken together, suggest continuity and change in the practices, beliefs and attitude of parents in the relationship they develop with their children's' schools. In this chapter I will:



- Conceptualise change in practice and beliefs
- Analyse emergent parental roles
- Theorise the structuration of continuity and change
- Consider the implications of detraditionalisation for public policy

## **1. Conceptualising Change in Practice and Belief**

In this part of the chapter I seek to develop the conceptual analysis of practices, structures and beliefs and to draw together from the survey and the case study to show the emerging patterns of continuity and change.

### ***1.1 Practices***

The data suggest there are three dimensions to a parent's relationship to a school: the personal and the institutional (context); the private and public (process) and the passive and active (nature).

#### **1.1.1 The personal and the institutional**

Parent practice in relation to the school can be contextualised as the personal or the institutional. The principal orientation of the parent to the school is to monitor the progress their child is making at school. Parents will read their child's report and typically meet teachers at the parent-teacher consultation evening to discuss how well the child is doing in each of their subjects and in their behaviour more generally. This interest is individual and *personal*; it follows from concerns about their particular child.

Parents will also typically show interest in the *institution* which their child attends. Much of this will be basic administrative information which is usually found in the school prospectus and newsletters. Holiday dates, the school day, lunch-time arrangements and uniform is appropriate. They will wish to know when social events take place and the dates of plays, concerts and presentations. They need to know who to contact if they have a concern and which staff are responsible for their child. Such information helps the parent to interact with the institution on day to day organisational matters and provides the infrastructure for much of the contact parents have with the school. Increasingly parents are also interested in data which indicates how well the school is performing – typically in examination results and other public data on attendance and destination of pupils. This information is now a requirement on schools in the Annual Report to Parents. Mostly parents use this information around the time of choosing a school but their ongoing interest is evidenced by the numbers who read the Annual Report. This information enables parents to take up a role which is better informed about the standards offered by the school and enables them to engage with the institution on pupil and institutional performance. In the dominant tradition there has generally been more interest from parents in personal rather than the institutional issues.

#### 1.1.2 The private and the public

The practices of relating to a school can involve the parent in solitary and private activity - reading reports, prospectus or newsletters - or activity which is necessarily undertaken in concert with other parents - attending a social event, or a curriculum evening or an annual

parents' meeting. Even meetings in school can be construed as private or public. For example the parent-teacher consultation evenings is always constructed as a private dialogue, although in practice these conversations are not often conducted in sufficient privacy and comfort. Private practice has been a significant characteristic of the dominant tradition.

### 1.1.3 Passive and active

The nature of parental practices in relation to the school can be categorised as passive or active. Passive practice requires the parent to take in information provided by the school and not to challenge it. For example, reading the child's report, listening to teacher presentations or observing pupil performances. Active practice requires parental participation in helping with the child's learning at home, contributing to meetings or having more of a say in school policy making. The dominant tradition of parent-school relations has typically defined a passive role for parents.

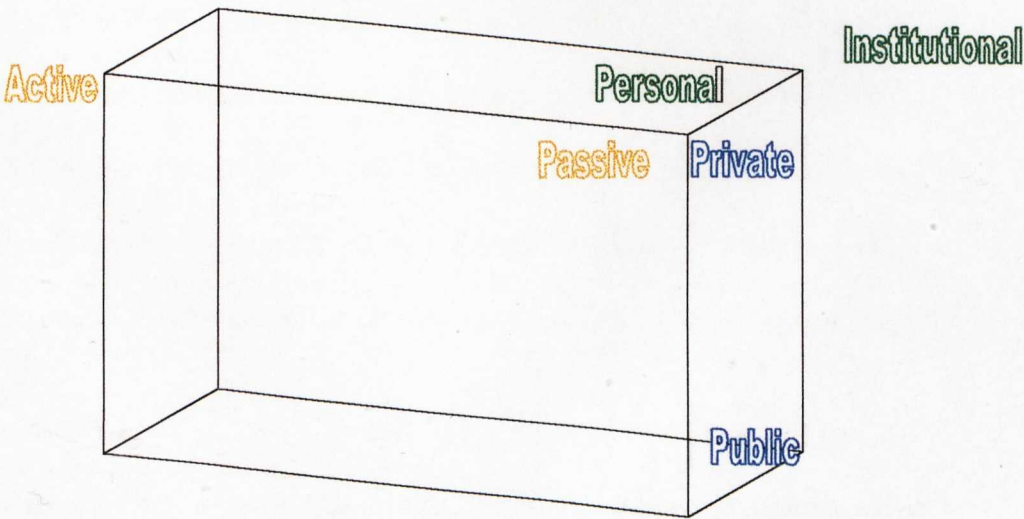
These three dimensions interact to form distinctive patterns of parental practice in relationship to their child's school. All three cross-cut to form different aspects of the role of the parent and can be represented as the 'rules' which are structuring properties of practice. The way in which parents draw upon these three dimensions or rules, will be a major determinant in conceptualising their position in the parent-school relationship as will be shown later in this chapter. Whilst these dimensions are not in an orthonogonal relationship, a cube has been used as an heuristic device on which the relational 'faces' will be developed. (Figure 1)

These dimensions of practice are helpful in pointing up continuities and change in the role of the parent which are suggested in the empirical data. The data from the survey and the case study show a good deal of continuity in parental practice and consequently in the parental role. Aspects of the dominant tradition clearly persist. Parental practice continues to be dominated by the personal, the private and the passive. Parents focus upon the progress their child is making at school, reading their report (99%) and attending consultation evenings (83%).

At *Ripley* the parents interviewed were clearly concerned about the academic progress their own child was making and made use of the consultation evening to

**Figure 1 : Dimensions of Practice**

Personal	-	The Institution
Private	-	Public
Passive	-	Active



get information and monitor progress. Parents used reports and the homework diary as a guide to their child's progress:

*'(We know she's progressing) ...she takes a report home – she shows her report – she comes home and tells us – the report is no problem to read – I normally come to parents' evenings, they are useful – you can see what she's doing and you can tell they must be teaching them quite well'*

Yet there is greater interest in what the institution is doing and how it is performing than would have been expected within the assumptions of the dominant tradition. Many parents read the literature produced by the school (newsletter 88%; prospects 76%; annual report 72%) and a considerable number monitor the school's examination results (88%). At *Ripley* parents read the newsletter which is published twice a term and follow the school calendar for the events which are taking place during the term.

Continuity in the practices of parents is also reflected in parents' preference for the private and the passive. Parental preference is to engage privately, reading information prepared for them by the school rather than attending public functions like 'socials' (36%) or curriculum evenings (30%). The nature of practice is also typically passive, such as reading the child's report while few are actively engaged in a scheme which supports learning at home (31%) or attend the Annual Parents' Meeting to review how effectively the school has been governed and managed over the previous year.<sup>1</sup> This pattern of privacy and the passive is reflected in the case-study where more parents were engaged by

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that not all schools had a home-learning scheme in operation so parents would not have had the opportunity to participate.

reading and monitoring the information produced by the school, rather than being actively involved in supporting learning in the home.

All the data suggest that there is much continuity in the contribution of parents to the parent school relationship, as a result of parental practice still informed by the dominant tradition. However some parents are beginning to question conventional practice and seek improvements and change in the institutional structures which shape practice.

## ***1.2 Structures***

Practices require institutional support if they are to work effectively. Relationships will be clarified and formalised as a result of the particular institutional, organisational arrangements. These arrangements have distinctive structuring properties. Three such properties can be identified:

- occasional – frequent (integration)
- rigid – flexible (boundary)
- closed – open (inclusion)

### **1.2.1 Occasional - frequent**

The way in which schools structure the practices of the parent-school relationship are one way in which that relationship is shaped. Usually formal contact is structured on an occasional basis. The parent-teacher consultation meeting may be annual or up to three times a year. The annual parents' evening is by statute an event held only once a year.

Newsletters are typically half-termly. Some schools choose to organise these practices with greater intensity so that parents are informed more frequently about their children's progress and the school is in touch with its parents twice or three times a term to communicate new events and achievements.

### 1.2.2 Rigid – flexible

Schools vary in the manner in which practices are structured. They can be very rigid arrangements or more flexible and responsive. This is usually evidenced by the way schools liaise with parents over pupil progress. If parents want to discover how their children are making progress they are typically expected to attend the one meeting made available for that purpose once a year. Schools with a more flexible perspective, however, are willing to structure the consultative process in a manner which is more responsive to parents' needs, perhaps arranging to meet parents individually and at times which are more convenient to them.

### 1.2.3 Closed - open

The parent-school relationship is often dictated by the degree of openness which the school displays in order to include all parents in the process. This can include how different parents are defined by the school as 'supportive' or 'apathetic'. The orientation of a school to information giving, to communication and to the style of meetings can communicate whether a school is open and accessible, responsive and inclusive of all parents or whether it is closed and inaccessible to most or certain sections of the parent population.

The study, through the survey and the case study, suggests that some parents would like a relationship with the school which is more frequent, flexible and open to their needs. The survey clearly established that many parents are looking for schools to adapt and change the way they organise and structure support for the practice of parental involvement. In the sphere of the personal, for example, parents wanted greater flexibility in arrangements for meetings with teachers (86%), and they wanted to be more actively engaged in support their child's homework (86%). Parents wanted more written information from the school (79%) and an opportunity have a say in school policy-making (74%). In short, parents want:

- more communication
- more flexible interaction with the school
- more 'voice'
- more opportunity to support their child's learning

These wishes express a desire for change and the reform of practice. They imply a greater commitment to their child's education, a desire for more information on progress and more support from the school to help parents encourage the learning process at home.

In the case-study school the interview data indicate that many parents valued the commitment of the school to respond flexibly to their concerns. The parent of a child with special educational needs who was going through a phase of not being able to cope



received 'outstanding support from the school, they were very flexible'. Another parent, concerned about the deteriorating relationship with a form tutor, was impressed by the way the school sensitively liaised with all the parties to establish a fair solution.

The study suggests that many parents would value a more customised interactive involvement with the school and the limited success of the case-study school is in the development of its practice in this way. More open structures for direct access and dialogue between the school and the parents of pupils were established. For example the headteacher initiated a weekly surgery where she would be available to meet parents on a 'drop-in' basis. Year heads spend time with parents, both individually and in groups. Many individual meetings are held regarding pupils who may be causing concern and parents invited in to discuss the matter at the invitation of the school. Sometimes group meetings are convened by the school for a particular purpose. Home-school liaison staff are also available to meet parents in their homes if appropriate.

Understanding of this preferred orientation for a more flexible, customised interaction with the school is further illuminated when the data is analysed through the lens of class, gender and ethnicity (Martin, 1999a). A few percentage points difference suggest that the wish for more customised support and interaction is greater amongst working class parents, while the significant gender differences indicate that it is men in particular who appear to be seeking more flexibility in their interaction with schools together with more written information and more support at home. Schools need to change their practices to accommodate the time pressures of working males. Men also, more than women, are

striving to have more voice in school policy-making. Such a development in practice would alter the traditional assumption about parental participation being women's work, although it would reinforce anxieties that the public sphere of public institutions is a gendered sphere with decision-making typically appropriated by men (Young, 1990). The potential gendered nature of emergent practice is supported by the understanding that women typically attend parent consultation evenings and undertake the work of reading reports, newsletters and prospectuses. Women appear to focus upon the personal and private work of home-school liaison whilst men seek to develop the role of co-educator in the home and active participant in the potentially public role of policy-maker.

If the trends exemplified in the data are correct, ethnic minority parents are also seeking change in the relationship with their children's school. Parents have different needs which they wish the school to reciprocate and fulfil (Martin & Vincent 1999). Asian families would like more written information, are more likely to be involved in a home-school learning scheme and would like further help in supporting their child's homework. Asian parents would prefer a more formal contract or agreement with the school. Black parents also want the school to provide more support for homework and seek a more formal home/school agreement with the school. In the case-study school a great deal of emphasis is placed on recognising the cultural differences of parents and on trying to ensure a more intensive, responsive system of communication with parents to meet their needs. The team of bilingual teachers is used to support the relationship between home and school.

The school has been successful in supporting the wishes of parents from multi ethnic backgrounds for more intensive communication about pupil progress. Nevertheless, the school acknowledges the scale of improvement required. A closer partnership with parents, which involves them in supporting learning at home and in taking part in the life of the school, is still to be accomplished. Even in a sensitive multi-lingual school, the language barrier remains a problem in communicating with Asian families. The school's intention, for the future, is for tutors to visit each pupil in their homes once a year or more if necessary.

### ***1.3 Beliefs***

The practices of parental participation embody our knowledge, values, beliefs and attitudes towards involving parents in the education of their children as well as in the life of a school. The study suggests changing characteristics in three key dimensions of knowledge and belief:

- rights
- status
- power

#### **1.3.1 Rights**

There is an apparent trend for parents to want a more interactive relationship with their children's school so that they can monitor the progress they are making. This assumes that parents are also knowledgeable about their rights to follow up and complain about

progress if necessary. The survey demonstrates that this is the case (88.8%). Moreover, men more than women, and white parents, are likely to complain about progress. Parents, equally, know their right to ask about how the school is delivering the National Curriculum (82%) and Black parents, it appears, are more likely than other ethnic groups to question its appropriateness to their children's education. The case-study shows parents ready to question standards and provision if it fails to meet their expectations.

### 1.3.2 Status

The survey indicates change in parents' beliefs about their status as co-educators in the educational process. Parents value their role as educators. Almost all parents (52% very strongly) believe that they can play an educational role at home in support of their children, while nearly 30% of parents disagree that the professional teacher knows best what children should learn. In the case-study, the senior management team believe they must work against the cultural grain to involve parents, especially from Asian communities, to become involved at home in supporting their children's learning.

Parents assert a broad scope of educational interest. Parents are often claimed only to be interested in their own children's education. Yet the survey established that 48% of parents disagree that they are only interested in the needs of their own children.

Parents believe in the educational value of liaison. Parents believe that improved links between home and school will support their children's development by helping to raise achievement, improving attendance, helping behaviour management and problem solving.

Increased liaison will, moreover, improve mutual understanding of home and school, increase parental interest in and understanding of their children's education while improving teachers understanding of the importance of the home in education. In the case-study school parents are clearly taking up opportunities provided to liaise with tutors and senior managers on the progress as well as the welfare of their children.

### 1.3.3 Power

The most significant beliefs of parents involve change in their attitudes towards involvement in policy and governance. This impacts upon the power relations inherent in school decision-making which, within the dominant tradition, preserved the professional domain as all-powerful and relegated parents to a subordinate role. From the survey responses it appears that parents believe that they should be more involved in making decision about what schools should do, that they should have representatives to sit on governing bodies, and that they should have an opportunity to have a say in making school policy.

Many parents (74%) now want to have a voice in making school policy. This clearly indicates the wish of many parents to be involved in a significant way in the life of the institution rather than just to receive information or be invited to social events, which most seem anyway reluctant to attend. The desire to have a voice in the policy-making of the institution is the most significant indication of impending change and the potential erosion of the traditional power relations which distanced parents from policy and empowered only the voice of the professional.

From the survey data, it remains unclear whether parents would like this influence to be exercised through more private modes of communication, or whether the traditional preference for privacy is giving way to a willingness to become involved with others in the policy and planning of their children's schools. However, at this stage, it seems that a greater commitment to education and to interaction with the school are consistent with a wish for greater influence generally. This may signal a potential growing awareness that if the individual is to provide support for their child they must also be drawn into engaging with the policies which define the purpose and process of learning.

Black parents are further distinguished by their greater inclination to attend the annual parents' meeting and by the wish to have a greater say in school policy-making. These data invite the question why more black parents than other parents seek a stronger voice in school policy-making. This may be because they believe they are more likely to be excluded from the community of the school or because they believe their interest/values are less well understood and accommodated.

The case-study school presents a complex account of the pattern of change which reveals the tensions in power relations. It is apparent that most parents as individuals are not searching for a greater say in school policy making. It is nevertheless clear that specific parents, in their roles as community leaders or governors, have asserted strongly that standards of attainment and teacher expectations in some departments are unsatisfactory and that school policy and practice has to change. Through their representatives parents

have tried to influence school policy making in a number of respects which has resulted in change. For example, school uniform rules have been amended to conform to cultural traditions over the wearing of headscarves, the provision of certain subjects, such as PE, has been amended to accommodate cultural codes in relation to young women, and teaching and learning is now being delivered with higher expectations of pupil achievement partly in response to the high expectations of parents for their children's schooling. To redress the ethnic balance of power in the school, membership of the governing body has been altered to reflect the ethnic make-up of the parent body. This governing body now works to ensure greater scrutiny and accountability of professional practice within the day-to-day life of the school, effectively calling the power of the professionals to account routinely.

This review of practices, structures and beliefs suggests that parents believe that structuring institutional arrangements should be changed to improve:

- the support given to learning at home
- the flexibility of arrangements for meetings
- the forums and mechanisms which enable parents to express their voice about school policy and practice
- the voice parents have in policy-making

Many parents seem to experience schools as less open, responsive and accessible as they would like. Whilst there is evidence of some change in the involvement of parents, the

pace of change seems to be hampered. The evidence suggests that there is more continuity than change in the practices of parental involvement. The practices of the dominant tradition mostly persist and yet there seems to be an appetite for a more constructive parent-school relationship. It seems, therefore, to be the case that beliefs (of parents) are changing in advance of structures and practices. This is borne out by the survey data but rather contradicted by the case-study data where school management are frustrated in their efforts by parents' reluctance to adapt to new structures and practices. Since the interrelationship of beliefs with practices is at the heart of the reproduction of a tradition, these data seem to support the argument that both continuity and change is creating tension in the parent-school relationship and confusion about the contribution of parents. The next section will look in more detail at emergent parent-school relations.

## **2. Analysing Emergent Parent-School Relations**

The above discussion points to a conclusion of continuity and distinctive change in the parent-school relationship. Both the survey and the case-study illustrate that practices continue to be rooted in traditional forms – passive and private activity which focuses on the monitoring function. The survey, however, suggests that the attitudes of parents are changing in a modest but significant way – moving from the passive tradition towards becoming an active supporter of the child's academic progress. Parents appear to want a more intensive relationship with the school in order that parents and school may collaborate more closely and therefore effectively in support of learning. In order to achieve this they need more information, communication and more flexibility in their



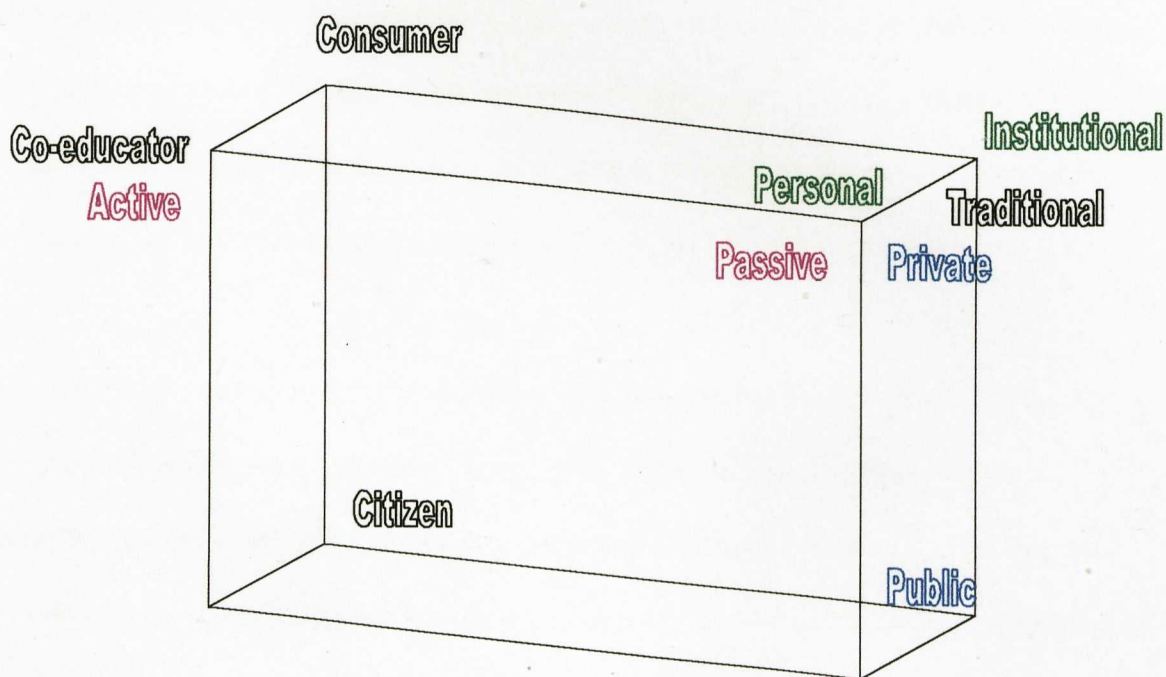
relationship with the school together with more guidance on learning at home. This suggests that parents would have a preference for a different relationship with their child's school.

It is, however, the interconnectedness of the dimensions of practice, as illustrated in Figure 1, which best explain the structural properties of the different conceptions of the positioning of parents as traditional, consumer, co-educator and citizen. When elaborated as the 'faces' of the cube, it is possible to explain how the different conceptions of the position of the parent result from the conjunction of particular dimensions of practice and therefore to understand how a shift in these dimensions can result in different parental positions. These are now shown in an elaborated version of the cube in Figure 2.

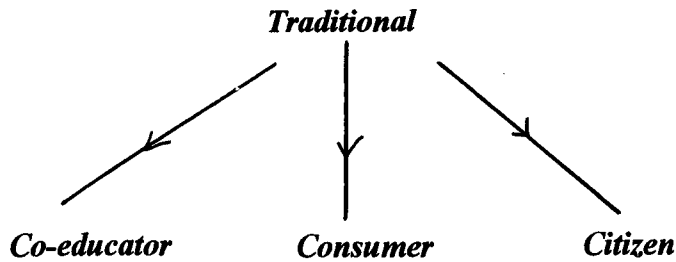
- personal, private and passive = *the traditional role*
- personal, private, and active = *the co-educator role*
- institutional, private and active = *the consumer role*
- institutional, public and active = *the citizen role*

This device can be used to explain a three-dimensional 'trajectory' of role change from traditional to co-educator, consumer and citizen as shown in Figure 3 overleaf.

**Figure 2 : Changing Parent – School Relations**



**Figure 3 : Continuity and Change**



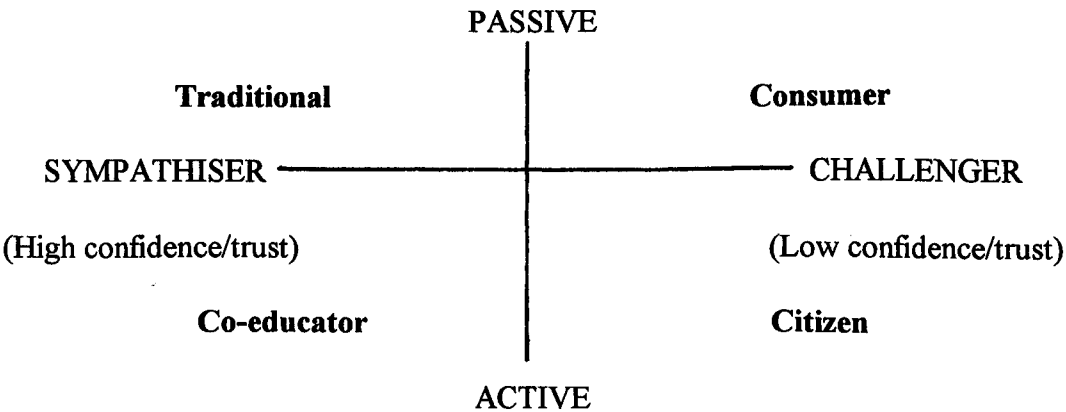
Three emergent directions of change, which are evidenced in the empirical data, are suggested. The predominant direction of change in parent-school relations seems likely to be towards the parent as co-educator in support of the child's learning. But if this is frustrated, or blocked, then parents may then be disposed to challenge or resist the school and relate either as a consumer, seeking more professional accountability and/or considering a move to other schools, or as a citizen, becoming more closely involved in influencing the policy and practice of the school.

It is picture of continuity and change in the parent-school relationship. There are clearly elements of the dominant tradition of the passive, deferential parent which live on and shape the current relationship. However, at the same time, there is evidence to suggest that new, more challenging relationships are emerging. It must therefore be acknowledged that the parent-school relationship is not fixed and parents may adopt different strategies and relate differently to the school, at different stages in their child's career in response to different conditions and concerns. The relationship is therefore ever changing, contingent

upon the structures and practices of the school as much as the capabilities of parents to act.

The way in which parents relate to the school (the action they take) reflects their degree of confidence and trust in the institution which, in turn, relates to the extent to which the institution creates opportunities for them to be more actively involved in supporting their child's learning. The survey data suggest broad patterning which may explain current conceptions of the parent-school relationship and point up those which are dominant. Two broad parental groupings currently seem to be in evidence which are cross-cut by a passive approach and an active approach to role. These groups are supported by both the factor analysis and the cluster analysis of the survey data in Part Three. I have labeled the two groups the *sympathisers* and the *challengers* and suggest, as shown in diagrammatic form below, that the groups are defined by the levels of trust and confidence which parents have in the school.

Figure 4 : Parent Groups



Sympathisers may be parents in the traditional relationship or the co-educator relationship. They are parents who have a high degree of trust and confidence in the school, the education it offers and the professionalism of the staff. They are parents, therefore, who support the school. The passive sympathisers are those who continue to subscribe to traditional attitudes and beliefs and are deferential to professional knowledge. These are the parents who would be categorised by teachers as the 'good' parents. The active sympathisers parents are those who also support the school but do so as co-educators of their child. They subscribe to attitudes and beliefs which reinforce their part as partners in learning in support of their child. Such parents are satisfied with the school and its practices but expect to play a fuller part for example supporting/monitoring homework and closely following their child's progress. Challengers, on the other hand, which include parents in the consumer and citizen role, have low levels of trust and confidence in the school. Passive challengers also subscribe to traditional attitudes and beliefs which position the parent on the margins of the school and show a respect for professional boundaries. However, their lack of confidence in the school results in consumerist behaviour such as checking standards of academic success and discipline. A less limited relationship is adopted by active challengers who go beyond seeking reassurance to actively participating - so far as possible - to ensure proper accountability on the part of the school. As active challengers parents would be less likely to defer to professional

norms and expect to exercise their right to hold teachers to account and for schools to be responsive to their voice.<sup>2</sup>

In summary, the survey data suggest that parents are oriented to develop their relationship with the school and yet the practice remains in the traditional mode. This inconsistency between beliefs and practice will be explained below. A further inconsistency is revealed in the case-study.

The case-study presented a picture of institutional change initiated by the school in response to a declining situation. The way in which a new management regime at the school sought to (amongst other things) develop a more constructive partnership with parents and encourage them as equal partners in their child's education is a useful illustration of how the parent-school relationship may be 'structured' by a set of beliefs and practices designed to bring about change. Interviews with key change agents (both senior managers and parent-governors) indicate the extent to which the new direction for improving the school – raising standards and teacher expectation of pupils – was in response to the expressed concerns of parent and community leaders. Illustrative of the new direction is the practice of the parent-governor who, regarding herself as a parent leader, has become involved in monitoring classroom practice and raised questions about the adequacy of the curriculum.

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of class, gender and ethnicity in relation to parental voice see Martin (1999a)

However, effecting change amongst parents and staff as a whole has been slow and routine practices continue to reproduce the dominant tradition. The majority of parents still defer to teachers and the majority of teachers continue to keep parents at arm's length. In the main the school has failed to introduce any more radical practices for parent-teacher liaison than the traditional consultation evening, although the headteacher's weekly surgery for parents rarely has any visits.

This study shows, therefore, how structural change is mediated by dominant attitudes and beliefs rooted in the past, and raises questions about the unintended consequences of practices which are dependent upon the agency or resistance of actors. The exercise of agency and/or resistance does in turn, seem to depend upon institutional power relations and the differential resources which actors are able to muster individually or collectively. Despite the avowed intent of the new management in the school to engage with parents as co-educators in a partnership, the continued dominance of traditional attitudes and beliefs on the part of parents and teachers has denied the development of such a role for parents. Instead, the role of consumer has emerged as the new tradition with parents checking out the school to reassure themselves and the school needing to concentrate efforts on attracting, welcoming and giving parents confidence in what they have to offer their child. In support of the survey data, however, the case-study data also suggest a cross-cutting of the passive-active continuum as some parents play a fuller part in holding the school to account than others.

These inconsistencies indicate that the dominant tradition lives on through conventional practice despite attitudes which are oriented to change. Parents who responded to the survey are frustrated in their desire for improvements in the parent-school relationship in just the same way as the professional and community leaders in the case-study school find their initiatives slow to take effect.

Since it is the interrelationship of attitudes and practice which constitute a tradition, the inconsistencies revealed in the data seem to reflect the continuity and change which is evident as the parent-school relationship has increasingly become the subject of reflection and development. Structuration theory may offer an explanation as to how and why this is occurring.

### **3. The Structuration of Parent-School Relations**

Within the dominant tradition parents were expected to defer to professional authority and knowledge. They were expected to remain on the margins of their child's education and they were not expected to play a part in co-educating their child nor in taking decisions about how schools were run and what should be taught. This is to over simplify matters and it should be recognised that middle-class parents might have a role in encouraging education at home and that such parents might be allowed a supportive role within the school through the Parent-Teacher Association. It was also expected that such involvement would be predominantly female - i.e. mothers. I have argued in part one that such expectations of a limited relationship with parents in the education of their children went mostly uncontested for many years, until the combination of social and economic



changes in the 1970s challenged the assumptions which underpinned expected practice. As a result of policy reform in the 1980s, however, quite different practice was suddenly expected. Parents would be expected to take decisions as school governors, parents would be expected to attend the Annual Meeting, parents would be expected to make sense of school examination league tables to make choices between schools. But as the literature bears out, and as the empirical data show, there is now much tension around parent-school relations because of the rules and resources which are drawn upon by different parents to undertake expected practices.

The key research questions for the study focused upon the way in which the dominant tradition of parent-school relations was being reproduced or challenged in the context of reformed public policy and professional practice. The two key research questions will be revisited here in the light of the data analysis summarised in the last section.

- Why does the dominant tradition continue to be reproduced?
- How is the challenge to the dominant tradition to be explained?

In this chapter I will apply structuration theory to these questions and conclude with a reflective analysis of the theory.

### ***3.1 Parental role or social position?***

The analysis so far suggests that there is some fluidity in the role adopted by parents within the parent-school relationship underlying which, however, is a repositioning of

parents in relation to the school. The concept of role, therefore, has to be elaborated to reflect the complexity of the changed relationship. Structuration theory enables such a critical analysis of role. Within this theory there is a rejection of the notion that roles are fixed, but an acknowledgment that the identity of actors is shaped by their social position through social practice. Since positions are not fixed or unalterable in a way which is implied by role theory, tensions between different facets of a social position can also be accommodated. It is therefore more appropriate to understand the behaviour of parents in terms of their '*social positioning*' wherein the tensions between traditional, consumer, co-educator and citizen roles may be better explained.

Giddens (1979) explains social position as:

*'A social identity that carries within a certain range (however diffusely specified) of prerogatives and obligations that an actor who is accorded that identity (or is an incumbent of that position) may activate or carry out.'* (p117)

This explanation rejects the specificity of role and its place as a basic constituent of how actors behave within a social system where there is a consensus about specific roles (Giddens, 1979 pp.116-117).

This distinction between role and social position, as Shilling (1992) points out is vital since it allows for the agency of actors to use rules and resources at their disposal to shape their social position through expected practices:

*'...Social positions embody within them a number of expected practices which if carried out by their incumbents can help reproduce the structural principles which characterise a social system. However, there is no guarantee that these expectations will be uncontested*

*or that these social positions will allow their incumbents the resources to undertake their expectations.'* ( p81)

I would argue that 'expected practices' are those practices which are 'traditional' or 'taken for granted'. Such an analysis is, therefore, helpful in described and explaining how the social position of parents has been shaped in the light of the dominant tradition to produce new conceptions of how parents engage with their children's schools. As expectations change so, I want to suggest, does practice, which is at the core of reproduction and change.

### ***3.2 Reproducing the dominant tradition.***

Structuration theory provides the analytical tools to explain the continuing reproduction of the tradition. This theory illustrates the way actors create institutional and social 'structures' which in turn become the conditions for future practice. It offers the notion that social structures are not fixed, rigid elements of a social system but that they are rather the rules and resources which agents employ in order to act. In so doing, through routinised practice, the social system is maintained or reproduced. The next section will use structuration theory to explain how 'rules' and 'resources' are deployed to reproduce the relationships of the dominant tradition and how the need for 'ontological security' will result in the reproduction of practice rather than reflection and change.

#### **3.2.1 Rules and Resources**

Parents will draw on a number of '**rules**' to enable them to act. They will draw upon 'rules' which are the social norms of parenting. They will draw upon their experience of

their own parents' relationship with school when they were children. Some will reproduce the limited role which they played. Others, however, will reflect on that limited role and, making judgements about its limitations, will decide to have a closer relationship with the school themselves. However, such a decision to play a fuller role in their child's education may take many forms and, in relation to the school, will be bounded by institutional structures and practices, some of which in turn will be structured by public policy and government legislation, for example parental choice legislation. Within the context of their wider experience within the family, therefore, parents will draw upon institutional 'rules' to carry out the practices of the home-school relationship. Such 'rules' set up the expectations of practice. They comprise the social norms of the institution – 'the way things are done'. Because practices are shaped by institutional rules which have been created in the past and shaped by traditional beliefs, the relationship which parents have with the institution is framed by tradition.

When parents embark on their relationship with the school, as shown in the case-study, they will have preconceived ideas of their social position with regard to the school. They will come with assumptions about the institutional 'rules'. These will be confirmed or denied, however, by the experience of the school, particularly by the important first encounters with the school and with staff. It is striking how many parents commented strongly and positively about their first impression about 'the way things are done' at Ripley School. The open demeanor of staff, the welcome which parents receive, the time given to talk about individual children's needs, the offer of time and commitment to parental concerns are all ways in which the 'rules' are communicated to parents. As a

result the case-study shows that some parents who have gone through this experience draw upon the 'rules' to engage in their child's education with the school as their child moves through the school. Institutional arrangements, for example for meetings with parents, such as the headteacher's surgery, and the information published for parents about the curriculum, are the institutional 'rules' within which parents are enabled to act. So, for example, the parent-teacher consultation evening is 'structured' by school management to be a brief occasion for conversation and dialogue about the progress of the child between parents and teachers. That this is an expected practice, taken for granted now in the current relationship between home and school, means it has also become one of the 'rules' which illustrate the duality of structure. The parent-teacher meeting is part of the systemic arrangements of the home-school relationship which at the same time shapes the way in which parents 'practice' their role in this relationship.

Institutional arrangements will create the 'norms' by which, and the 'spaces' within which, parents are positioned within the home-school relationship. However, the way in which they act will also be subject to further 'rules' of institutional behaviour. Ripley School professes to be 'open' to parents and the majority of parents interviewed believed that to be the case. Nevertheless, parental deference to professional knowledge, together with the attitudes of some teachers who have a deficit model of parents, result in limitations in practice which reproduce the dominant tradition.

The tradition, in particular, of secondary schooling, which emphasises specialist knowledge of subject departments, reinforces the boundary which distances parents from

being included in learning. The secondary school environment, therefore, cannot be 'open' in the same way as a primary school, for example, where the boundary between the school and parents is weaker and where expectations of how parents will act with younger children are different from their behavior with older children. This can be explained by the more protective role which parents play with younger children - delivering and collecting them from school, often into the classroom - and their role as 'interpreter' for the child who at a young age is unable to articulate his or her needs or concerns adequately. For the parent of the older child expectations are usually different and one of the most often quoted reasons for the more limited parental role in the secondary sector is the relative and necessary independence of the child. Indeed the institutional 'rules' change quite considerably in this respect as the curriculum becomes more complex and parents have less knowledge than the child. Teachers' expectations in the secondary school are of a dialogue with the child rather than with the parent. So parents become concerned about being a 'nuisance' or appearing to be 'interfering' if they become closely involved in matters of concern which the child believes he or she should handle alone.

In the case-study school it seems that 'rules' have been established which encourage parents to have a 'voice' of equal weight with pupils and teachers is resulting in modest change as some parents become more confident to speak up with anxieties and concerns about their child. However, the majority of parents remain sympathetic and deferential and are not enabled by institutional practices which, in fact, remain in a very traditional mode.

The survey data, also suggest that institutional 'rules' can continue to incapacitate parents who wish to have more of a say in the school, would like more guidance on how they can help at home and how they can support homework. A number of parents clearly believe that the practices of school should change which suggests that schools are not responsive enough. The high percentage figures do suggest that there are general constraints which parents wish to challenge but are not so doing. I want to suggest that we know enough about secondary school practices and attitudes to be able to propose that parents are drawing upon institutional 'rules' which define their 'position' as marginal to the learning process and, therefore, limit their capacity to participate fully as co-educators or citizens. This could therefore explain the continued dominance of traditional attitudes and the passive behaviour of the majority of parents as shown in the factor and cluster analysis.

Rules, I want to suggest, are properties of structure which shape the actions of parents and develop their social identity or positioning. However, it is the interplay of rules with *resources* which allows us to build up a more complex understanding of how parental practices are structured in the context of the school. Indeed, as I have tried to argue, the way in which parents draw upon rules will constrain or enable behaviour. Access to and deployment of resources may, therefore, be the defining element in shaping practice. This is a key element of the power relations between teachers and parents.

Resources can be defined widely as 'anything which I have at my disposal' to enable my to act. They are often described in economic terms as 'capital' which can be acquired and

accumulated - in terms of *the social, the cultural and the material*. (Bourdieu, 1984) The more 'wealthy' I am as an actor, so the argument goes, the more able I am to act. (I subscribe to this argument only with the caveat that my capability to deploy resources is conditional upon how I as an agent determine to interpret the 'rules' within which I act.)

With regard to parents, *social capital* will include the extent of my social relations with the school - if I am a member of the PTA I will have more social capital than other parents - and my membership of social networks locally with other parents, other local groups or perhaps more formally with local political parties. In short, any social connections on which I may be able to draw to develop my social position as a parent. In the case-study for example, parents who informally knew the Chair of the Governing Body used this connection to play a more constructive and assertive role as a parent.

*Cultural capital* is that which has tended to be associated with class culture but may also be interpreted more widely in terms of ethnic culture and the culture of gender. For parents, cultural capital can particularly be 'measured' by their knowledgeability of education and schooling. For example those parents who are parent-governors in the case-study school accumulated a more detailed knowledge of how the school functioned which gave them extra resources to draw upon in their dealings with the school. The way in which certain of these parents felt able to press their case with particular concerns is testament to this. However, even here, as one parent-governor pointed out, as governors they were mostly ineffectual compared with LEA governors who had even more cultural capital (and social capital) in the process of local politics.



Knowledgeability is influenced by gender and ethnicity. Knowledge about school seems to be greater amongst women than men, which could be due to more of them having closer links with their child's early years' education. This may explain the statistics in the survey data which indicate that more women than men engage in routine practices of home-school liaison, although it should not be discounted that wider cultural norms of education being seen as 'women's work' is a wider cultural 'rule' which has been in play in the dominant tradition. Yet there is greater involvement of men in public meetings. If this pattern was replicated on a greater scale we might then be able to assume that men have greater cultural capital in a public sphere tended to be defined as a male domain whereas women have less resources to draw upon to enable them to participate in public meetings and remain more comfortable in private meetings. The role of woman parents cuts across significantly with ethnic cultural norms where mothers are unused to participating outside the home - recognising of course that for many of these women a lack of proficiency in English is a real barrier to progress and represents a significant lack of cultural capital. Asian parents interviewed who attended the parent-teacher consultation in the case-study school were all male with the only exception of the minority of families where no parent was available and an elder sibling had deputised. These Asian men were knowledgeable about the educational progress of their child and their accounts tell of their direct involvement with staff when concerns arose.

Ethnic cultural norms also come into play. Both survey and case-study data reveal the deference of Asian families to professional knowledge. Where their cultural capital is

lacking (most marked amongst woman but also identifiable amongst men) this is usually to do with language difficulties and, in some cases, a general ignorance of how the education system works. However wider ethnic cultural 'rules' or 'norms' also come into play which expect respect and deference to professionals in positions of authority.

Knowledgeability about the school curriculum remains, however, the significant boundary which delimits the cultural capital of parents and positions them with less resources to draw upon in their relations with teaching staff. In short the lack of knowledge about what is taught and how children learn is a key disabling factor in developing a more active parent-school relationship. Whilst several parent interviews in the case-study school gave accounts of their interactions with staff, these were mostly in connection with behavioural and disciplinary issues - a domain where parents have greater knowledge about their child than the teacher. For example the only parent who did challenge the case-study school regarding the curriculum was himself a school teacher – a fellow professional. The survey data also show that more middle-class parents - those who are themselves professionals or managers in their work - engage actively with the school and suggest that their increased access to resources from a professional culture make it easier for them to engage with the school. Although the survey data do not provide data on the educational attainment of the parent, this in itself is a crucial resource and it may be the case that it is the higher levels of education (which will tend to apply for parents with professional occupations) as much as their knowledge in the professional sphere which is a discriminator.

Resources can also be defined in a more tangible way as *material wealth*, a level of economic well-being which may not only enable access to technology - use of the telephone, letter writing - but also a life-style which allows a parent to give time to their role in relation to their child's education and the school. Traditionally this would have been the family where the mother did not work outside the home and who was therefore able to give time to activities such as the parent-teacher association as well as learning in the home. The issue of time as a resource for parents has become more complex due to wider socio-economic changes which have seen more part-time, shift working and more women in the work-place and male unemployment. The pressures of the professional workplace - both private and public - have also eroded the boundaries of family and work leaving parents with less time than might previously have been expected.

The key defining characteristic about the use of resources, however, is who has access to which resources and the quality or appropriateness of those resources to enable action. This is the essence of power relations. In the writings, for example, of Gramsci (1971) it is recognised that 'traditions' are structured by sets of beliefs, attitudes and practices, by the most powerful to maintain their power or 'rule' over others. This is what Gramsci terms 'hegemony' by which powerful elites construct ways of thinking about society and doing things in society to maintain power differentials. He describes power structures in a rigid manner explaining that agency can only be exercised in the 'spaces' between the structures.

Being able to act is, as Giddens makes clear in structuration theory, to also be powerful. In the case of the parent-school relationship, the structuration of power (as well as the position of parents) is defined by the imbalance of resources between parents and the professionals. So long as the secondary school continues to be constructed along 'traditional' lines which reinforce professional knowledge and other professional norms – for example working terms and conditions which make it difficult for teachers to be accessible for parents – a great many parents will continue to be positioned on the margins of the relationship and, therefore, unable or less able to act effectively than professionals. Since the majority of professionals in schools appear to be maintaining structures and practices which perpetuate this imbalance – for example by not developing more flexible practices to accommodate parents – the traditional position of parents with regard to the school is also being reproduced. From such a position of strength, professional 'elites' are thus able to have a greater influence on institutional practices and structures and create the 'rules' by which the parent-school relationship is conducted.

Whilst this is a powerful explanatory factor, it is not the only factor. For as shown in the case-study school, professional elites can and do act to encourage the position of parents in the parent-school relationship. But they too are frustrated by the lack of response from parents. There is clearly an imbalance of resources between parents and teachers in the case-study school as shown above which will explain the inability of parents to respond effectively to new initiatives. Conversely, the survey data suggest that the more enlightened views and attitudes of parents who are seeking change are not being translated into practice. This may, once again, be explained by the imbalance of resources. Why do

some parents - perhaps in some aspects of their practice only - choose not to reflect and reposition themselves? What accounts for their unconscious decision to continue with routinised practices and, in so doing, maintain the status quo? There is a second explanatory factor which should not be overlooked. It is the natural preference of actors to continue with routine practice rather than 'do otherwise' arising from a sense of '*ontological security*' – essentially a preference for things to stay the same and to operate within the 'comfort zone' of our current social position.

### 3.2.2 Ontological security and reproduction

It does seem to be the case that the transformative capacity of agents is dependent upon the way in which they draw upon rules and resources (recasting structures) at their disposal to be able to act in the first place. Whether they act in accordance with 'expected' practices or not - if they choose to act 'otherwise' is a separate question. We know from the data presented that a significant minority of parents have the desire to act in ways which supports the revised expected social positioning of parents as active 'sympathisers' or active 'challengers', but the majority still choose to remain passive within the routinised practices of the dominant tradition. The survey data shows that by far the majority of parents attend the parent-teacher consultation evening whilst only a small number attend the newly established Annual Parents' Meeting. In the case-study data there continued to be much frustration on the part of some staff who felt they were trying to educate parents to play a more active part in supporting children's learning. Moreover whilst many parents did attend the parent-teacher consultation evening they were doing so passively to receive information rather than entering into a dialogue about learning.

I have suggested that a tradition will only be reproduced so long as it continues to be borne by routinised practices and that such practices only continue so long as the attitudes and beliefs underpinning them have credibility. However the survey data shows no explicit link between attitudes and beliefs and practice. Nor can we assume any such link from the case data, although we can see from this data that adherence to traditional attitudes about parents and teachers is a barrier to the establishment of new practices, and that revised practices are only instigated as a result of reflection and challenge to traditional attitudes and beliefs. The point at issue is that new practices in the case study were initiated by senior management, working with parent –governors, who had reflected on traditional attitudes because they were motivated to do so. Most parents and many staff, however, had not been through the same process of reflection and therefore continued to subscribe to the dominant tradition. Whilst it is the job of management to effect change and therefore also to reflect on the problems of existing (old) styles of working in order to find solutions, the question should be asked why some actors seem unable to embrace a similar trajectory. The predisposition to continue with routinised practices requires explanation.

When parents express high levels of satisfaction and sympathy with the school they are not motivated to effect change but rather to maintain things as they are. In this sense their taken for granted practices have not been disturbed and they are not motivated to reflect on traditional routines nor to question traditional beliefs and attitudes.

Structuration theory offers an explanation as to why actors tend to adhere to routinised practices in terms of the deep-seated needs of humans to maintain ontological security. This is a need to maintain the world as it is - to maintain stability and reliability. It implies a deep psychological need to keep things as they are in preference to upheaval and change. This is probably best explained through the micro-experience of day to day living where we expect to go through our daily lives in a routinised way depending upon our family and work circumstances. Indeed such routines can be said to be essential to our psychological wellbeing. In the case of parenting, both generally and in particular in relation to schooling, routinised, handed-down generational practices are an inherent element of the practice of parenting. Most parents' experience of their own parents' involvement in school will therefore be of the deficit model, particularly those from lower class groupings and the ethnic minorities. The large number of parents from the survey responses, for example, who are 'sympathisers' with the school, suggest they are more comfortable in maintaining things the way they are rather than challenging the status quo. Similarly in the case-study material, most parents appear content to position themselves as traditional and passive. The need to maintain ontological security by actors is therefore a second explanatory factor in the reproduction of the dominant tradition.

Drawing upon structuration theory, these two explanatory factors show how the structural properties of practice are drawn upon to reproduce the dominant tradition. Yet structuration theory needs to be able to explain emergent change.

### **3.3 Challenging the dominant tradition**

#### **3.3.1 Disturbance and reflexivity**

Giddens (1990) explains the impact of reflexivity on practice which '*... consists in the fact that social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices thus constitutively altering their character*' (p38).

It is clear from the data that the wider context of reformed public policy and, in the case-study school, the specific institutional context of reformed professional practice presents a 'disturbance' to the status quo and has prompted some reflexivity and change. There is also some evidence to suggest that at a personal level some parents have also been prompted to reflect on their position with regard to the school as a result of micro 'disturbance'.

This is entirely consistent with structuration theory where, it is suggested, change will usually result from disturbances to the taken-for-granted routines which prompt actors to reflect on their practice.

In the survey data, a majority of parents who responded say they want improvements in school practices in relation to the home. They say they want a greater 'voice'. They are displaying attitudes which result from reflection on the traditional modes of parental behaviour. Similarly, in the case-study, school management were motivated to reflect on traditional practice and challenge traditional attitudes and beliefs. They deployed the considerably resources available to them to instigate change through the development of existing practices and to instigate new practices. At a micro-level, some of the most assertive parents interviewed were parents of a child with special educational needs who wanted to co-operate closely with the school but also challenged the suitability of the



curriculum. These parents were positioning themselves as 'challengers' rather than 'sympathisers'. The disturbance, therefore, seems to have created reflective 'challengers' who wish to have some influence in effecting change within the institution.

### 3.3.2 The dialectic of control

As Giddens (1984) explains, structuration theory also takes account of the power relations in social systems within which individuals act which is referred to as the 'dialectic of control'. This explains the dependency relationship between powerful elites and the less powerful whom they wish to control, which requires consent or legitimation. It implies that even those with very little power have enough resources to negotiate a little because of the need for their consent. Therefore consent is a key resource.

Given recent policy change, schools today more than in the past cannot survive or develop without the clear consent of parents as consumers. If parents in great numbers do not choose the school for their child declining rolls will eventually close the school. If, as in the case of the case-study, a school wants to reverse such a trend, then it needs before anything else to regain the consent and support of parents. This is of course not a straight forward matter since regaining the confidence of parents means improving the ethos and achievement of the school at the same time. Delegated management of schools has placed the responsibility for the success or failure of the school with the governing body and the headteacher each of whom can only succeed with the consent of parents. Not only is such consent important at the initial stage of choosing, but also in support of the education of the child throughout its career. The school is also accountable to parents for the delivery

of a quality public service. This policy change has in fact 'empowered' parents. This is not to suggest that the position of the parent as 'consumer' is necessarily the new 'tradition' since it is not mutually exclusive of the position of parent as 'co-educator' or 'citizen'. However, the position of the parent as consumer does dominate in various manifestations. To 'consume' is to relate to the institution via the 'product' of education. This is an individualistic and private relationship to ensure availability of the right type of product (choice) and to ensure the ongoing quality of the product (pupil progress). Holding professionals to account for the quality of the product as an individualistic activity is implied here. In the 'risk society' outlined above, the opportunity to engage with the institution to secure choice and quality is clearly of paramount importance.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that reformed public policy has affected the dialectic of control. In the case-study school the declining rolls situation and the local market pressures have caused management to reflect on their current strategies for engaging with parents. Their changed attitude towards parents has been put 'into practice' effectively as the interview data with parents impressed with the open welcome of the school testifies. In response to the 'repositioning' of parents in the parent-school relationship, several parents interviewed then went on to describe a relationship with the school which was inter-active, co-operative but sometimes challenging.

It is not only the threat of 'exit' which affects to dialectic of control but also the need for schools to engage parents' consent and support for the education of their child as co-educators. As has also been well documented, pupils' achievement will be enhanced and

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<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Carol Vincent for developing my thinking on parents and risk as part of ESRC

therefore schools will be more successful with family support. Teachers often, as seen in the case-study, bemoan the apathy of parents and the difficulty of 'reaching' some parents in support of pupil achievement. Since this is more likely to be, as the survey data suggests, a small group of alienated and negative parents, the need to reach agreement here is just as important for those pupils and for the school. What we see in practice, however, is that alienated parents just as much as passive parents, are choosing not to act 'otherwise' which is a compounding factor in the reproduction of the dominant tradition. The 'dialectic of control' in the parent-school relationship within the context of reformed public policy does privilege the parent. If parents have power, then (albeit within the constraints of the rules and resources at their disposal) they are empowered to act 'otherwise'. If they are so motivated, within this dialectic, there is the potential for individual agency to change rather than reproduce the traditions of the home-school relationship through practice. The reality is of course more complex. Professional practice, as demonstrated above, often seeks to mitigate that situation. It may appear that power is distributed such that the school is powerful over parents, particularly in regard to knowledgeability over the curriculum, but the dialectic nature of that relationship reveals such control to be conditional upon parental consent. Nevertheless, the need to gain and retain the consent of parents for the success of the school is an important explanatory factor for the influence of parents and their changed position in the parent-school relationship.

### ***3.4 Analysing continuity and change – reflecting on structuration***

From the survey data it seems that only a minority of parents are satisfied with the responsiveness of the schools which implies that schools are frustrating parents and operating within the dominant tradition. In the case-study school the accounts from the headteacher, in particular, and other staff reveal the way in which professionals fall back upon professional knowledge, coupled with an evocation of institutional arrangements or 'rules', to manage or limit the exercise of parental agency. However much that school needs to retain the consent of parents, the key resource of the authority of the school overpowers the lesser authority of the lone parent and 'trumps' all other resources in play. The only possible exception to this would be the authority of parent-governors but even here the case data suggests that those parent-governors who assert themselves are also frustrated by professional practice.

In practice, as Willmott (1999b) has also suggested, the individual, in this case parent, who may be disposed to act 'otherwise' will not do so because of the detrimental consequences which might ensue from incurring the wrath of the authority of the school - not wishing to become the interfering parent in case there are repercussions for the child. They are anxious about the possibility of consequential damage to the home-school relationship and the lack of options (or worse options) for educating the child elsewhere. Whilst the threat of 'exit' on behalf of the parent is a real one for a school with a declining roll, it has already been established in the literature that exit is not a choice for many parents for a variety of reasons. The case-study data bears this out particularly in the case

of Asian parents many of whom have opted out of consumer choices and sent their child to the local school.

The slow response of parents to these changes in the case-study school not only emphasises the need of parents to participate for changes to be effective and successful, but also reinforces what Giddens (1984) describes as the 'flow' of social life as change evolves through social practice. This suggests that whilst the voice of authority - the school - can effectively quash parental agency, it is not enough for it to speak to activate it. This may suggest that attitudes and beliefs need to be challenged before new practices can be activated as well as schools recognising the differential resources which parents have at their disposal such that some parents may respond more readily to new ideas and ways of working. In the case-study school, for example, it seems to be the case that white parents have responded to a more equal partnership with the school more readily than Asian parents due to their less deferential attitudes towards professional knowledge. Willmott (1999b) describes this process as agents 'mediating' structural properties and suggests that '*the degrees of freedom that actors enjoy depends upon their structural location*' (p9). It is also important to recognise that parents generally, but perhaps more particularly in the case of negative or alienated parents, do not choose to act in a manner which could be detrimental to their child's education. This would be an unintended consequence of their action rather than willful neglect.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> This is the argument put by Willis P. (1977) *Learning to Labour: how working class kids get working class jobs* Farnborough: Saxon House; see also more recently McFadden M.G. (1995) 'Resistance to Schooling and Educational outcomes : questions of structure and agency' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Vol. 16 No.3

It has been proposed that fundamental changes in education policy and professional practice have disturbed the traditional 'taken for granted' practices of parental involvement in schools with the result that the traditional role of parents as passive supporters of the school have been subject to challenge. In such circumstances, it is suggested that reflections on a new position have resulted in a confusion of emergent attitudes, beliefs and practices - that of the parent as co-educator, consumer and citizen.

In a context where both parents and teachers could no longer rely on the traditional 'rules' of the relationship, it has been established that a new position for parents is currently being structured or mediated by parents and teachers and that there is evidence of both continuity and change. Structuration theory has explained how the dominant tradition continues to be reproduced through taken for granted practices as well as the small but significant changes taking place. Given the significant changes in public policy, and the clearly expressed 'modern' attitudes of both parents and professionals, we would expect to find greater and more rapid change occurring as a result of the 'disturbance' and 'reflexivity' which, according to structuration theory should bring about change. This suggests that whilst the theory adequately explains reproduction it is not so robust in explaining change. Indeed, the data suggests that whilst there was a congruence between beliefs, practices and structures within the dominant tradition, the current situation is characterised by beliefs, practices and structures being out of synchronisation. Some actors are oriented to change structure, yet are frustrated by the constraints which they experience. Moreover, while some actors are reflexively oriented to change others remain

ontologically secure and require the reproduction of tradition. This suggests that structure and agency are not analytically inseparable as structuration theory purports to be the case.

This is at the centre of the principal critique of the theory, as expressed in the work of Archer and Willmott. As suggested in Chapter Four, Willmott (1999a) argues for 'analytical dualism' to explain the multi-layered interrelationship between structure and agency which, he suggests is lost in structuration theory. The 'duality of structure', he suggests, provides no basis from which to theorise the relative influence of structure and agency because they are conflated into one indistinguishable process. Moreover, he argues that it is important not to lose the distinctiveness of each:

*'Clearly the two interact and are mutually influential yet are neither free floating nor so intertwined that examination of their respective powers and properties becomes a priori impossible.'* (p.6)

He explains this flaw in the theory as a refusal:

*'To take on board an emergentist social ontology, which acknowledges that while structure is ever dependent upon agency it is emergent (distinguishable) from it, possessing irreducible causal powers which differentially condition the course of action. An emergentist (stratified) ontology argues that the dilemma of the Cartesian dualism can be resolved by conceptualising one level (e.g. structure) as emergent from agency but irreducible to that from which it has emerged. Thus we are not dealing with an absolute division between two distinct substances but with strata or levels of reality which can be reduced or collapsed into each other. (e.g. water is not reducible to its constituent parts hydrogen and oxygen.'* (p7)

Thus, he suggests structure and agency are not self sufficient entities - structures are created and mediated by agency. They are nevertheless analytically separable levels of

social reality. But this analytical separability is exactly what is lost in structuration theory's conflation of structure and agency. He argues that social reality must be understood as comprising analytically separable levels or strata. Within the school, for example, he suggests that the powers and properties of relations between role holders are given by the 'emergent' and distinct organisational structure:

*'...while they are produced by agency, powers and properties (of internal necessity) are created which cannot be reduced to individuals. The defining feature of an emergent structural property is its internal relationality). Structure is relatively enduring and ontologically distinct from agency and can be analysed synchronically. But there is no sinister 'substance' pertaining to these internal relations. Human agency remains the sole efficient cause. Nevertheless structure retains relative autonomy and causal efficacy. (cf. Bhaskar, 1989). The social relations of teacher/pupil; cleaner/supervisor are causal relations: the powers and properties of these social relations are irreducible to the individuals holding the roles. (the role of a university equal opps. officer presupposes the prior existence of the university. Structures (e.g. land-lord tenant structure) continue to exist while their constituent parts undergo change; cf. Sayers (1992) structures can be invariant under certain transformations.'* (1999b pp13-14)

His argument for 'analytical dualism' is part of Archer's (1995) wider critique of structuration which she asserts is inadequate in explaining the process of change in the social world. She explains structuring over time by the '*morphogenetic sequence*' whereby structure and agency '*emerge, intertwine and redefine one another*' (p76). This sequence of, structure – interaction – structural elaboration, explains the process of change over time. As she explains:

*'Fundamentally the morphogenetic argument that structure and agency operate over different time periods is based on two simple propositions; that structure necessarily pre-dates the action(s) which transform it; and that structural elaboration necessarily post-dates those actions.'* (p76)



Such an analysis may, therefore, be more appropriate in explaining both the sequential direction of change and acknowledges the way in which change necessarily develops over time. This theory acknowledges the basis of traditional practice which may then be 'elaborated' over time through interaction. It seems therefore to account for a developmental period when the residue of tradition is still in play during a sequence of 'events' when action accommodates the present disturbances and future transitions of reflexive modernisation.

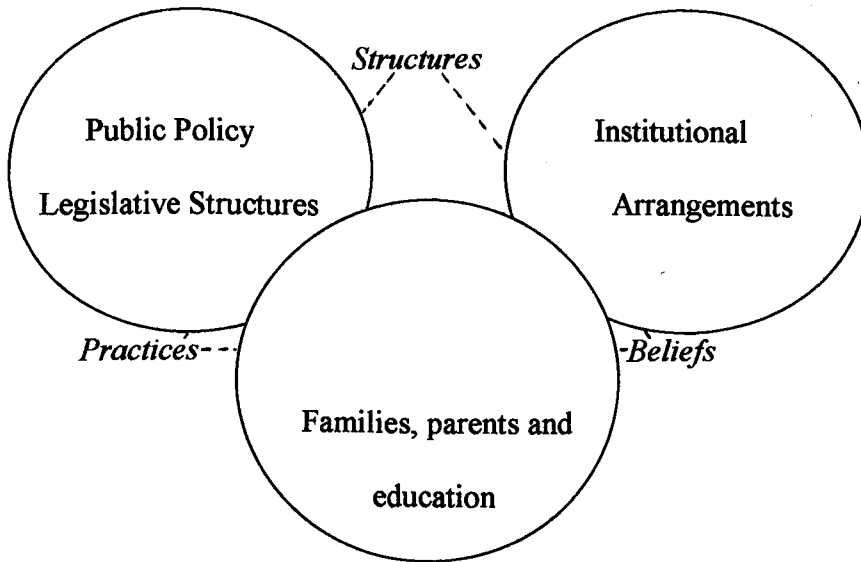
While structuration theory and morphogenesis are presented as competing alternatives they are not mutually exclusive. In explaining change, both theories address the interrelationship and interdependence of structure and agency and rely on resource dependency and exchange in explaining power relations. Structuration theory needs, however, to accommodate analytical dualism and change over time since it is not explicit how actors draw upon the structural properties of action to effect change. However, I would argue that despite this lack of transparency there is nothing in the theory to suggest that a process of structural elaboration does not take place. Indeed, my analysis suggests that actors can *only* draw upon existing 'structures' to be able to act. The extent to which they are reflexive and therefore effect change is an integral but separate part of the process. Building upon structuration, in the abstract, the more substantive theory of detraditionalisation and reflexive modernisation does explain the way change is being developed from a traditional position. From the evidence of this study it is precisely a process of detraditionalisation in the parent-school relation which explains the current tensions and confusion.

#### **4. Detraditionalisation and reflexive modernisation**

The foregoing discussion is consistent with notions of detraditionalisation and reflexive modernisation explained by structuration theory. As outlined in Chapter Four, Giddens uses the theory to illuminate his arguments for a decline in tradition and the rise of reflexivity in modern societies. Giddens' argument that modern societies are oriented towards the future more than the past seems to have relevance for the changing roles of parents in schools. In the context of a society where the rituals of the past can no longer be relied upon and where 'traditional' social positions are no longer fixed, then parents, and children, are increasingly facing a world of uncertainty and risk. Not only about what schools can deliver but also about the need for educational achievements to equip young people for a uncertain job market. In such a context, the reliable 'expert systems' have to restate their authority and, Giddens suggests, lay publics will become increasingly 'reflexive' and questioning about 'taken for granted' expert knowledge. It is heightened reflexivity which will erode routinised practice and undermine existing tradition.

This study does suggest that an increasing number of parents from those who responded to the survey, are precisely questioning the expert knowledge of teachers and schools. In the case-study school, however, it seems to be more the case that professionals themselves trying to bring about change, are reflecting on the legitimacy of their own position and inviting parents to confirm their consent. But even here, the process is not linear nor easy to identify. It is the interrelationship between structures, practices and beliefs which produce continuity and change and it seems clear that government reforms in the 1980s

**Figure 5 : Overlapping Spheres of Influence**



have had an impact on how parents regard themselves in relation to school and how they subsequently act. But their actions are necessarily further mediated by the institutional practices which shape parental agency. Both of these overlap with the sphere of the family where beliefs and attitudes about parenting, schooling and education are all inextricably linked to parental interaction with the school.

These overlapping spheres of influence are important elements shaping the role of the parent. These are shown in diagrammatic form in figure 5. As old traditions are eroded, so new practices herald new traditions which can be established in quite a short time if individuals hold attitudes which are open and amenable

to change. The ‘repositioning’ of working-class, male and parents from ethnic minorities as more assertive and challenging partners in the education of their children is an important illustration of how social change is brought about. As the pace of change accelerates, and the taken for granted ways of doing things are disturbed, increasing uncertainty and risk throw trust into high relief. This seems to be the case for parents and schools. This relationship has clearly been subject to immense change, as outlined in chapter one, with power relations thrown into disarray.

At the same time schools have been subject to many pressures and new processes of management and governance. At such times, of great uncertainty, trust starts to break down or is in danger of doing so – within institutions between professionals, and between professionals and parents. What is, therefore, required is for trust to be rebuilt in order that constructive change can be successfully achieved. The analysis of parents as ‘*sympathisers*’ or ‘*challengers*’ suggests that parents are managing risk in different ways and that their behaviour and practice, at a time of disturbed routines, could be correlated with the amount of trust and confidence they have in the institution. The key element is that since the dominant tradition no longer holds, parents cannot simply take for granted relations of trust which may have been reliable in the past. This may result from increased mobility within populations or movements of population more generally, such as immigrant communities or refugee communities. It may result from increased wealth and education of families aspiring to different class locations. It may result from cross-cultural factors, particularly for Asian and Black immigrant families. In short, parents as consumers, co-educators or citizens, can no longer rely on the way things have always

been done - most of them will not be choosing the school for their child which they attended or members of their family attended. But schools and the school system too have changed. Parents who refer back to their own grammar school education, or black parents who refer back to their native schooling, may find they are questioning schools within a reformed system and trying to establish the trust which was taken for granted in previous more rigid systems. This suggests that the parent-school relationship is in the middle of a process of reflexive modernisation when change brings risk and uncertainty, and trust needs to be reestablished between parents and the school.

#### ***4.1 Repositioning parents – conclusion***

The empirical evidence from this study confirms the tension around the position of parents in the parent-school relationship, with the continuance of the dominant tradition alongside emergent new attitudes and practices. Having focused on practices as the vehicle for continuity and change it can be concluded that the evidence suggests a continuation of traditional, passive practice but a significant emergent practice resonant with concepts of parents as consumers, co-educators and citizens. However, there is most evidence of practice which reflects the consumer model. As indicated earlier, a consumer model is distinct from a co-educator model since it implies an 'arm's-length' relationship with the school rather than a collaborative model where the parent is only active in choosing and ensuring the quality of the 'product'. Whilst this relationship also implies accountability it is individualistic and therefore different from public accountability exercised by the parent as citizen who is more concerned with the collective enterprise of the school. In the case-

study, for example, there is evidence of parents monitoring the individual progress of the child and seeking a more involved but accountable relationship with the school. This is consistent with survey responses from parents who are seeking improvements in the parent-school relationship in which they can be more closely connected with the school and the interests of their child's progress. The foregoing analysis suggests that those parents who are choosing to reflect on their position and reestablish the trust they need to have in the school are choosing to be '*active consumers*'.

#### 4.1.1 Implications for public policy

This has implications for institutional arrangements as well as public policy. The active consumer retains a traditional 'conservative' role (a recognition of parents preserving their ontological security) acknowledging the proper professional-parent boundaries but yet seeks out a 'voice' by which uncertainties, anxieties and risks can be allayed, and the knowledge of the expert questioned and held to account. This is a very necessary process towards rebuilding the trust and confidence which parents seek. Schools will need to be more responsive and develop an individual, customised relationship with parents. This will require opportunities for parents to exercise voice as consumers rather than to exit. Although such practice is individualised, the result will be increased accountability and the raising of standards. It is an emergence of new attitudes and practices associated with consumerism which amounts to a development of traditional practice in the light of policy reform.

In particular, the role of parent-governors could be an important consideration. The survey data indicate that parents do value their representation on governing bodies and yet the case-study data, echoing previous research, give no evidence of active representation by parent-governors and indeed little contact between parents and their representatives. And yet, in a school where the involvement of parents is low, the role of the governing body may become a key forum. The case-study school has sought to engage with parents proactively and would describe the relationship as close, but they recognise that they are only 'working towards' a better relationship with parents. In general, the response of parents to school overtures has been slow, which may result from traditional hierarchical power structures within the school and the family. Indeed this may be further reinforced by Asian cultural traditions. Parents are not described in any way as assertive and the school is working with governors to change parents' views on the school through key community leaders. They are seeking to influence the local community and the parent body. In such a context the governing body is the key forum for negotiation on behalf of parents. Parent-governors are supportive of the school but will assert their interests, as for example, when Muslim parents requested that girls have the opportunity wear headscarves as part of the school uniform. This request was contested in the governing body but agreement was reached to accommodate parents' wishes. The governing body is described as 'well-balanced' with Muslim and black governors representing parent viewpoints. The headteacher recognises the importance of the support of the governing body and it is generally regarded as a negotiating forum to reach shared agreements with parents. The role of the headteacher and her senior management team has become pivotal

in maintaining the balance of power between the parent voice on the governing body and the interests of professionals.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the weakness of representation, the addition of parents to the key decision-making forum of the school does present an opportunity which should be developed. Parents who volunteer to be governors are, despite the lack of influence, key actors who by virtue of volunteering, are reflecting on their role as parents vis-à-vis the school. And, indeed, the accounts from parent-governors in the case study school indicate that they are knowledgeable and reflective individuals, some of whom will assert their views and opinions. They have the potential to be reflexive modernisers if such a role were more readily acknowledged by professionals who, in the main, seem to have been more interested in keeping parent governors in their place rather than encouraging them as agents for change. In a context of actively restructuring the school on the basis of a new conceptualisation of partnership, between school, parents and the community, the school can be described as a 'community-active regime'. (Martin et al 2000) Policy-makers should consider the potential of the parent-governor 'voice' and look at ways in which that voice can be activated and listened to, at the same time as invigorating mechanisms so that they can become true representatives of the parent-body. Parent Councils in schools, made-up of class or year group parent representatives who meet regularly with parent-governors is one way already being suggested by some groups, such as the Campaign for the Advancement of State Education (CASE). A small number of schools do have parent forums organised by year-group parent representation which are successfully used for

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<sup>5</sup> This analysis is developed in a paper looking at governance and cultural diversity in Martin (2000)



consultation with parents. (Martin & Vincent 1999) Such 'reflexive' institutions working with key parent leaders will be those which are the most successful in restructuring and repositioning parents as active consumers of a public service which works with and for the public.

## **APPENDICES**

- I      Questionnaire Instrument – The Parents' Survey**
- II     The Case Study – List of Interviewees**
- III    The Case Study – Interview Frameworks**
- IV    The Parents' Survey - Practices, Knowledge, Beliefs and Attitudes : Mode**
- V     The Parents' Survey - Factor and Cluster Analyses**

PAGE NUMBERING AS IN THE  
ORIGINAL THESIS

**TEXT BOUND INTO**

**THE SPINE**

Appendix I  
Part Two Chapter Five  
(England, Wales & Northern Ireland)

<b>SURVEY OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PARENTS ACROSS THE U.K.</b> <b>1995</b>
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To all parents/guardians of Year Nine pupils in XXXXXXXX School.

Your child's school has agreed to take part in a project on the links between home and school. We are very interested in your views and hope you will take a few minutes to answer the following questions. Your answers will be **CONFIDENTIAL** and will not be revealed to your child's school or any other person. Please return the questionnaire to your child's school or by post in the envelope provided. You will not need a stamp.

Thank you very much for your help.

Please tick one box only on each line

**A. Please tell us how you have been involved with your child's school in the past year.**

*Please tick Yes or No for each question.*

**1. I attended the:**

- |  |                              |                             |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| -Parents'/guardians' meeting with class teachers | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Curriculum information evening                  | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -School social event                             | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Annual Parents' Meeting with Governors          | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Pupils' play, concert or presentation           | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

**2. I have read the following communications:**

- |  |                              |                             |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| -School report on my child's progress    | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| - School newsletters                     | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -School exam results                     | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -School prospectus                       | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Annual Report to Parents from Governors | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Exam results from local schools         | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -The Government's Parents' Charter       | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

**3. I have helped my child's learning through taking part in a school scheme to support learning in the home.**

Yes ☐

No ☐

I am not aware of any scheme. ☐

**E. Please indicate which of the following would help you to work more closely with your child's school. Please tick Yes or No for each question.**

- |  |                              |                             |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 28. More flexible arrangements for meeting teachers in school.       | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. More written information from the school.                        | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. Home visits from teachers.                                       | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31. Homework that I can share with my child supported by the school. | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 32. A written contract between parents/guardians, pupils and school. | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 33. An opportunity to have a say in making school policy.            | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

**F. We would be grateful if you could supply the following information about yourself. This will be used to help us identify how we can help young people of all backgrounds achieve their maximum potential through school. Please tick one box only for each question.**

34. Are you:

Male ☐ Female ☐

35. How would you describe your ethnic background?

Bangladeshi	<input type="checkbox"/>	Black African	<input type="checkbox"/>	Black Caribbean	<input type="checkbox"/>	Black Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/>	Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pakistani	<input type="checkbox"/>	White	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>						

36. How would you describe your main occupation, or previous occupation if at home or unemployed?

Managerial	<input type="checkbox"/>	Manual	<input type="checkbox"/>	Professional	<input type="checkbox"/>	Clerical	<input type="checkbox"/>
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**Thank you very much for your help. Please return the questionnaire in the envelope provided within the next ten days.**

**Professor Stewart Ranson  
School of Education  
The University of Birmingham  
Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT**

**D. Please tell us how you think parents and schools should work together.**

*Please tick one box only for each statement.*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
20. Parents/guardians can help their child's education at home.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Teachers know best what children should learn.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. It is important to develop links between home and school to:				
-Increase parental interest in, and understanding of, their child's education.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Increase teachers' understanding of the importance of home in education.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Raise levels of children's achievement.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Help the management of children's behaviour at school.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Enable problems to be solved at an early stage.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Improve levels of attendance.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Enrich the life of the local community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Parents/guardians should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. It is a good thing that parents are on school boards.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. A few parents on a school board can speak for all the parents/guardians.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. Parents/guardians are only concerned with the needs of their own children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Schools must do what the government tells them, parents/guardians can't make a difference.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Please turn over /*

4. Do you have formal links with your child's school in any of the following ways?

- |  |                              |                             |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| School board member                          | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Member of the Parents' Association Committee | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Member of teaching staff                     | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Voluntary helper                             | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Member of non-teaching staff                 | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

**B. Please tell us about your child's school. Please tick one box only for each statement.**

- |   | Strongly<br>Agree        | Agree                    | Disagree                 | Strongly<br>Disagree     |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5. The school is welcoming for parents/guardians.   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. The information I get from school is easy to understand.                                 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. It is useful to attend school meetings because what parents say does count.              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. It is useful to attend school meetings because you get to hear what the school is doing. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. It is easy to talk to the headteacher and staff.   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. The school keep me well informed about the work my child is doing at school.            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. It is very easy to get information from school about anything I don't understand.       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. The school is part of our community   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. The school understands the education I want for my child.                               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. The school understands how I can help my child's education.                             | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. The school board communicate with parents regularly.                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**C. Are you aware of the following legal rights? Please tick one box only for each statement.**

- |   | Yes                      | No                       | Don't<br>know            |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 16. It is a parent's/guardian's right to have their child educated as they wish.                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. It is a parent's/guardian's duty to make sure their child attends school.                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Parents/guardians have the right to ask schools how they are teaching the curriculum.               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. If parents/guardians are not satisfied with their child's progress they can complain to the school. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



**SURVEY OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PARENTS ACROSS THE U.K.  
1995**

To all parents/guardians of Form S3 pupils in XXXXXXXX School.

Your child's school has agreed to take part in a project on the links between home and school. We are very interested in your views and hope you will take a few minutes to answer the following questions. Your answers will be **CONFIDENTIAL** and will not be revealed to your child's school or any other person. Please return the questionnaire to your child's school or by post in the envelope provided. You will not need a stamp.  
Thank you very much for your help.

**Please tick one box only on each line**

**A. Please tell us how you have been involved with your child's school in the past year.**  
*Please tick Yes or No for each question.*

1. I attended the:

- |  |                              |                             |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| -Parents'/guardians' meeting with class teachers | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Curriculum information evening                  | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -School social event                             | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Pupils' play, concert or presentation           | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. I have read the following communications:

- |                                       |                              |                             |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| -School report on my child's progress | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| - School newsletters                  | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -School exam results                  | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -School prospectus                    | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -Exam results from local schools      | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| -The Government's Parents' Charter    | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

3. I have helped my child's learning through taking part in a school scheme to support learning in the home.

Yes ☐

No ☐

I am not aware of any scheme. ☐

**E. Please indicate which of the following would help you to work more closely with your child's school. Please tick Yes or No for each question.**

- |  |                              |                             |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 28. More flexible arrangements for meeting teachers in school.       | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. More written information from the school.                        | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. Home visits from teachers.                                       | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31. Homework that I can share with my child supported by the school. | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 32. A written contract between parents/guardians, pupils and school. | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 33. An opportunity to have a say in making school policy.            | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

**F. We would be grateful if you could supply the following information about yourself. This will be used to help us identify how we can help young people of all backgrounds achieve their maximum potential through school. Please tick one box only for each question.**

34. Are you:

Male ☐ Female ☐

35. How would you describe your ethnic background?

Bangladeshi <input type="checkbox"/>	Black African <input type="checkbox"/>	Black Caribbean <input type="checkbox"/>	Black Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Chinese <input type="checkbox"/>	Indian <input type="checkbox"/>	Pakistani <input type="checkbox"/>	White <input type="checkbox"/>
Other <input type="checkbox"/>			

36. How would you describe your main occupation, or previous occupation if at home or unemployed?

Managerial ☐ Manual ☐ Professional ☐ Clerical ☐

**Thank you very much for your help. Please return the questionnaire in the envelope provided within the next ten days.**

**Professor Stewart Ranson  
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The University of Birmingham  
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**D. Please tell us how you think parents and schools should work together.**

*Please tick one box only for each statement.*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
20. Parents/guardians can help their child's education at home.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Teachers know best what children should learn.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. It is important to develop links between home and school to:				
-Increase parental interest in, and understanding of, their child's education.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Increase teachers' understanding of the importance of home in education.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Raise levels of childrens' achievement.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Help the management of childrens' behaviour at school.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Enable problems to be solved at an early stage.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Improve levels of attendance.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-Enrich the life of the local community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Parents/guardians should be more involved in making decisions about what schools do.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. It is a good thing that parents are on school governing bodies.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. A few parents on a governing body can speak for all the parents/guardians.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. Parents/guardians are only concerned with the needs of their own children.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Schools must do what the government tells them, parents/guardians can't make a difference.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Please turn over /*

4. Do you have formal links with your child's school in any of the following ways?

- |  |                              |                             |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| School governor                              | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Member of the Parents' Association Committee | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Member of teaching staff                     | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Voluntary helper                             | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Member of non-teaching staff                 | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

**B. Please tell us about your child's school.** *Please tick one box only for each statement.*

- |   | Strongly<br>Agree        | Agree                    | Disagree                 | Strongly<br>Disagree     |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5. The school is welcoming for parents/guardians.   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. The information I get from school is easy to understand.                                 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. It is useful to attend school meetings because what parents say does count.              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. It is useful to attend school meetings because you get to hear what the school is doing. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. It is easy to talk to the headteacher and staff.   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. The school keep me well informed about the work my child is doing at school.            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. It is very easy to get information from school about anything I don't understand.       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. The school is part of our community   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. The school understands the education I want for my child.                               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. The school understands how I can help my child's education.                             | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Parent-governors communicate with parents regularly.                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**C. Are you aware of the following legal rights?** *Please tick one box only for each statement.*

- |   | Yes                      | No                       | Don't<br>know            |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 16. It is a parent's/guardian's right to have their child educated as they wish.                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. It is a parent's/guardian's duty to make sure their child attends school.                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Parents/guardians have the right to ask schools how they are teaching the National Curriculum.      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. If parents/guardians are not satisfied with their child's progress they can complain to the school. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**Case Study Interviews**

**Phase 1: May 1994**

Headteacher  
2 x Deputy headteachers

**Phase 2 : November 1994**

Headteacher  
Deputy headteacher  
Assessment co-ordinator  
Head of English  
Head of Year 9  
Deputy head of Year 9  
Head of Maths

**Phase 3 : May - June 1995 & January 1996**

Headteacher  
3 x Year 10 tutors  
1 x Year 8 tutor  
Head of Art  
Support team teacher  
Chair of Governors  
Parent-governor  
Co-opted governor  
Teacher-governor  
13 x parents



### **Third Phase Interview - For Parents**

[Admin: Use attached pro-forma for details of interviewees and ask for first names only on adhesive labels for ease of identification during the discussion. Tape discussion. Time : 1 hour]

#### **1. About you**

Talk about yourself briefly and the community in which you live. First name only. Family circumstances as far as possible - number of children? Cultural background.

#### **2. How your child is making progress at school and your involvement in your child's learning.**

How do parents' know if their child is progressing - school assessment procedures - role of parents in assessment - comment on recording and reporting procedure. How does school address needs of the child - differentiation - dealing with difference - gender, class and ethnicity - does the school attempt to acknowledge the cultural experiences of children.

Learning in the home and in school. Parents perceptions of their role as complementary educators - what does school do to facilitate? Relationship between parents and teacher regarding pupil's learning - curriculum as secret garden.

#### **3. Relationship between school and parents**

What are the issues for parents e.g. are they concerned about class sizes - uniform - discipline - sex education - curriculum. Do parents have a voice (individual and/or collective) - do they exert influences - does the school listen, respond. Communication, participation, consultation. Explore barriers - cultural mismatch between school and families. Does school seek to accommodate cultural difference - how? (Governing body practice). Parental perceptions and satisfaction.

#### **4. Your involvement with the school**

Investigate actual practice - PTA and Governing Body - positive and negative aspects do school structures and common practice accommodate different values - gender class, ethnicity? Negotiated positions. How does involvement begin and evolve - what are the motivations, purposes? Parental involvement in policy-making/school development - are parents active or passive - challenging or differential to professional authority - why?

#### **5. Your views on the school and its role in the community**

Parents perceptions of the schools - shared values. Probe parental choice - does the market operate - to what extent is it impinging on school and the local community? is school marketed in community - how - what image? What is the school community - the locality - how wide - is school part of local community how? Is it separate - why? Does school serve local community - how does it recognise needs of the community - probe cultural differences.

**Ref: par/den**

**Dear Parent/Guardian,**

**The University of Birmingham is carrying out a UK-wide research project into school management. In particular the project is interested in exploring the relationship between parents and schools.**

**The research team have asked to talk to a selection of pupils and their parents about the good practice at our school and we would be most grateful if you could co-operate by taking part in a short interview in school with a group of parents. The discussion will be informal and would allow you to give your comments and opinions on the following areas of school life:**

- 1. How your child is making progress at school.**
- 2. Your involvement in your child's learning.**
- 3. Relationships between the school and parents.**
- 4. Your involvement with the school.**
- 5. Your views on the school and its role in the community.**

**Your contribution will be confidential although you will be given the opportunity to say something about yourself and your family if you wish.**

**We would like to arrange the interviews during 15th and 16th May either during the day or after school has finished and hope you will be able to take part.**

**Yours sincerely,**



### **Third Phase Interview - For Governors**

[Admin: Frame to be used for individual and group discussion with governors - questions marked\* for individual interview. In absence of the possibility of both individual and group interview use all questions. Time: 45 mins]

#### ***1. About you and your role as a governor\****

Personal motivation, commitment and participation. Type for governor - what committees etc. Why, how and for how long a governor? View of the role - how easy to perform. What role for the gb as whole? Personal view of education.

#### ***2. Your perceptions of how children are making progress and the organisation of curriculum and assessment\****

Talk about the context of the school - learning in disadvantaged context - how is making progress linked to acknowledging cultural background of pupils and their families how is this reflected in curriculum organisation and assessment? What can governors input bring to school improvement i.e. helping more pupils to make progress. Probe perceptions and examples of governor involvement.

#### ***3. Relationship within the governing body, with the school and parents\****

Implications of the school context for school governance - disadvantage - cultural diversity. How is this reflected in gb. Talk about the role of gb in recognising differences - negotiating forum - how representative is gb of parent body and local community - can individual governor represent a 'consistency' - if so how? Are governors representative of interest groups? Problem relationships [formal and informal] on gb - who is dominant - relationship with head and staff, parents and pupils. Professional - 'lay' relationships. Formal and informal contacts between gb, school, pupils and staff.

#### ***4. The decision-making process and your involvement***

What have been most significant issues for gb in past year - how dealt with - who influences. Talk about the nature of decision making - process and practice - illuminate through critical incident probably budget-setting for 95/96 to reveal purposes of gb. What priorities - set by whom - who has most influence. What personal contribution made. Probe accountabilities and responsibilities - how is legitimate authority of gb deferred to or challenged in practice. To whom is gb accountable - does gb hold head and staff to account. How do differences of gender, class, ethnicity, render these processes more or less effective?

#### ***5. Your views on the governing body, the school and the community***

Effectiveness of gb and as governor in respect of school purposes - satisfaction with voice and influence - probe cultural identity and difference. GB as 'conduit' for links with community and other external relationships (GB on the periphery of school looking out and looking in?) - formal and informal - parents groups and associations of governing bodies - collaboration with other schools and outside agencies - does gb facilitate public participation in school - how effective - if so which cultural groups - probe perceptions and practice. Relationship between governor and LEA (FAS/DfE for GM)

Ref: gov/den

Dear Colleague,

The University of Birmingham is carrying out a UK-wide research project into school management. In particular the project is interested in exploring the role of the governing body.

The research team have asked to talk to the Chair of Governors and a sample representing the different categories of governor and we would be most grateful if you could co-operate by taking part in a short individual interview in school as well as a group discussion. The discussion will be informal and would allow you to give your comments and opinions on the following areas of school life:

1. About your role as a governor.
2. Your perceptions of how children are making progress at school.
2. Your views on the organisation of curriculum and assessment.
3. Relationships within the governing body, with the school and parents.
4. The decision-making process and your involvement.
5. Your views on the governing body, the school and the community.

Your contribution will be confidential although you will be given the opportunity to say something about yourself and your background.

We would like to arrange the interviews during 15th and 16th May either during the day or after school has finished and hope you will be able to take part.

Yours sincerely,

## **School Staff Interview Schedule**

### **1. CHANGING CONTEXT**

Social

Economic

#### **Impact on Contexts of Disadvantage**

Material (class)

Cultural (identity)

### **2. MANAGING INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE**

**Interpretive analysis**    Of the changes (particular of the New Right agenda)  
                                    Of disadvantage  
                                    Of the learning needs of the disadvantaged

**Vision**                      Of educational and social purpose  
                                    Of agency and motivation  
                                    Of cultural plurality (of 'the other')

**Strategy**                 Managing learning expectations/capacities  
                                    Teaching and learning (pedagogy)  
                                    Curriculum & Assessment

#### **Managing the organisation**

Policy making & Planning  
Organisational development  
Staff development  
Decision-making/participation  
Evaluation

#### **Managing the culture**

Cultural codes of classification  
Strategies for valuing difference ('the other')  
What is the level of understanding?  
What is the degree of cohesion/conflict?

#### **Managing - Governance**

What is the strategy towards partners?  
    • governors  
    • parents  
    • wider community  
What is the level of understanding/involvement?  
What is the level of cohesion/conflict?  
What institutional developments?

## Appendix IV

### Part Three Chapter Six

#### Practices, Knowledge, Beliefs and Attitudes : Mode

Practices	Mode
A1A	Yes
A1B	No
A1C	No
A1D	No
A1E	Yes
A2A	Yes
A2B	Yes
A2C	Yes
A2D	Yes
A2E	Yes
A2F	Yes
A2G	No
A3	Don't Know
E28	Yes
E29	Yes
E30	No
E31	Yes
E32	Yes
E33	Yes
Knowledge	
C16	Yes
C17	Yes
C18	Yes
C19	Yes

<b>Beliefs</b>	
B5	Agree
B6	Agree
B7	Agree
B8	Agree
B9	Agree
B10	Agree
B11	Agree
B12	Agree
B13	Agree
B14	Agree
B15	Agree
<b>Attitudes</b>	
D20	Strongly Agree
D21	Agree
D22A	Strongly Agree
D22B	Agree
D22C	Strongly Agree
D22D	Strongly Agree
D22E	Strongly Agree
D22F	Strongly Agree
D22G	Agree
D23	Agree
D24	Agree
D25	Agree
D26	Disagree
D27	Disagree

**Appendix V**

**Part Three Chapter Six**

Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a</sup>

	Component							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A1A	<del>5.612E-02</del>	<del>7.407E-02</del>	.104	<del>3.97E-02</del>	.626	-6.99E-03	.128	-7.38E-02
A1B	.122	2.047E-02	.444	5.888E-02	.651	1.565E-02	6.181E-02	.265
A1C	.127	6.996E-02	.488	9.534E-02	.672	2.803E-02	-2.29E-03	.139
A1D	1.378E-02	2.423E-02	.309	2.589E-02	.354	-4.17E-02	8.423E-02	.739
A1E	.153	7.588E-02	.442	5.944E-02	.652	-3.19E-02	3.903E-02	.113
A2A	.122	4.533E-02	.333	.150	2.535E-02	.120	.116	-4.78E-02
A2B	.119	9.808E-02	.666	6.416E-02	6.302E-02	6.220E-03	5.339E-02	2.382E-02
A2C	4.300E-02	2.760E-02	.650	3.290E-02	.101	.104	.125	-5.61E-02
A2D	7.854E-02	7.343E-02	.698	3.151E-02	6.204E-02	-1.12E-02	7.386E-03	.172
A2E	4.492E-02	3.840E-02	.438	-8.22E-03	2.513E-02	-2.75E-02	8.428E-02	.746
A2F	8.942E-02	3.517E-02	.733	4.852E-02	.187	6.361E-02	3.588E-02	6.991E-02
A2G	9.186E-02	7.811E-02	.692	6.297E-02	.203	3.640E-02	1.465E-02	.225
A3	.144	<del>9.028E-02</del>	3.974E-02	6.121E-02	3.083E-02	2.624E-02	5.669E-02	7.332E-02
B10	.709	.123	.101	-1.39E-02	6.405E-02	.131	.116	-3.13E-02
B11	.745	.193	<del>6.056E-02</del>	4.895E-02	3.004E-02	.148	-9.91E-04	5.304E-02
B12	.679	.214	4.430E-02	4.699E-02	7.714E-02	9.146E-03	.111	2.393E-03
B13	.733	.100	3.128E-02	2.873E-03	7.697E-02	.179	9.433E-02	5.817E-02
B14	.700	.103	<del>4.401E-02</del>	<del>7.504E-02</del>	1.963E-02	.148	.188	.115
B15	.487	7.199E-02	.172	.116	-8.05E-02	.268	.156	.204
B5	.707	.217	<del>7.405E-02</del>	<del>5.863E-02</del>	3.791E-02	-1.45E-02	1.880E-02	-6.30E-02
B6	.668	.213	9.061E-02	<del>8.940E-02</del>	4.185E-02	-9.64E-02	6.277E-02	-2.50E-02
B7	.602	.127	5.841E-02	.189	1.092E-02	-4.64E-02	.151	-8.25E-02
B8	.649	.284	6.646E-02	.130	6.216E-02	-6.15E-02	.120	-2.86E-02
B9	.731	.206	6.847E-02	<del>7.568E-02</del>	3.865E-02	-1.81E-02	-2.03E-02	1.527E-02
C16	.256	<del>1.253E-02</del>	2.294E-02	<del>2.548E-02</del>	.138	2.915E-02	.576	4.445E-02
C17	.303	7.164E-02	2.621E-02	.248	-3.51E-02	.152	.323	7.237E-02
C18	.187	<del>5.636E-02</del>	<del>3.604E-02</del>	<del>4.235E-02</del>	6.937E-02	1.288E-02	.760	5.012E-02
C19	.163	.103	.162	1.937E-02	-3.67E-02	-2.92E-02	.733	2.177E-02
D20	.174	.610	-2.90E-03	3.244E-02	8.218E-02	8.876E-02	7.556E-02	6.787E-02
D21	.340	.294	-7.84E-02	-2.28E-02	.150	.500	1.614E-02	5.132E-02
D22A	.210	.756	6.726E-02	<del>9.085E-02</del>	4.995E-02	8.908E-02	4.670E-02	-4.77E-02
D22B	.161	.708	4.478E-02	.190	6.592E-02	7.799E-02	7.312E-02	-4.55E-02
D22C	.156	.770	1.575E-02	.104	4.399E-02	8.574E-02	6.224E-03	1.380E-02
D22D	.202	.810	3.491E-02	<del>5.853E-02</del>	2.128E-02	7.830E-02	-1.52E-02	.105
D22E	.188	.788	2.282E-02	3.094E-02	-1.40E-02	1.332E-02	-3.13E-02	9.350E-02
D22F	.164	.811	<del>3.853E-02</del>	<del>5.680E-02</del>	-2.15E-02	6.112E-02	1.860E-03	2.314E-03
D22G	.260	.642	.120	.184	-7.69E-03	5.816E-02	1.874E-02	-1.33E-02
D23	<del>7.196E-02</del>	.491	.117	.300	-7.19E-02	.196	.126	-.118
D24	.199	.553	.186	.175	2.645E-02	.137	.162	-.176
D25	.204	.314	.149	.110	7.111E-02	.427	.129	-.135
D26	<del>3.119E-02</del>	.197	<del>9.209E-02</del>	.107	-.105	.677	-4.85E-02	-5.70E-02
D27	7.189E-02	.115	4.965E-02	.151	3.079E-02	.783	2.795E-02	1.683E-02
E28	1.795E-02	<del>8.782E-02</del>	-9.06E-02	.672	4.297E-02	.146	.100	.139
E29	<del>8.106E-02</del>	4.212E-02	-1.55E-02	.702	-1.52E-02	9.803E-02	-4.78E-02	.180
E30	.122	.128	8.073E-02	.656	-5.60E-02	7.891E-02	-3.26E-02	-.116
E31	.108	.175	5.358E-02	.604	.121	-5.15E-02	8.818E-02	6.122E-02
E32	.151	.145	<del>9.264E-02</del>	.637	1.296E-02	.107	-5.32E-02	-.118
E33	<del>1.781E-02</del>	.156	.162	.659	3.179E-02	-5.44E-02	8.959E-02	-.117

Total Variance Explained

Component	Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.962	12.420	12.420
2	5.695	11.865	24.285
3	3.680	7.666	31.951
4	3.055	6.364	38.315
5	2.055	4.281	42.596
6	1.899	3.956	46.552
7	1.867	3.891	50.443
8	1.586	3.303	53.746
9	1.198	2.497	56.243
10	1.181	2.460	58.703
11			
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Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.



			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B5	1.00	Count	302	60	11	92	19	484
		% within B5	62.4%	12.4%	2.3%	19.0%	3.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	92.6%	25.9%	35.5%	40.4%	9.8%	47.9%
	2.00	Count	24	171	14	128	156	493
		% within B5	4.9%	34.7%	2.8%	26.0%	31.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	7.4%	73.7%	45.2%	56.1%	80.4%	48.8%
	3.00	Count		1	3	8	16	28
		% within B5		3.6%	10.7%	28.6%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method		.4%	9.7%	3.5%	8.2%	2.8%
	4.00	Count			3		3	6
		% within B5			50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			9.7%		1.5%	.6%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within B5	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

#### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	500.212 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	531.980	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	261.962	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

#### B6 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B6	1.00	Count	260	28	4	64	3	359
		% within B6	72.4%	7.8%	1.1%	17.8%	.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	79.8%	12.1%	12.9%	28.1%	1.5%	35.5%
	2.00	Count	65	203	21	148	164	601
		% within B6	10.8%	33.8%	3.5%	24.6%	27.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	19.9%	87.5%	67.7%	64.9%	84.5%	59.4%
	3.00	Count	1	1	5	15	22	44
		% within B6	2.3%	2.3%	11.4%	34.1%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.3%	.4%	16.1%	6.6%	11.3%	4.4%
	4.00	Count			1	1	5	7
		% within B6			14.3%	14.3%	71.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			3.2%	.4%	2.6%	.7%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within B6	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df.	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	496.619 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	538.299	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	271.744	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .21.

B7 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B7	1.00	Count	200	22	3	68	10	303
		% within B7	66.0%	7.3%	1.0%	22.4%	3.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	61.3%	9.5%	9.7%	29.8%	5.2%	30.0%
	2.00	Count	108	185	14	125	93	525
		% within B7	20.6%	35.2%	2.7%	23.8%	17.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	33.1%	79.7%	45.2%	54.8%	47.9%	51.9%
	3.00	Count	18	25	8	31	82	164
		% within B7	11.0%	15.2%	4.9%	18.9%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	5.5%	10.8%	25.8%	13.6%	42.3%	16.2%
	4.00	Count			6	4	9	19
		% within B7			31.6%	21.1%	47.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			19.4%	1.8%	4.6%	1.9%
	Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within B7	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	421.559 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	387.661	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	180.735	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 4 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .58.

B8 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B8	1.00	Count	240	30	3	68	9	350
		% within B8	68.6%	8.6%	.9%	19.4%	2.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	73.6%	12.9%	9.7%	29.8%	4.6%	34.6%
	2.00	Count	81	195	18	143	143	580
		% within B8	14.0%	33.6%	3.1%	24.7%	24.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	24.8%	84.1%	58.1%	62.7%	73.7%	57.4%
	3.00	Count	5	7	5	17	40	74
		% within B8	6.8%	9.5%	6.8%	23.0%	54.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.5%	3.0%	16.1%	7.5%	20.6%	7.3%
	4.00	Count			5		2	7
		% within B8			71.4%		28.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			16.1%		1.0%	.7%
Total		Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within B8	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	514.673 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	446.413	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	208.584	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .21.

**B9 \* Ward Method**

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B9	1.00	Count	282	38	6	57	20	403
		% within B9	70.0%	9.4%	1.5%	14.1%	5.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	86.5%	16.4%	19.4%	25.0%	10.3%	39.9%
	2.00	Count	44	182	16	154	129	525
		% within B9	8.4%	34.7%	3.0%	29.3%	24.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	13.5%	78.4%	51.6%	67.5%	66.5%	51.9%
	3.00	Count		12	6	15	40	73
		% within B9		16.4%	8.2%	20.5%	54.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method		5.2%	19.4%	6.6%	20.6%	7.2%
	4.00	Count			3	2	5	10
		% within B9			30.0%	20.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			9.7%	.9%	2.6%	1.0%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within B9	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	524.912 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	537.354	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	272.800	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .31.

**C16 \* Ward Method**

**Crosstab**

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B10	1.00	Count	250	32	5	47	9	343
		% within B10	72.9%	9.3%	1.5%	13.7%	2.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	76.7%	13.8%	16.1%	20.6%	4.6%	33.9%
	2.00	Count	70	178	14	122	86	470
		% within B10	14.9%	37.9%	3.0%	26.0%	18.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	21.5%	76.7%	45.2%	53.5%	44.3%	46.5%
	3.00	Count	6	22	10	57	80	175
		% within B10	3.4%	12.6%	5.7%	32.6%	45.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.8%	9.5%	32.3%	25.0%	41.2%	17.3%
	4.00	Count			2	2	19	23
		% within B10			8.7%	8.7%	82.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			6.5%	.9%	9.8%	2.3%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within B10	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	553.872 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	551.328	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	334.484	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 2 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .71.

**B11 \* Ward Method**

**Crosstab**

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B13	1.00	Count	226	28	7	41	5	307
		% within B13	73.6%	9.1%	2.3%	13.4%	1.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	69.3%	12.1%	22.6%	18.0%	2.6%	30.4%
	2.00	Count	96	192	15	149	88	540
		% within B13	17.8%	35.6%	2.8%	27.6%	16.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	29.4%	82.8%	48.4%	65.4%	45.4%	53.4%
	3.00	Count	4	12	3	34	88	141
		% within B13	2.8%	8.5%	2.1%	24.1%	62.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.2%	5.2%	9.7%	14.9%	45.4%	13.9%
	4.00	Count			6	4	13	23
		% within B13			26.1%	17.4%	56.5%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			19.4%	1.8%	6.7%	2.3%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within B13	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	588.916 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	550.279	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	325.902	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 3 cells (15.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .71.

**B14 \* Ward Method**

**Crosstab**

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B14	1.00	Count	196	9	2	23	2	232
		% within B14	84.5%	3.9%	.9%	9.9%	.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	60.1%	3.9%	6.5%	10.1%	1.0%	22.9%
	2.00	Count	119	203	17	157	80	576
		% within B14	20.7%	35.2%	3.0%	27.3%	13.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	36.5%	87.5%	54.8%	68.9%	41.2%	57.0%
	3.00	Count	11	19	8	44	107	189
		% within B14	5.8%	10.1%	4.2%	23.3%	56.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	3.4%	8.2%	25.8%	19.3%	55.2%	18.7%
	4.00	Count		1	4	4	5	14
		% within B14		7.1%	28.6%	28.6%	35.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method		.4%	12.9%	1.8%	2.6%	1.4%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within B14	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	601.256 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	559.084	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	322.438	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 5 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .43.

**B15 \* Ward Method**



**Crosstab**

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
B15	1.00	Count	85	3	2	12	2	104
		% within B15	81.7%	2.9%	1.9%	11.5%	1.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	26.1%	1.3%	6.5%	5.3%	1.0%	10.3%
	2.00	Count	116	122	11	84	43	376
		% within B15	30.9%	32.4%	2.9%	22.3%	11.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	35.6%	52.6%	35.5%	36.8%	22.2%	37.2%
	3.00	Count	98	99	11	102	108	418
		% within B15	23.4%	23.7%	2.6%	24.4%	25.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	30.1%	42.7%	35.5%	44.7%	55.7%	41.3%
	4.00	Count	27	8	7	30	41	113
		% within B15	23.9%	7.1%	6.2%	26.5%	36.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	8.3%	3.4%	22.6%	13.2%	21.1%	11.2%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within B15	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	203.355 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	203.287	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	106.840	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 2 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.19.

**B5 \* Ward Method**

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
C17	1.00	Count	325	229	27	226	191	998
		% within C17	32.6%	22.9%	2.7%	22.6%	19.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	99.7%	98.7%	87.1%	99.1%	98.5%	98.7%
	2.00	Count	1	2	2		2	7
		% within C17	14.3%	28.6%	28.6%		28.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.3%	.9%	6.5%		1.0%	.7%
	3.00	Count		1	2	2	1	6
		% within C17		16.7%	33.3%	33.3%	16.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method		.4%	6.5%	.9%	.5%	.6%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within C17	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38.301 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	20.433	8	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.626	1	.202
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 10 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

C18 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D21	1.00	Count	131	21	2	44	10	208
		% within D21	63.0%	10.1%	1.0%	21.2%	4.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	40.2%	9.1%	6.5%	19.3%	5.2%	20.6%
	2.00	Count	129	158	6	103	82	478
		% within D21	27.0%	33.1%	1.3%	21.5%	17.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	39.6%	68.1%	19.4%	45.2%	42.3%	47.3%
	3.00	Count	62	53	20	75	90	300
		% within D21	20.7%	17.7%	6.7%	25.0%	30.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	19.0%	22.8%	64.5%	32.9%	46.4%	29.7%
	4.00	Count	4		3	6	12	25
		% within D21	16.0%		12.0%	24.0%	48.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.2%		9.7%	2.6%	6.2%	2.5%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D21	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	206.243 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	203.292	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	99.735	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 2 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .77.

D22A \* Ward Method

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D20	1.00	Count	250	56		158	53	517
		% within D20	48.4%	10.8%		30.6%	10.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	76.7%	24.1%		69.3%	27.3%	51.1%
	2.00	Count	70	162	8	68	122	430
		% within D20	16.3%	37.7%	1.9%	15.8%	28.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	21.5%	69.8%	25.8%	29.8%	62.9%	42.5%
	3.00	Count	4	13	20	2	18	57
		% within D20	7.0%	22.8%	35.1%	3.5%	31.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.2%	5.6%	64.5%	.9%	9.3%	5.6%
	4.00	Count	2	1	3		1	7
		% within D20	28.6%	14.3%	42.9%		14.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.6%	.4%	9.7%		.5%	.7%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D20	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	484.650 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	361.634	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	34.464	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .21.

D21 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D22A	1.00	Count	254	26		168	42	490
		% within D22A	51.8%	5.3%		34.3%	8.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	77.9%	11.2%		73.7%	21.6%	48.5%
	2.00	Count	68	199	5	60	145	477
		% within D22A	14.3%	41.7%	1.0%	12.6%	30.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	20.9%	85.8%	16.1%	26.3%	74.7%	47.2%
	3.00	Count	4	7	22		5	38
		% within D22A	10.5%	18.4%	57.9%		13.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.2%	3.0%	71.0%		2.6%	3.8%
	4.00	Count			4		2	6
		% within D22A			66.7%		33.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			12.9%		1.0%	.6%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D22A	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	850.415 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	557.911	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	32.165	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

D22B \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D22B	1.00	Count	194	10	1	129	30	364
		% within D22B	53.3%	2.7%	.3%	35.4%	8.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	59.5%	4.3%	3.2%	56.6%	15.5%	36.0%
	2.00	Count	116	209	1	91	143	560
		% within D22B	20.7%	37.3%	.2%	16.3%	25.5%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	35.6%	90.1%	3.2%	39.9%	73.7%	55.4%
	3.00	Count	16	13	26	8	21	84
		% within D22B	19.0%	15.5%	31.0%	9.5%	25.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	4.9%	5.6%	83.9%	3.5%	10.8%	8.3%
	4.00	Count			3			3
		% within D22B			100.0%			100.0%
		% within Ward Method			9.7%			.3%
Total		Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within D22B	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	606.154 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	441.983	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21.194	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.

D22C \* Ward Method

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D22C	1.00	Count	243	25	1	172	54	495
		% within D22C	49.1%	5.1%	.2%	34.7%	10.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	74.5%	10.8%	3.2%	75.4%	27.8%	49.0%
	2.00	Count	76	198	5	50	134	463
		% within D22C	16.4%	42.8%	1.1%	10.8%	28.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	23.3%	85.3%	16.1%	21.9%	69.1%	45.8%
	3.00	Count	6	9	23	6	6	50
		% within D22C	12.0%	18.0%	46.0%	12.0%	12.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.8%	3.9%	74.2%	2.6%	3.1%	4.9%
	4.00	Count	1		2			3
		% within D22C	33.3%		66.7%			100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.3%		6.5%			.3%
	Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within D22C	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	701.515 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	488.321	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.934	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.

**D22D \* Ward Method**

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D22D	1.00	Count	269	26	1	185	57	538
		% within D22D	50.0%	4.8%	.2%	34.4%	10.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	82.5%	11.2%	3.2%	81.1%	29.4%	53.2%
	2.00	Count	55	200	5	41	129	430
		% within D22D	12.8%	46.5%	1.2%	9.5%	30.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	16.9%	86.2%	16.1%	18.0%	66.5%	42.5%
	3.00	Count	2	6	22	2	8	40
		% within D22D	5.0%	15.0%	55.0%	5.0%	20.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.6%	2.6%	71.0%	.9%	4.1%	4.0%
	4.00	Count			3			3
		% within D22D			100.0%			100.0%
		% within Ward Method			9.7%			.3%
	Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within D22D	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	878.774 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	583.650	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	23.722	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.

D22E \* Ward Method



			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D22E	1.00	Count	286	50	1	192	73	602
		% within D22E	47.5%	8.3%	.2%	31.9%	12.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	87.7%	21.6%	3.2%	84.2%	37.6%	59.5%
	2.00	Count	38	174	1	32	112	357
		% within D22E	10.6%	48.7%	.3%	9.0%	31.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	11.7%	75.0%	3.2%	14.0%	57.7%	35.3%
	3.00	Count	2	8	26	4	9	49
		% within D22E	4.1%	16.3%	53.1%	8.2%	18.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.6%	3.4%	83.9%	1.8%	4.6%	4.8%
	4.00	Count			3			3
		% within D22E			100.0%			100.0%
		% within Ward Method			9.7%			.3%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D22E	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	887.996 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	551.008	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	24.743	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.

**D22F \* Ward Method**

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D22F	1.00	Count	277	46	1	202	56	582
		% within D22F	47.6%	7.9%	.2%	34.7%	9.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	85.0%	19.8%	3.2%	88.6%	28.9%	57.6%
	2.00	Count	47	180	3	23	129	382
		% within D22F	12.3%	47.1%	.8%	6.0%	33.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	14.4%	77.6%	9.7%	10.1%	66.5%	37.8%
	3.00	Count	2	6	24	3	9	44
		% within D22F	4.5%	13.6%	54.5%	6.8%	20.5%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.6%	2.6%	77.4%	1.3%	4.6%	4.4%
	4.00	Count			3			3
		% within D22F			100.0%			100.0%
		% within Ward Method			9.7%			.3%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D22F	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	913.312 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	593.076	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	27.795	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .09.

## D22G \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D22G	1.00	Count	216	12	1	135	27	391
		% within D22G	55.2%	3.1%	.3%	34.5%	6.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	66.3%	5.2%	3.2%	59.2%	13.9%	38.7%
	2.00	Count	105	198		83	136	522
		% within D22G	20.1%	37.9%		15.9%	26.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	32.2%	85.3%		36.4%	70.1%	51.6%
	3.00	Count	5	22	27	10	30	94
		% within D22G	5.3%	23.4%	28.7%	10.6%	31.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	1.5%	9.5%	87.1%	4.4%	15.5%	9.3%
	4.00	Count			3		1	4
		% within D22G			75.0%		25.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method			9.7%		.5%	.4%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D22G	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	618.579 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	503.080	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	47.491	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .12.

D23 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D23	1.00	Count	173	31	1	124	54	383
		% within D23	45.2%	8.1%	.3%	32.4%	14.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	53.1%	13.4%	3.2%	54.4%	27.8%	37.9%
	2.00	Count	119	166	5	80	112	482
		% within D23	24.7%	34.4%	1.0%	16.6%	23.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	36.5%	71.6%	16.1%	35.1%	57.7%	47.7%
	3.00	Count	32	34	22	23	28	139
		% within D23	23.0%	24.5%	15.8%	16.5%	20.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	9.8%	14.7%	71.0%	10.1%	14.4%	13.7%
	4.00	Count	2	1	3	1		7
		% within D23	28.6%	14.3%	42.9%	14.3%		100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.6%	.4%	9.7%	.4%		.7%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D23	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	260.369 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	214.647	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.673	1	.102
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .21.

D24 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D24	1.00	Count	195	30		116	39	380
		% within D24	51.3%	7.9%		30.5%	10.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	59.8%	12.9%		50.9%	20.1%	37.6%
	2.00	Count	125	186	5	93	129	538
		% within D24	23.2%	34.6%	.9%	17.3%	24.0%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	38.3%	80.2%	16.1%	40.8%	66.5%	53.2%
	3.00	Count	3	16	21	17	23	80
		% within D24	3.8%	20.0%	26.3%	21.3%	28.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.9%	6.9%	67.7%	7.5%	11.9%	7.9%
	4.00	Count	3		5	2	3	13
		% within D24	23.1%		38.5%	15.4%	23.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.9%		16.1%	.9%	1.5%	1.3%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D24	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	406.199 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	317.537	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	36.773	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .40.

D25 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D25	1.00	Count	97	13	1	44	6	161
		% within D25	60.2%	8.1%	.6%	27.3%	3.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	29.8%	5.6%	3.2%	19.3%	3.1%	15.9%
	2.00	Count	137	124	4	86	75	426
		% within D25	32.2%	29.1%	.9%	20.2%	17.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	42.0%	53.4%	12.9%	37.7%	38.7%	42.1%
	3.00	Count	73	89	22	85	90	359
		% within D25	20.3%	24.8%	6.1%	23.7%	25.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	22.4%	38.4%	71.0%	37.3%	46.4%	35.5%
	4.00	Count	19	6	4	13	23	65
		% within D25	29.2%	9.2%	6.2%	20.0%	35.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	5.8%	2.6%	12.9%	5.7%	11.9%	6.4%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D25	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	145.028 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	154.217	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	53.913	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 2 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.99.

D26 \* Ward Method

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
A1B	####	Count	58	49	5	32	19	163
		% within A1B	35.6%	30.1%	3.1%	19.6%	11.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	17.8%	21.1%	16.1%	14.0%	9.8%	16.1%
	C	Count	106	55	7	55	28	251
		% within A1B	42.2%	21.9%	2.8%	21.9%	11.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	32.5%	23.7%	22.6%	24.1%	14.4%	24.8%
	n	Count	162	128	19	141	147	597
		% within A1B	27.1%	21.4%	3.2%	23.6%	24.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	49.7%	55.2%	61.3%	61.8%	75.8%	59.1%
Total		Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within A1B	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

## Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	40.962 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.787	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 1 cells (6.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.00.

## A1C \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
A1C	####	Count	55	46	6	28	18	153
		% within A1C	35.9%	30.1%	3.9%	18.3%	11.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	16.9%	19.8%	19.4%	12.3%	9.3%	15.1%
	S	Count	133	51	12	67	40	303
		% within A1C	43.9%	16.8%	4.0%	22.1%	13.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	40.8%	22.0%	38.7%	29.4%	20.6%	30.0%
	n	Count	138	135	13	133	136	555
		% within A1C	24.9%	24.3%	2.3%	24.0%	24.5%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	42.3%	58.2%	41.9%	58.3%	70.1%	54.9%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within A1C	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	53.627 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	54.116	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 1 cells (6.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.69.

A1D \* Ward Method



Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
A1D	####	Count	96	88	9	55	44	292
		% within A1D	32.9%	30.1%	3.1%	18.8%	15.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	29.4%	37.9%	29.0%	24.1%	22.7%	28.9%
	G	Count	63	28	5	40	15	151
		% within A1D	41.7%	18.5%	3.3%	26.5%	9.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	19.3%	12.1%	16.1%	17.5%	7.7%	14.9%
	n	Count	167	116	17	133	135	568
		% within A1D	29.4%	20.4%	3.0%	23.4%	23.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	51.2%	50.0%	54.8%	58.3%	69.6%	56.2%
Total		Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within A1D	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	33.682 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	34.193	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 1 cells (6.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.63.

A1E \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
A1E	####	Count	35	31	4	18	15	103
		% within A1E	34.0%	30.1%	3.9%	17.5%	14.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	10.7%	13.4%	12.9%	7.9%	7.7%	10.2%
	n	Count	84	98	12	99	112	405
		% within A1E	20.7%	24.2%	3.0%	24.4%	27.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	25.8%	42.2%	38.7%	43.4%	57.7%	40.1%
	pr	Count	207	103	15	111	67	503
		% within A1E	41.2%	20.5%	3.0%	22.1%	13.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	63.5%	44.4%	48.4%	48.7%	34.5%	49.8%
Total		Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
		% within A1E	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	60.430 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	61.123	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 1 cells (6.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.16.

A2A \* Ward Method

Crosstab

		Ward Method					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
A2A	Count	2				4	6
	% within A2A	33.3%				66.7%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	.6%				2.1%	.6%
R	Count	324	231	30	225	184	994
	% within A2A	32.6%	23.2%	3.0%	22.6%	18.5%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	99.4%	99.6%	96.8%	98.7%	94.8%	98.3%
n	Count		1	1	3	6	11
	% within A2A		9.1%	9.1%	27.3%	54.5%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method		.4%	3.2%	1.3%	3.1%	1.1%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
	% within A2A	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. . Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.332 <sup>a</sup>	8	.003
Likelihood Ratio	24.420	8	.002
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 10 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .18.

A2B \* Ward Method

Crosstab

		Ward Method					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
A2B	Count	18	14	2	11	11	56
	% within A2B	32.1%	25.0%	3.6%	19.6%	19.6%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	5.5%	6.0%	6.5%	4.8%	5.7%	5.5%
	N	290	193	21	183	149	836
	% within A2B	34.7%	23.1%	2.5%	21.9%	17.8%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	89.0%	83.2%	67.7%	80.3%	76.8%	82.7%
	n	18	25	8	34	34	119
	% within A2B	15.1%	21.0%	6.7%	28.6%	28.6%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	5.5%	10.8%	25.8%	14.9%	17.5%	11.8%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
	% within A2B	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.304 <sup>a</sup>	8	.001
Likelihood Ratio	27.830	8	.001
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 2 cells (13.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.72.

A2C \* Ward Method

Crosstab

		Ward Method					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
A2C	Count	13	15	3	5	10	46
	% within A2C	28.3%	32.6%	6.5%	10.9%	21.7%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	4.0%	6.5%	9.7%	2.2%	5.2%	4.5%
E	Count	291	185	23	194	156	849
	% within A2C	34.3%	21.8%	2.7%	22.9%	18.4%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	89.3%	79.7%	74.2%	85.1%	80.4%	84.0%
n	Count	22	32	5	29	28	116
	% within A2C	19.0%	27.6%	4.3%	25.0%	24.1%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	6.7%	13.8%	16.1%	12.7%	14.4%	11.5%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
	% within A2C	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.896 <sup>a</sup>	8	.015
Likelihood Ratio	19.765	8	.011
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 2 cells (13.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.41.

A2D \* Ward Method

Crosstab

		Ward Method					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
A2D	Count	36	25	3	24	18	106
	% within A2D	34.0%	23.6%	2.8%	22.6%	17.0%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	11.0%	10.8%	9.7%	10.5%	9.3%	10.5%
	P						
	Count	241	154	18	157	108	678
	% within A2D	35.5%	22.7%	2.7%	23.2%	15.9%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	73.9%	66.4%	58.1%	68.9%	55.7%	67.1%
	n						
	Count	49	53	10	47	68	227
	% within A2D	21.6%	23.3%	4.4%	20.7%	30.0%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	15.0%	22.8%	32.3%	20.6%	35.1%	22.5%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
	% within A2D	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.349 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	29.426	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 1 cells (6.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.25.

A2E \* Ward Method

Crosstab

		Ward Method					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
A2E	Count	74	73	8	48	39	242
	% within A2E	30.6%	30.2%	3.3%	19.8%	16.1%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	22.7%	31.5%	25.8%	21.1%	20.1%	23.9%
	G	Count	201	103	17	134	547
		% within A2E	36.7%	18.8%	3.1%	24.5%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	61.7%	44.4%	54.8%	58.8%	54.1%
	n	Count	51	56	6	46	222
		% within A2E	23.0%	25.2%	2.7%	20.7%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	15.6%	24.1%	19.4%	20.2%	22.0%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
	% within A2E	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.347 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	33.511	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.81.

A2F \* Ward Method

Crosstab

		Ward Method					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
A2F	Count	39	36	5	25	17	122
	% within A2F	32.0%	29.5%	4.1%	20.5%	13.9%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	12.0%	15.5%	16.1%	11.0%	8.8%	12.1%
X	Count	198	101	17	109	79	504
	% within A2F	39.3%	20.0%	3.4%	21.6%	15.7%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	60.7%	43.5%	54.8%	47.8%	40.7%	49.9%
n	Count	89	95	9	94	98	385
	% within A2F	23.1%	24.7%	2.3%	24.4%	25.5%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	27.3%	40.9%	29.0%	41.2%	50.5%	38.1%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011
	% within A2F	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	37.480 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	37.625	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 1 cells (6.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.74.

A2G \* Ward Method



Crosstab

		Ward Method					Total	
		1	2	3	4	5		
A2G	Count	47	35	6	26	21	135	
	% within A2G	34.8%	25.9%	4.4%	19.3%	15.6%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	14.4%	15.1%	19.4%	11.4%	10.8%	13.4%	
	V	Count	157	92	13	99	55	416
	% within A2G	37.7%	22.1%	3.1%	23.8%	13.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	48.2%	39.7%	41.9%	43.4%	28.4%	41.1%	
	n	Count	122	105	12	103	118	460
	% within A2G	26.5%	22.8%	2.6%	22.4%	25.7%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	37.4%	45.3%	38.7%	45.2%	60.8%	45.5%	
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within A2G	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.255 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	30.324	8	.000
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 1 cells (6.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.14.

A3 \* Ward Method

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
D23	1.00	Count	173	31	1	124	54	383
		% within D23	45.2%	8.1%	.3%	32.4%	14.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	53.1%	13.4%	3.2%	54.4%	27.8%	37.9%
	2.00	Count	119	166	5	80	112	482
		% within D23	24.7%	34.4%	1.0%	16.6%	23.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	36.5%	71.6%	16.1%	35.1%	57.7%	47.7%
	3.00	Count	32	34	22	23	28	139
		% within D23	23.0%	24.5%	15.8%	16.5%	20.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	9.8%	14.7%	71.0%	10.1%	14.4%	13.7%
	4.00	Count	2	1	3	1		7
		% within D23	28.6%	14.3%	42.9%	14.3%		100.0%
		% within Ward Method	.6%	.4%	9.7%	.4%		.7%
Total	Count	326	232	31	228	194	1011	
	% within D23	32.2%	22.9%	3.1%	22.6%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	260.369 <sup>a</sup>	12	.000
Likelihood Ratio	214.647	12	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.673	1	.102
N of Valid Cases	1011		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .21.

D24 \* Ward Method

**Crosstab**

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
E28	1.00	Count	260	195	19	200	166	840
		% within E28	31.0%	23.2%	2.3%	23.8%	19.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	81.8%	85.5%	76.0%	89.3%	88.3%	85.5%
	2.00	Count	58	33	6	23	22	142
		% within E28	40.8%	23.2%	4.2%	16.2%	15.5%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	18.2%	14.5%	24.0%	10.3%	11.7%	14.4%
	4.00	Count				1		1
		% within E28				100.0%		100.0%
		% within Ward Method				.4%		.1%
Total	Count	318	228	25	224	188	983	
	% within E28	32.3%	23.2%	2.5%	22.8%	19.1%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.154 <sup>a</sup>	8	.107
Likelihood Ratio	12.598	8	.126
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.055	1	.025
N of Valid Cases	983		

a. 6 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

**E29 \* Ward Method**

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
E29	1.00	Count	241	179	18	182	156	776
		% within E29	31.1%	23.1%	2.3%	23.5%	20.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	77.0%	78.5%	66.7%	82.0%	83.4%	79.4%
	2.00	Count	72	49	9	40	31	201
		% within E29	35.8%	24.4%	4.5%	19.9%	15.4%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	23.0%	21.5%	33.3%	18.0%	16.6%	20.6%
Total	Count	313	228	27	222	187	977	
	% within E29	32.0%	23.3%	2.8%	22.7%	19.1%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.653 <sup>a</sup>	4	.155
Likelihood Ratio	6.439	4	.169
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.691	1	.055
N of Valid Cases	977		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.55.

E30 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
E30	1.00	Count	119	68	7	100	75	369
		% within E30	32.2%	18.4%	1.9%	27.1%	20.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	38.3%	30.0%	26.9%	45.5%	40.3%	38.0%
	2.00	Count	192	159	18	120	111	600
		% within E30	32.0%	26.5%	3.0%	20.0%	18.5%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	61.7%	70.0%	69.2%	54.5%	59.7%	61.9%
	3.00	Count			1			1
		% within E30			100.0%			100.0%
		% within Ward Method			3.8%			.1%
Total	Count	311	227	26	220	186	970	
	% within E30	32.1%	23.4%	2.7%	22.7%	19.2%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	49.224 <sup>a</sup>	8	.000
Likelihood Ratio	20.339	8	.009
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.061	1	.080
N of Valid Cases	970		

a. 5 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

E31 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
E31	1.00	Count	283	187	19	201	150	840
		% within E31	33.7%	22.3%	2.3%	23.9%	17.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	89.8%	82.7%	67.9%	90.5%	79.8%	85.8%
	2.00	Count	32	39	9	21	38	139
		% within E31	23.0%	28.1%	6.5%	15.1%	27.3%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	10.2%	17.3%	32.1%	9.5%	20.2%	14.2%
	Total	Count	315	226	28	222	188	979
		% within E31	32.2%	23.1%	2.9%	22.7%	19.2%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.030 <sup>a</sup>	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	21.640	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.217	1	.073
N of Valid Cases	979		

a. 1 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.98.

E32 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
E32	1.00	Count	208	109	10	145	96	568
		% within E32	36.6%	19.2%	1.8%	25.5%	16.9%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	65.8%	48.2%	40.0%	65.6%	52.2%	58.4%
	2.00	Count	108	117	15	76	88	404
		% within E32	26.7%	29.0%	3.7%	18.8%	21.8%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	34.2%	51.8%	60.0%	34.4%	47.8%	41.6%
Total	Count	316	226	25	221	184	972	
	% within E32	32.5%	23.3%	2.6%	22.7%	18.9%	100.0%	
	% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27.944 <sup>a</sup>	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	27.938	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.645	1	.200
N of Valid Cases	972		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.39.

E33 \* Ward Method

Crosstab

			Ward Method					Total
			1	2	3	4	5	
E33	1.00	Count	221	158	17	174	143	713
		% within E33	31.0%	22.2%	2.4%	24.4%	20.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	71.3%	69.3%	65.4%	78.4%	76.9%	73.4%
	2.00	Count	89	70	9	48	43	259
		% within E33	34.4%	27.0%	3.5%	18.5%	16.6%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	28.7%	30.7%	34.6%	21.6%	23.1%	26.6%
	Total	Count	310	228	26	222	186	972
		% within E33	31.9%	23.5%	2.7%	22.8%	19.1%	100.0%
		% within Ward Method	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.491 <sup>a</sup>	4	.112
Likelihood Ratio	7.543	4	.110
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.631	1	.031
N of Valid Cases	972		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.93.

ETHNIC2 \* Ward Method



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