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The Evolution of
the Hawke's Bay Community College
A Structure-Functional Analysis

A dissertation presented in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Education at Massey University

Clarence James Patrick Nolan
1982
This thesis has two main aims: first, to demonstrate how a particular social theory, Structure-Functionalism, can be adapted for the purpose of investigating the problems and processes of organisational evolution; and second, to document and to analyse the creation and evolution of New Zealand's first Community College. The work of Talcott Parsons is taken as the theoretical foundation for this documentation and analysis.

The thesis is divided into two main parts. The first deals with theory and method while the second part presents the findings of a case study focussing on the Hawke's Bay Community College. The findings from the case study suggest that the Hawke's Bay Community College, rather than becoming a radically new-type of educational organisation, was evolving as a variant of an existing organisational form, namely, the small technical institute. The thesis concludes with an explanation of this evolutionary pattern and discussion of theoretical and methodological conclusions.
I would like to give my special thanks to the many people who provided encouragement and help during the writing of this thesis, and in particular:

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PART I

THEORY AND METHOD
Introduction

Part one of the thesis deals with the theoretical framework and the methodology of the thesis in three Chapters. Chapter one discusses the reasons for selecting Structure Functionalism as the theoretical framework of the thesis and indicates the direction in which it is to be applied. Chapter two modifies and operationalises the theory so that it can be used to investigate an organisation's evolution. Chapter three outlines the research method for the study and explains how it was used to collect data.
CHAPTER ONE - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Preamble

In the history of the development of social theory very little attention has been focussed on the creation and evolution of new types of organisation. Despite Max Weber's (1946) pioneering work in this field, and despite comparatively rare case studies such as Selznick's (1949) research on the Tennessee Valley Authority and, more recently, Smith and Keith's (1971) investigation into the building of a somewhat unique elementary school, most theoretical and empirical work has concentrated on understanding the structure and function of established social organisations. There, the interest has typically fallen on two organisational conditions:

(i) the conditions under which an organisation will survive, grow and prosper (March, 1965, p.xiii), or

(ii) how size, hierarchy, technology and other related factors affect individual conduct and human relations (Merton, 1968).

Because social theorists have concentrated on such problems and correspondingly have neglected historical and evolutionary applications, social theory itself has suffered. As well, the mistaken impression has been created that while extant social theory is good for investigating existing organisations, it is of little use in understanding the distinctive problems and processes experienced in the creation and evolution of new ones. As a result the usefulness of any such theory remains undemonstrated and a variety of significant social phenomena are left unexplained.

Aims of the Study

In response to this situation, the present study has a dual aim: first, to demonstrate how a particular social theory, Structure-Functionalism, can be adapted for the purpose of investigating the problems and processes of organisational evolution, and second, to apply this adapted theory, in the process documenting and analysing the creation and evolution of a type of educational organisation, new to New Zealand - the Community College. These two aims are
inter-dependent. They are discussed separately below, however, in order to clarify the sense in which the Community College can be said to have evolved, and to prepare the ground for explaining why Structure-Function theory is a particularly appropriate conceptual framework within which to understand organisational formation and development.

The Evolution Concept

The reason for studying the first New Zealand Community College is that as a new entity and a new type, it represented an attempt at innovation based on a specific new concept of tertiary education. At the same time this particular Community College evolved out of an existing organisational framework and accordingly incorporated well established ideas about the nature of tertiary education. It is in this sense that the Community College can be said to have evolved.

Predictably, the concept of evolution is employed in the study in a specific sense that needs comment. It differs in meaning from the systematically developed natural science explanation of the survival and extinction of animal and vegetable species. For instance, as it is used here it incorporates (as natural science evolutionary theory does not) the concepts of intention and purpose. Human purposes, aims and intentions thus are taken as causative factors influencing an organisation's creation, and subsequently affecting its growth and development. Purposes, aims and intentions in their turn imply commitment and action, a direction for and an anticipation of the future.

It is self evident that whether any specific new organisation grows and develops is problematical. As an individual instance or as a species it could die out for any one of a number of internal and external reasons. On the other hand it is also possible that as a species it would not be allowed to die out when this for various reasons, serves another, perhaps even incidental purpose.

Educational organisations tend more than other kinds of organisation to exemplify the latter principle. Once they are created and become part of an education system they are virtually guaranteed survival. With the Community College, as with most education organisations that have preceded it, the points at issue then are not whether the College will die out (i.e. fail to
survive) or become extinct in the Darwinian sense, but how, if at all, the Community College becomes distinguishable from other educational organisations, becomes operational and in so doing it comes to stand in relation to the original concepts and the purpose(s) for which it ostensibly came into existence in the first place.

The notion of an organisation having a purpose or goal suggests the appropriateness of a Structure-Functional framework within which to account for the organisation's evolution. Indeed it has been argued, in Structure-Functional terms, that although several basic problems must be solved if an organisation is to come into existence and become operational, priority is invariably given to "those processes most directly involved with the success or failure of goal attainment endeavours" (Parsons, 1960 p.18). As Scott (1964) points out, organisations are not simply structures; they are structures designed to do something. This notion is taken up and developed in the next section of the chapter which elaborates further why Structure-Functionalism is used as the theoretical framework of the study.

The Structure-Functional Framework

In deference to the founding father of Structure-Functionalism, the work of Talcott Parsons has been taken as the major source of theoretical foundation for the study. His work is complemented by selective use of the very considerable literature on organisations that has developed from, and in reaction to, the dominant Structure-Functional paradigm (Kuhn, 1970) of social inquiry. On many different occasions Parsons (1937, 1951, 1953, 1960, 1967) regarded his work as leading toward a logico-deductive theoretical system that would eventually produce generalised laws and theorems for explaining already established and ongoing organisations. Despite the fact that Structure-Function theory has not yet achieved the status of a logico-deductive system, (Black, 1961; and Gouldner, 1970) it has yielded a range of concepts capable of providing interpretive analyses of organisational phenomena. A rather fine, but nonetheless, important distinction is being made here between discretionary use of theoretical concepts as interpretive devices and a determinative use of theory that determines from the outset what will count as salient data. The specific sense in which Structure-Function theory and Parsonian theory in particular is to be used in this study will be discussed and outlined later in the Chapter. For the moment attention is given to key features of the theory.
The starting point of Structural-Functional analysis is by convention the concept of an organisational goal or purpose. To Parsons the "primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal is.... the defining characteristic of an organisation which distinguishes it from other types of organisation. This goal attainment criterion has implications for both the external relations and the internal structure" (Parsons, 1970, p.75) of any organisation but in particular for a new type of organisation as a goal directed enterprise. Rather than seeing the organisation as a living organism which evolves naturally, the Structure-Functional perspective as it has been modified in this study conceives of evolution as having its origins in the purpose or intentions of individuals or groups of individuals. By taking this position the Structure-Functional researcher is thereby committed to locating purposes. The most logical place in which to locate them is in the personnel of the organisation and other significant actors outside it who played a part in bringing it into being.

Structure-Function theory accordingly focusses both on the conditions under which an organisation evolves in relation to its external situation, and the way it develops a life of its own - a social structure. This dual focus requires a dynamic analysis which involves continuous and systematic reference of emergent problems and processes to the state of the organisation as a whole (Parsons, 1954). It follows then that due regard must be given to an organisation's origins, its history as well as its present condition. Explanation is thus enhanced by an analysis of it as:

(i) an historical product, operating within a particular administrative, social, political and community context, and,

(ii) as an entity dependent upon the meanings and intentions of people within it.

There are a number of distinctive consequences that flow from using Structure-Functional theory in this way. First, scope is provided for investigating how an organisation's members relate to one another and to significant others outside it, how they adapt to various internal demands and pressures and the style of management, leadership and participation that evolves. Second, Structure-Functional concepts should theoretically provide scope for gaining purchase on organis-
tional reality. That is provide concepts that are "not fictional but adequately grasp aspects of the objective external world" (Parsons, 1937, p.130). At the level of description Structure-Functionalism assumes that there is an external world or an empirical reality which exists independently of the observer and which is capable of description. At the analytical level in Structure-Function theory, theoretical concepts are postulated to have a functional relation (i.e. correspond) to the empirical world. Thus different concepts pick-out different kinds of organisational phenomena. Perhaps the point should be made in passing (and in anticipation of later discussion) that this analytical realist position (Parsons, 1937) stands in contrast with the philosophical idealism of the New Sociology (Young, 1970; Keddie, 1971; and Gorbutt, 1972; etc.) whose roots lie in the work of Bishop Berkeley and more recently in such existentialist philosophers as Husserl and Schutz. In its most extreme form, philosophical idealism denies the existence of an objective reality and posits the view that the only reality is that which individuals perceive as real. This view, when taken to its logical conclusions, leads to solipsism and denial of an objective world external to the perceiver; an outcome that analytical realism avoids.

A third consequence of employing Structure-Functional theory is that it should be possible to avoid the tendency to reify organisation as the prior objective reality. Such a tendency towards reification stems from positivism which assumes that concepts are inherent in the phenomena of the social and physical world, rather than being scientific inventions for understanding the world. By admitting that an element of voluntarism must be included in any analysis of social-life, — that individuals both shape and are shaped by the social structure of their organisations — Parsons (1937) thought he was able to avoid the horns of the idealist — positivist dilemma.

By adopting Structure-Functionalism as its theoretical framework this thesis also seeks to avoid the dilemma. According to Parsons (1937, 1951) and Parsons and Shils (1967), an appropriate theoretical
strategy that will achieve this result is to view an organisation* both as:

(i) an invention; the product of human action, and as,
(ii) a distinctive social form - a social system.

Selecting Elements and Focussing the Theory

With the case for adopting Structure-Function theory as the study's conceptual framework having been put, the next task is to select and explain the elements of the theory that are to be used in analysing the evolution of a new-type of organisation. In undertaking this task the strategy to be adopted here is to move from the general to the particular. A number of general Structure-Function concepts will be first discussed in order to provide a basis for then selecting and clarifying specific elements that are applied in the study. In this way, various aspects of Structure-Functionalism discussed in the proceeding pages will be brought forward, explicitly identified and organised as the theoretical lynch pins of organisational analysis that are to be employed subsequently.

The Concepts of Action and System

The two most general concepts that underlie the study are action and system. The action concept is at the centre of Parsons' (1937) early work in which he developed the Voluntaristic theory of Action. Subsequently the voluntaristic theory was incorporated into a more general paradigm -- the Components of Action Systems** which uses the idea of system as the central concept. However, the purpose here is not to elaborate Parsons' general paradigm but to focus on the concept of system because it is to provide the theoretical basis

* A concept of organisation that is derived from Durkheim's concept of ** First published in A.S.R. Vol.25, No.4, August 1960, P.467-83, society sui generis, which is often mistakenly interpreted as * and later reprinted in Parsons, 1967. a society functioning in its own right, shaping, even determining the lives of people in it. The view is mistaken as Durkheim (1957) treats organisations as social constructions in and through which individual selfishness can be transcended, and yet which are the product of individual interactions. Furthermore Durkheim adopts an historical approach to the study of social organisations, arguing that it is only in carefully studying the past that we will be able to predict the future and to understand the present - an aspect of organisational analysis that is taken up and developed later in the study.
in this present study both for conceptualising organisations, and later of specifying the operational conditions for empirical analysis.

For Parsons the concept of system * encapsulates the idea of the patterning and structuring of social action and interaction, which in turn are affected by phenomena that operate within the system itself and from the environment. The system provides the theoretical boundaries within which social action - a process occurring between two structural parts, actor** and situation - can be analysed (Parsons, 1967). To Parsons, social systems are viewed as open systems, which means they receive and respond to inputs (resources, information etc.) and can be contrasted with closed systems which are assumed to function within themselves. All real systems are open, though the degree of openness may vary among systems (Berrien, 1968).

Consistent with the above definition, Parsons (1960) conceptualised an organisation as an open social-system,

which is organised for the attainment of a particular type of goal. The attainment of that goal is at the same time the performance of a type of function (for) a more inclusive system, the (community) .... (In the case) of an educational organisation it may be a certain type of trained capacity on the part of the students who have been subject-ed to its influence .... It is thus assumed that in ... all organisations there is something analogous to a market for the output which constitutes the attainment of its goal

---

*Some early models of Social System Theory (Bertalanffy, 1951; Henderson, 1935; Parsons, 1951) emphasised the structural components of systems, and their tendency to maintain a Static equilibrium. Later developments in systems theory (Rappaport, 1966; Berrien, 1968; Buckley, 1968) emphasised the dynamic features and processes of social systems. In so doing they either radically modified the Equilibrium concept or abandoned it. Equilibrium does not feature as a theoretical concept in this study.

**For Parsons "in carrying out analysis at any level of the total action system, the concept actor is extended to define not only individual personalities in roles but other types of acting units - collectivities, behavioural organisms, and cultural systems. Since the term actor is used here to refer to any such acting unit, I attempt to avoid ... psychological reference, for example motivation attributed to actors as individuals. Thus actor can refer to a business firm in interaction with a household, or, at the cultural level, the implementation of empirical beliefs interacting with the implementation of evaluative beliefs." (Parsons, 1967, p.194).
(Barnard’s organisation purpose) ... It will be other
(social systems – organisations, agencies) ... which
constitute the situation or environment in which the
organisation operates. An organisation, then will have
to be analysed as a special type of social system
organised about the primacy of interest in the
attainment of a particular type of system goal. The
characteristics of the organisation will be defined by
the kind of situation (environment) in which it has
to operate (Parsons, 1960, p.16-19).

System Prerequisites

In order for an organisation to come into existence, evolve, achieve
stability and undergo orderly development as an open social system then
certain prerequisites must be met. (Aberle, et al., 1950; Levy, 1952;
Parsons, 1951 and 1967; Hills, 1968; and Lyden, 1975). It is possible
to express the prerequisites in the language of tasks --- a form
appropriate to the evolutionary orientation of the present study.

If an organisation is to come into existence:

(i) There must be individuals or groups of individuals in the
wider society who conceive it as something worth having,
who are able to explain why it should come into existence
and can mobilise the kinds of support and resources that
will enable it to begin and function.

(ii) An organisational goal, concept or purpose must emerge
or be worked out, articulated and ways must be found
of embodying this goal, concept or purpose in the
organisation.

(iii) The embodiment of purpose requires that individuals be
recruited who can contribute to its attainment in
tangible ways.

(iv) A division of labour (social structure) has to be
created which will enable the work of the organisation
to be carried out.

(v) An organisational value system is required so that:
(a) an agreed basis for orderly relationships (entailing
reciprocal respects for the attitudes, points of
view and contributions of others) can be established,
(b) both internal and external conflicts can be managed and contained, and (c) attendant emotional and intrapersonal crises can be dealt with.

(vi) Procedures are required for harmonising goals of individuals with paramount organisational goals and purposes and for creating a sense of social purpose amongst members. Such a sense of purpose (at least in some minimal sense) is required as the basis for co-operation rather than conflict in working together and achieving both individual and collectively valued goals.

These prerequisites to existence, evolution, stability and development were translated by Parsons (1951 and 1967) into a set of four generic problems* which, he postulated, the members of any social organisation will encounter and must resolve in order to achieve their purpose(s). Furthermore, Parsons recognised that the very business of; articulating purpose, gaining acceptance of it, embodying it in the attitudes of organisational members, and therefore within the social structure and practices of an organisation, is itself likely to be problematic. Accordingly he put forward four functional problems that he maintains confront organisations:

(i) Adaptation
(ii) Goal Attainment
(iii) Integration
(iv) Latency (which sub-divides into Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management).

For the purpose of the present study, the four functional problems are used as theoretical categories (concepts) for identifying and analysing concrete problems experienced in the evolutionary-developmental process. Each concept is discussed in turn and in the order which Parsons postulates they are likely to be encountered in the course of organisational development.

* Parsons' first statements on the functional problems of social systems were in the form of a discussion of the functional prerequisites of social systems in The Social System (Chapter 2, specifically 26-36) and the Structural Imperatives of a Given Social System (Chapter 5, 167-180) and later in Chapter 11.
The Four Functional Problem Concepts

(i) Adaptation

A new-type of organisation "must be articulated with the environment in ways that make effective adaptation possible ... Adaptation should mean, not merely passive adjustment to environmental conditions, but rather the capacity of an (organisation) to cope with its environment. This capacity includes an active concern with mastery, or the ability to change the environment to meet the needs of the (organisation), as well as the ability to survive in the face of its unalterable features. Hence the capacity to cope with broad ranges of environmental factors, through adjustment or active control, or both, is crucial. Finally a very critical point is the capacity (of an organisation's members) to cope with unstable relations between the organisation and environment, and hence with uncertainty" (Parsons, 1969, p.687). One way of reducing uncertainty and achieving stable relations is for a new organisation to become part of the larger social structure of the society or community.

When seen in this light, organisational adaptation refers to interaction with external agencies. These agencies, which have purposes and goals of their own, constitute the situation, or environment in which an organisation operates and with which its members must come to terms. Adaptation carries the implication that the new organisation must, to some degree, be integrated with relevant aspects of the goal structure of an embedding environment. In virtue of adapting to external expectations, demands and pressures, an organisation's members may create and implement goals of their own (to do this or that kind of activity), they are also likely to embody and implement goals from the environment which are consistent with their own. In this way support for an organisation is generated and maintained.

(ii) Goal Attainment

Structure-Functional analysis explicitly recognises that goals are inherent in the processes of forming an organisation. No discussion of organisations can in fact escape starting from a definitional base which entails some treatment of goals (Davies, 1973, p.255). Stated simply the goal attainment problem divides into two parts.
First, there is the question what is an organisation's goal and how is it set (Hall, 1975). Second, how is a goal translated into action and how are individuals motivated to perform so that the paramount organisational goal is realised. Despite the fact that some theorists (e.g. Georgiou, 1973) argue that goals should be abandoned as being of no theoretical or even practical use, Structure-Functional analysis requires that goals be given a central place in the enquiry process. A major developmental issue may well be the extent to which there is commitment within an organisation to a common goal or goal diversity. The notion of organisation as dependent on the meanings and purposes which people bring to it does not mean that all individuals share the same meanings and purposes. Therefore goal-attainment in both the aspects referred to above - setting and translating - is indeed problematic. In analysing an organisation, diversity as well as commonality of intentions, goals and purposes, must be taken into account in and for the organisation.

(iii) Integration

While goal-attainment and adaptation must be attended to, the most crucial functional problem is integration. Whereas goals may remain unclear and only minimum support gained from external agencies, the evolutionary potential of an organisation requires a degree of agreement amongst members to tolerate, respect and work with each other in order to bring an organisation into existence and develop it as a stable and going concern (Parsons, 1951, 1964). In the newly formed organisation, individual lines of action may not fit together readily. To begin with they may not have to. When however they do not fit, collective action is blocked. Whereupon common bases for action and co-operation have to be developed and relationships between individuals cultivated, especially when the situation in which people come together is undefined and uncertain (Blumer, 1972). According to Parsons (1951) there is a basic necessity for commitment to an organisation on the part of its members, and significant others outside it, in order to make it work and hold it together even if for a time it fails to function satisfactorily (Morse, 1960).

Whether integration occurs is problematic because there are unlikely to be clear guides for decision and action (Selznick, 1957), and lines of action may criss-cross in haphazard and unco-ordinated ways.
Integrative mechanisms are required in establishing and maintaining appropriate social and working relationships among an organisation's members. As relationships become structured and as sub-groups form it is necessary to devise procedures that will enable people to work together. Although integration may not be the most pressing problem that is experienced in setting up a new type of organisation, its resolution is likely to have the most far reaching effects on the overall pattern of organisational evolution.

(iv) Latency

Integration has latent consequences for internal functioning which may take some time to emerge. They fall into two general classes. First, latent within a new organisation are emerging patterns of commitment to achieving specific sorts of goals, expressing distinctive attitudes and points of view, preferences for acting in certain ways, taking certain courses of action and forming interpersonal relationships. The patterns of action and interaction that do emerge will define the culture and character of the organisation. Second, forming an organisation will result in members' experiencing tensions of one kind or another. Unless they are managed and controlled, tensions may spill over and adversely affect interpersonal relationships and the ability to get on with the job in hand. When managed and controlled some degree of tension may positively assist in organisational building. Both kinds of problem, (creating and maintaining patterns and managing tension) fall under the general category of latency and constitute the fourth generic problem type that members of a new-type of organisation will encounter and have to cope with in the course of organisational evolution.

It is necessary to point out that for Parsons the functional problems do not stand alone as concepts. By linking them in a certain way the four functional problems constitute the basic elements of a theory for explaining how social systems are structured and function. This topic is elaborated in the next section of the Chapter preparatory to explaining in Chapter two how the theory is to be adapted and applied.
The Functional Problems in Theoretical Context

For Parsons, each of the functional problems, as well as providing an identity for concomitant processes of system development, serve to delineate important features of the structure of social systems. Parsons, in an attempt to accommodate both structure and process within a single theoretical framework and motivated by a concern to develop a general theory of Social Systems, incorporated the four functional problems into a theoretical paradigm -- the Components of Action Systems. Within the paradigm the four functional problems were given a distinct theoretical function, namely as a "set of categories for direct observation and classification of social interaction" (1954, p.63). The empirical referent of these categories is the social-system per se. Each functional problem serves to describe the condition or state of the system at any given time. Parsons also postulated among the categories a set of determinate relationships in terms of which it was thought possible "to account for whatever may be the degree of uniformity and stability" (Parsons 1967,) in the operation of a social system.

The paradigm of Components of Action Systems is set out in simplified form in Diagram 1.

* Parsons argues that the apparent contradiction is resolved when "... the concepts of structure and process (are) seen as exhibiting (both) the static and dynamic aspects of phenomena. In some phenomena the static aspect may appear more significant, while in others the dynamic aspect may seem decisive; actually they should be viewed together, each as a manifestation of the other. Structure, however enduring, exists in terms of process, and process, no matter how slowly or rapidly it operates, always moves through structure. Structure and process are correlative, not opposing, aspects of phenomena". (Turner, Cited in Miller, 1965).

** Here, determinate refers to the way Parsons (1960) logically ordered the problems within his theoretical model.
Diagram 1

The L-I-G-A paradigm of the four functional problems

**instrumentally-adaptive dimension**

**socio-expressive dimension**
The model contained in Diagram 1 (the L.I.G.A. model) conceptualises societies, groups and organisations whose existence and persistence it was set up to explain as open social systems. According to Parsonian theory, all social systems are (i) structured and (ii) function along the two dimensions of Instrumentally-adaptive and Socio-emotional activity. Adaptation and Goal-attainment refer to the task-orientation (instrumentally-adaptive) aspects of Social Systems. Integration and Latency, together, refer to the ways in which members of a social system are co-ordinated and controlled (socio-emotional aspects).

In the diagram the arrows specify the theoretical order in which functional problems are confronted by the members of social systems - although there is no fixed starting point. This determinate sequencing of the functional problems carries with it a direct implication for how a Parsonian based deductive explanation of the evolutionary process might proceed. That is to say, the evolutionary fate of a given system could be predicted according to whether or not the functional problems are resolved in the order specified in the theoretical model. At the most general theoretical level it might thus be postulated that an organisation will evolve if and only if;

(i) everyone of the four functional problems, as outlined by Parsons, are coped with and resolved, and,

(ii) only if they are resolved in the theoretically specified order.

Following on from these two most general theoretical propositions it should then be possible, at least in principle, to formulate more specific theoretical propositions that predict the conditions under which each individual functional problem will be encountered and the requirements of its resolution.

The process of formulating theoretical propositions in the logical form of 'X will occur if and only if \( y_1 y_2 \ldots y_n \)', or the form 'if \( y_1 y_2 \ldots y_n \) then X' is consistent with Parsons aim to construct in nomological-deductive terms, a general theory of social-systems; that is a theory whose general form would enable it to achieve an explanatory power and status comparable to that purportedly enjoyed by theories in the natural and physical sciences. "The theory then, (in its fully developed form) is a set of logical relationships among
categories used to classify phenomena and, in empirical reference, attempts to account for whatever may be the degree of uniformity and stability of such phenomena" (Parsons, 1967, p.194).

This view of how a fully-fledged Structure-Functional theory might be constructed and used to set about explaining social phenomena follows the classical definition of the role of theory developed and refined by philosophers of science;* a role which emphasises the requirement to employ laws or, more cautiously, law-like statements. It is by virtue of presumed laws - what philosophers (e.g. Hempel and Oppenheim, 1970) have labelled nomological statements - that it is possible to draw counterfactual statements that are alleged to be essential for scientific explanation and prediction. Over the years many social researchers have attempted (ranging from Durkheim and his classical attempt to explain the incidence of suicide amongst Catholics and Protestants to Parsons, Bales and Shils (1953) and their attempts to explain how small groups are structured and function), with varying degrees of success, to implement the hypothetical-deductive model (Hempel and Oppenheim, op.cit.) - the form of scientific explanation to which Parsons aspired.

As Smelser, a close colleague of Parsons points out, however, there is still in the Social Sciences "a real scarcity of laws and a deficit of theoretically derived propositions, to say nothing of firmly established empirical regularities" (Smelser, 1969). Parsons (1950) himself has admitted that, "in comparison with a field such as Physics, the derivation of hypotheses from Structure-Functional laws is a remote objective". To expect to do so is a premature demand to make of the theory. We must as Merton (1968) points out "be modest and realistic in our aspirations. It is only by slowly building and testing theories of the middle range"

* The history of this development is traced by Ernest Nagel in The Structure of Science (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961). The actual process of scientific research and discovery being far more complex than the brief discussion above implies; there being more elaborate and detailed discussions of what is involved in scientific theory construction in; Karl Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery (London: Hutchinson, 1959); Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Stephen Toulmin, "From Form to Function: Philosophy and History of Science in the 1950's and Now" Daedalus 106, No. 3, Summer 1977.
that advances can be made towards the development of the kind of comprehensive theory sought by Parsons. In the meantime the most productive use to which Structure-Functional theory can be put is, according to Smelser (1968), to take the existing conceptual schemes of the theory and use them to guide concrete empirical work,* and, by proceeding in this way, seek to carry out what Nagel (1961) refers to as "controlled investigation" as distinct from "controlled experiment".

There are two additional reasons, though somewhat negative, as to why a controlled investigation rather than a controlled experiment is an appropriate research format in the case of the present study. First, the experimentally controlled conditions required for testing deductively formulated causal propositions are seldom achieved outside a laboratory situation; a situation that is virtually unattainable when the object of inquiry is a one-off, real-life organisation. Second, unlike a contrived-experiment, some of the factors which are likely to influence the course of an organisation's evolution are historical in nature and situation specific, and not therefore subject to experimental manipulation. Accordingly the capability of the theory to predict outcomes in a precise way in such a situation is reduced and perhaps even precluded. This is not to say, however, that the possibility of providing a deductive explanation of the 'if ... then' type has to be totally abandoned. This issue will be raised again shortly.

For the moment the question to be answered is, given the limitations on applying Structure-Function theory in the nomothetic-deductive way advocated by Parsons, how might it be used so as to be, on the one hand, at least consistent with the explanatory intentions of its principal author while, on the other hand, capable of generating demonstrably useful research findings.

Implications for Applying the Theory

A useful clue as to how to proceed to apply the theory is to be found in Parsons own (admittedly rare) empirical case-study research. In gathering data for a study of Modern Medical Practice in the United* For example as Smelser sought to do in his own empirical work on Social Change and the Industrial Revolution, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1959.
States, Parsons (1951) used both participant observation of and interviews with physicians at Tufts Medical Center and Massachusetts General Hospital. During the conduct of the research Parsons chose to use in a sensitising way (a topic on which more will be said shortly), a set of theoretical categories comparable to the functional-problems called the pattern-variables. He used them to frame research questions, probe into and describe specific types of doctor-patient relationships and explain how the medical profession is institutionalised in the United States.

There is thus to be found in Parsons' own work, and supplementary suggestions from Smelser (1968) and Nagel (1961), a number of relatively clear indications as to how to proceed in the direction of using Structure-Functional theory to guide concrete empirical work, conduct a controlled investigation and serve as a source of sensitising concepts. Here, the Symbolic Interactionist work of Herbert Blumer (1969), is helpful in that it contains the basis of a theoretical method that, if implemented, would allow Structure-Functional theory to be applied in the manner outlined, namely to:

(i) provide a systematically ordered framework within which to organise an empirical-research study,
(ii) suggest potentially useful avenues of investigation, and,
(iii) by accommodating the practicalities and constraints of the everyday world of real-life in which organisational research is possible and has to be conducted, generate empirically based data, findings, insights and explanations.

Specifically, Structure-Function theoretical concepts can be used in Blumer's (1969) terms as sensitising devices and in a way that is consistent with Parsons own usage. Even though they are not to be employed fully in the hypothetico-deductive sense, such concepts can serve as a set of categories for a theory that is capable of being employed to describe and interpret concrete phenomena and the relationship between them. Explanation follows of the meaning of sensitising concept and the use to which it is to be put in the present study.
The creation of the idea of sensitising concepts arose out of a concern to resolve what Blumer (1969), Merton (1968), Parsons (1937), Smelser (1968) and others recognised as a basic dilemma that confronts all social scientists -- the dilemma confronting researchers is whether to:

(i) follow the now traditional research practice of many ethnographers and anthropologists (as exemplified for instance by the work of Malinowski and Evans-Pritchard) to enter the research situation armed only with a set of rules of procedure and without any (at least explicitly formulated) theoretical conceptions of what to observe and look for, or,

(ii) follow the injunctions of theoretical sociologists to enter the field armed with a set of theoretical pre-conceptions and determinate propositions that are, however, likely to result in an apriori construction of an image of social life (in the present case of an organisation) rather than reflect one.

In taking the first option research activity may produce interesting findings but lack the ability to generate generalisations. Taking the second option runs the risk of begging the very questions that require an answer.

Sensitising concepts can help the researcher get around the horns of Blumer's research dilemma. In the first place sensitising concepts are unlike apriori theoretical concepts in that they do not necessarily give a clear definition of attributes, nor do they identify apriori the individual instances of a class of concrete objects. An example of the former would be Parsons theoretical pattern-variable concepts of Universalism and Particularism. Universalism refers in an apriori manner to the way in which individuals classify each other either according to an objectively recognisable standard or a generalised property, for instance ethnic origin. In contrast Particularism refers to the way people classify each other according to a subjective or personal standard emphasising the special relationship of one individual to another; e.g., as with father and son. These two
concepts are purported by Parsons to be mutually exclusive* of each other. This is an important quality if concepts are to be used in theoretical propositions to predict outcomes. In the second place, by avoiding the specification of attributes prior to investigation, sensitising concepts do "not enable the user to move directly to the instance and its relevant content" (Blumer, 1969, p.150). Rather the sensitising concept provides "a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances". Whereas apriori-determinate theoretical concepts "provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitising concepts merely suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer, op.cit.).

A specific illustration is to be found in the way Glaser and Strauss (1967) employed theoretical concepts in a sensitising way to develop their theory of the awareness of dying:

"For example, our categories of 'death expectations', 'nothing more to do', 'lingering' and 'social loss' designate general properties of dying patients that unquestionably are vividly sensitising or meaningful to hospital personnel; at the same time, they are abstract enough to designate properties of concrete entities, not entities themselves. Further, these concepts provide a necessary bridge between the theoretical thinking of sociologists and the practical thinking of people concerned with the substantive area, so that both may understand and apply the theory. The sociologist finds that he has a 'feeling for' the everyday realities of the situation while the person in the situation finds he can master and manage the theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.240-241).

According to Blumer (op.cit.) an important advantage of using

* A major problem here is that there are situations in which the choice is simply not either-or. For example, teacher-parents who have their own children as pupils in the classroom tend to find the parent role conflicting with the teacher role in many instances. The choice in this case is not always either a Universalistic or a Particularistic one; the blood relationship muddies the water considerably for the decision involves both Universalism and Particularism. Thus the Pattern Variable scheme is not as neat as it appears at first glance, either as a way of clarifying and describing role relationships or as a way of predicting peoples appropriate choices.
theoretical concepts in a sensitising rather than a nomological-deductive way is that they permit direct examination of the empirical world and its natural, ongoing activity, instead of abstracted and quantified data.

These latter comments touch on matters of methodology to which more detailed attention is to be given later in Chapter three. Of more immediate importance to this study is the argument advanced by Blumer (1947) that sensitising concepts can be used profitably and in a theoretically systematic way to yield findings, insights, understanding and create the possibility of providing explanations of a wide range of social phenomena. These phenomena include small groups, the domain in which sensitising concepts have most frequently been used by Symbolic-Interactionist researchers, middle and large size organisations and whole societies.

Putting the Theory to Use

The decision to use Structure-Function theory and concepts in a sensitising way in the present study constitutes an attempt to achieve two ends: (i) to avoid being impaled on the horns of the research dilemma, and, (ii) to get the best of both worlds by using concepts in a way that will give theoretical direction and point to the study while at the same time permitting the realities of organisation life to be discerned as they are. The intended outcome is to minimise the disadvantages of theoretical prescription and naive reporting that might otherwise occur.

It is proposed then to use a middle-ground interpretation and application of Parsonian Structure-Function theory and in so doing seek to achieve three specific kinds of research aim:

First, Structure-Function theory will be used as a framework within which to organise the study and in so doing accommodate the historical, environmental and systems dimensions of a new organisation.

Second, by interpreting Structure-Function theory as an instrument for inquiry rather than deductive-nomological explanation, the study will use specific theoretical concepts (for instance the four functional
problems) as sensitising devices to guide and control the investigation by providing the theoretical basis for explicit research questions.

Third, recognition is given that, in the final analysis, a major purpose of theory is to go beyond observation, description and interpretation and so attempt to predict outcomes. This predictive - 'if - then' - function in the somewhat general sense referred to earlier, is therefore included as part of the research agenda.

However prediction is explicitly recognised as a research outcome that relies for its scientific veracity on the execution of prior theoretically based, observational, descriptive, analytical and interpretative work.

**Summary**

The preceding discussion has attempted to state systematically why Structure-Functional theory would at least in theory, be appropriate for the task of investigating the evolution of a particular kind of social-system - a new-type of educational organisation.

To recapitulate, the elements that have been identified as central to Structure-Function theory in this chapter, and which are to be used to study organisational evolution are summarised as:

(i) Social action is voluntary and individuals are active agents in creating any given social system.

(ii) All social systems are open-systems.

(iii) Social action is organised in open-systems along two dimensions - the instrumental-adaptive and socio-expressive dimensions.

(iv) Action as process is both dynamic and structured.

(v) In the process of forming and developing a social system, individuals, both individually and in concert, will be confronted by four functional problems which must be coped with and resolved if the system is to evolve in an orderly fashion.
(vi) The four functional problems are theoretical concepts which are to be used as sensitising devices to guide research activity and analyse and interpret the phenomena of social system evolution.

(vii) An organisation has to be regarded, for the purposes of analysis and interpretation, as a special kind of social system.

The next Chapter elaborates the way in which these theoretical elements are to be adapted for use in the evolutionary case-study to be presented in part two of the thesis.
CHAPTER TWO - APPLYING THE THEORY

Chapter One, in explaining why Structure-Function theory was chosen to provide the conceptual framework for this study, also gave attention to specific elements of the theory. Chief amongst these were the concepts of social system, action, the four functional problems and a number of secondary concepts such as environment and social structure. In addition specific implications were drawn as to:

(i) how the theory could provide a framework within which to organise the study,

(ii) the use of theoretical concepts as sensitising devices for guiding the research process and analysing and interpreting findings, and,

(iii) the possibility of explaining, in a generalised deductive way the process of organisational evolution.

The purpose of the present Chapter is to develop the theory further and in the process carry out specific modifications that will enable it to be applied in the sensitising manner outlined to account for the evolution of an educational organisation novel to this country.

Modifying the Theory

Characteristically Structure-Functional theorising and research into existing organisations has focussed on explaining how, as entities, organisations are structured and persist rather than on how people and their historical and contemporary actions contribute to the organisation's ongoing processes. Consequently, Structure-Functional theory, if applied in its conventional form, would fall short of explaining, in a dynamic way the evolution of a new-type of organisation -- how it comes to be founded, formed and developed. In order to cover this aspect and enable the theory to be applied in the ways already outlined, this Chapter extends and provides an interpretation of Structure-Functional theory which, though not envisaged by Parsons is, however, consistent with the main body of Structure-Functional theorising and some specific research applications.
It should be noted in passing that the need to modify the theory arises not from any concern about inherent weaknesses or lack of potential to be applied in diverse ways, but from the desire to investigate a special kind of phenomenon; i.e., an evolving, new-type of entity as distinct from an established, ongoing organisation.

With an emergent organisation as distinct from an existing one, the paramount problem is not so much one of survival or persistence as one of genesis - that is, the process of formation itself. It is distinctive of such a process that individual people are likely to play a central role and intentions and purposes are likely to feature. Accordingly, the specific extensions to and interpretations of Structure-Function theory to be made in this study include:

(i) emphasising the role of individuals in the organisation creating process,

(ii) giving to the means-ends relationship a greater emphasis than is conventionally given in Structure-Function theory,

(iii) redefining environment so that it can incorporate, in a way that most conventional definitions do not, individuals and groups who subscribe to specific values and interests - including the more delimited concept of task-environment to be used in explaining how, once a system is formed, specific interests are selected and taken-up by system members, and,

(iv) modifying the notion of social-system to be used specifically in the direction of adopting the term action-system.

Finally, the Chapter specifies theoretical definitions, elaborates the theoretical meaning of the functional problems which are central to the thesis and provides an operationalisation of them as sensitising devices in a way that is consistent with the modifications referred to immediately above.

In the discussion that follows, the first three of the modifications are dealt with first. That then leads to the formulation of a specific
research strategy for investigating factors in the environment that can either contribute to or impede the formation of any given system. With the ground thus prepared, the fourth modification is discussed and a theoretical method for studying an organisation as it evolves then devised.

The Role of Individuals

As a consequence of the Structure-Functional preoccupation with existing organisations, not only has there been little research on emergent organisations, but the pursuit of the former has resulted in an accompanying tendency to posit the social-system itself as having an existence in its own right somewhat independent of individual members and their actions. A similar tendency is evident with related phenomena such as the environment, goals and the social-structure of the system. This is not to say that the individual has been regarded as unimportant. For Parsons in particular, the reality of individuals and the importance of their contribution to the functioning of a given system is never in doubt. For instance, although Parsons views structure as an abstraction, it is an abstraction that is derived from empirical reality; i.e. it is an inference from the actions of individuals and groups of individuals. Thus inferred structure is then considered, however, to be a property of the social-system. The way a system is structured (i.e. the patterning and degree of stability of relations between interdependent variables - individuals - within the system) assists in explaining the character and style of any systems persistence.

In the case of an emergent organisation, rather than asking how does a given Structure contribute to the functioning of the system, the prior question is, how in the first place does the system come into existence. Then, once created, in what specific ways do the actions of and the relationships between individuals contribute to the formation and development of the system.

Even though Parsons never theorised about or studied an emergent organisation, he recognised that the efforts of individuals usually

* Hereafter the term individual is used to refer to the composite term individuals and groups of individuals.
make a difference to social situations and that individuals can give purpose, direction and coherence to an enterprise. He maintained that in providing a Structure-Functional explanation of the functioning and persistence of social-systems, the human individual as actor should be regarded both as:

(i) the most fundamental unit of analysis, and, 

(ii) the logical starting point for conducting an empirical investigation.

It follows then that if this postulated basis for explanation and investigation holds for existing organisations when they are conceived of as social-systems, it may reasonably be expected to hold at least equally as a basis from which to begin to investigate and explain an emergent one.

This individualistic line of argument is further supported by Eisenstadt (1964) who comments that the creation of a new-type of organisation - an innovation - will depend heavily on the environmental push given by specific charismatic individuals. Such individuals, he argues, are required in order to demonstrate the necessity for a new-type of organisation, articulate a purpose for it, suggest ways of establishing it, and ensure its distinctive character. Similarly, Selznick (1957) has shown how authoritative and prestigious individuals can both legitimate a new organisation and sustain it by providing at least the minimal resources that will permit it to evolve. While individuals are necessary, it is self-evident that alone they are insufficient to account for initially the introduction and subsequently the operation of a new organisation. Obviously conditions in society and features of larger social structures can affect the founding of a new-type of organisation. The relative significance of either prevailing conditions or actions of individuals in any given case is an empirical question. Theoretically either could predominate but it is asserted here, neither can be missing.

Parsons and Shils (1967) take the assertion a step further by arguing that these two elements; prevailing conditions and individuals are both integral parts of the situation in which a social-system comes into existence and functions. In order to use situation in a dynamic way to explain social processes this notion is conceptualised
by them as

that part of the external world which means something to the actor whose behaviour is being analysed ... Specifically it is that part to which the actor is oriented and in which the actor acts ... and ... although the situation consists of both actors and objects, it is convenient to speak of actors and situations as though the two were independent concepts. (Thus) ... one speaks of actors (defining and being) in situations (Parsons and Shils, 1967).

The manner in which individuals act depends, according to Parsons and Shils (1967) on both how they define the situation * and on the prevailing conditions. On the one hand the way an individual defines the situation will depend on personal beliefs, attitudes, expectations, norms that are subscribed to, personally valued purposes and prior experience. On the other hand the outcomes of the action taken in any given situation will also depend on the help provided or the hindrance imposed by the prevailing conditions. For Parsons' actions so taken bear testimony to either the reactive or creative roles that individuals might play in forming a new-type of organisation. For the purposes of the present study, individuals are to be regarded as organisation building-blocks (Dubin, 1960) and therefore as having the opportunity to play a role in conforming with, creating and implementing particular definitions of the situation in the sense outlined. They thus have the potential to either contribute to or detract from the organisation forming process.

The second major aspect of Structure-Function theory to be

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*The conception of the definition of the situation was advanced by W.I. Thomas: If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences - it is an integral part of Weber's analysis of social action, cf. Action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual(s) it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course. (Parsons, ed. Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation). MacIver in his work on Social Causation invokes a similar concept of dynamic assessments in the understanding of human action. A full discussion of this is given by Coser and Rosenberg, Sociological Theory, MacMillan, (1957), 207-246.
emphasised for the present study follows on from the preceding discussion of individuals' definitions of the situation.

**Ends and Means**

In so far as the goals, purposes and norms (which are some of the defining characteristics of any given definition of the situation) are invoked by individuals seeking to form an organisation then, according to Parsons (1951) the action they take is to be viewed as time-extended. It is, as he puts it, oriented to the future. The assessment of how long it will take, when is the proper time, what means should be used and how are they to be acquired and what ends will be served are inherently parts of the problem of creating any organisation (Parsons, 1951). Furthermore, to speak of the creation of an organisation as being problematic is consistent with the notion, outlined in Chapter One, of the members of a new organisation being confronted by the four specific functional problems. Mention of this topic of the problematic nature of an organisation here serves as a reminder of its theoretical importance for the study and foreshadows the more detailed treatment of it later in the Chapter.

For the moment, to conceive of the evolution of an organisation in this way as a problem requires that the relationship between means and ends, which at this point, because it is dynamic must also be problematic, and singled out as relevant for explaining the advent of a new organisation. The position to be taken stands in contrast with explanations of already existing organisations in which the question of the relationship between ends and means may be relatively un-problematic.

Consequent on the decision to focus attention on the means-ends relationship there is then a logical implication to investigate the nature of the relationship between, (i) expressed purposes and interests, and, (ii) the provision of resources. To be consistent with the problem orientation of the study, the ends-means relationship itself is to be viewed as problematic. In reality the means used to achieve a particular end can be classified, according to Parsons, Bales and Shils (1954), into three specific categories of resource; namely Land, Labour and Capital. To the extent that these resources are forthcoming or withheld, the evolutionary potential of a new-type of organisation will be correspondingly realised or inhibited.
According to Parsons (1960), when virtually any type of organisation is created, resources - for instance, the amount and location of such physical facilities as land - i.e. a site for buildings and relatively permanent or durable buildings, facilities and equipment - put limits on what can be done and what accordingly is done may or may not be compatible with goals intended. More specifically any exercise of control over membership composition, Labour, can affect which purposes and goals (and implicit values and interests) will be incorporated into the life of an organisation (Drucker, 1954). In turn the goals, interests and values of the community may enter into an organisation by exerting an influence on what resources are made available.

While the procurement of land and capital provides the physical limitations within which an organisation may be formed, the personnel, labour, are likely to determine to a considerable degree the direction taken. The commitment and attitudes personnel bring with them, are likely to become the commitment and attitudes of the organisation. In the fulness of time, however, the interchange between organisational conditions and these individuals and interaction amongst themselves may result in changes of both attitude and organisational goals.

If such an interpretation is reasonable then, in the present study, the relationship between ends and means (the definition and setting of goals and the procurement and devising of means to attain them) are justifiable as main foci of attention. Consistent with Parsons' (1937) Structure-Functional view of social action, the prevailing situation and conditions are to be conceived at one pole and ends (norms, purposes and goals) at the other, and means as connecting links between them.

The concrete situation and conditions in which the relationship between means and ends is worked out constitutes the environment. The next step in the Chapter is therefore to operationally define environment in such a way that it can encapsulate the diversity of ends and means and the relationship between them that occur in the course of creating an organisation.
Environment

There are two characteristics which are typically present in conventional Structure-Functional definitions of environment. First, as Greenfield (1974) put it, the environment usually is reified* and regarded as a unitary thing that makes demands to which the organisation must respond. Second, the environment is conceptualised as being, in varying degrees, either unproblematic or in a state of turbulence. In some research it has been possible to regard a particular system as closed and sufficiently independent to permit the analysis of internal problems without reference to outside influences (Katz and Kahn, 1970). For example in Mercurio's (1972) research into the rituals and internal workings of a long established private secondary school, the school was seen to be divorced from its embedding environment. A contrasting example is that of the international airline. In its efforts to win new and protect existing markets the airline constantly attempts to predict changes in and meet demands from a turbulent-environment - a cause perhaps of its internal problems. In both examples, the unitary nature of the environment prevails - it is uniformly unproblematic or uniformly turbulent.

While assuming the environment to be unitary has generally been regarded by Structure-Functionalists as an appropriate strategy when researching existing organisations, there is not the same consensus in the case of new organisations. In fact, according to such Structure-Functional theorists and researchers as Selznick (1957), Scott (1964), Stinchcombe (1965) and Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), in their early stages the environments of organisations tend to be:

(i) segmented and complex, and,

(ii) contain a diversity of communities of interest (Clarke, 1973) and value.

In order to clarify the sense in which environment is to be employed in the present study it is useful to refer to the distinction

* There is abundant evidence of reifying environment in the work of such authors as Thompson and McEwan, 1958; Blau and Scott, 1971; Parsons, 1960; Katz and Kahn, 1965; Guetzkow, 1965; Dufty, 1969; and March and Simon, 1958 - although there is some variation among them over the precise definition of environment.
that Parsons and Shils (1967, p.31) make between environment and situation;

Environment refers to all those things outside (any given social-system) to which the actions of system members are or might potentially be related. By contrast, the situation refers to the (social-system) and the environment in theoretical relationship but without action having taken place ... Both terms, environment and situation involve abstraction, but of different types. In describing environment one must abstract because one cannot describe everything. In describing situation one abstracts in order to describe how, as a result of actors' definitions of the situation, relationships between the social-system and the environment develop. When seen in this light, it is now possible to operationally define environment in a way that is consistent with Parsons own conceptualisation, and at the same time accommodate the elements of environmental segmentation, complexity and diversity that have been discovered elsewhere to confront the founders and the members of new organisations.

For the purposes of the present study environment is going to be operationally defined as referring to:

(i) the geographical locality of an organisation, centres of population, and such physical resources as land and capital, and,

(ii) situationally relevant actors such as individuals, social organisations and collectivities; e.g. community associations, government departments, and agencies, statutory and quasi-statutory bodies and various types of formal organisation.

Defining environment in this way permits the identification and analysis of both the actual and potential sets of interests, purposes and values subscribed to by individuals and collectivities. Investigation can then be made into the way such factors might be brought to bear in; establishing a case for a new organisation, procuring resources and bringing the organisation into existence.

While this use of environment is at variance with some of the more
conventional Structure-Functional conceptualisations (for instance Parsons' 1951 version) it is consistent with the way others have used the concept. A notable instance is Selznick's (1949) documentation of the manner in which vested interest groups, through a process of cooptation, influenced the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority. As Parsons and Shils (1967) and Thompson (1967) point out and as Selznick (1949) discovered, it is not possible, especially in a new organisation, for all the values subscribed to in a given community to be represented in a single organisation. Furthermore as Selznick (1949) and Clarke (1956) have demonstrated, in order for some values and interests to gain a secure footing in the goal-structure (Gross, 1976) of an organisation other values and interests must be excluded.

The limitation of the chosen interpretation of environment appears to be that it covers too much. For the purposes of empirical investigation a more delimited concept is required. To this end the concept of task-environment* is to be adopted for use in this study. This concept is useful for analysing the formation of a new organisation because it reduces to manageable proportions the array of factors (e.g. individuals, agencies, community associations and organisations) theoretically available. It does so by denoting only those factors which are most "relevant or potentially relevant to goal-setting and goal-attainment" (Dill, 1958). The difference between environment and task-environment is then one of degree rather than of kind. Task-environment permits, in a way that the general concept of environment does not, a selective focussing on factors that make or are likely to make a difference to the advent and the development of a given organisation.

Over and above the practical research-utility of task-environment, the importance of translating environment into task-environment is that it permits the connections between individuals, the environment

*The concept of task-environment, defined somewhat differently, is taken from William R. Dill 'Environment as an influence on Managerial Autonomy' in A.S.Q. Vol.2, 1958. p.409-443. There have been few attempts to describe and differentiate environments from the point of view of the organisation. Frank A. Pinner, studied high schools in relation to the value structure of the environing community, and the degree of looseness and tightness of a community structure. A seminal source for this concept is Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure. (Rev. ed; Glencoe, Ill., 1957, p.4 4, note 13a).
they inhabit and organisational evolution to be conceptualised in a systemic and presumably logical way. Given the complexity of the model unfolded so far, the main elements can be singled out and arranged sequentially so as to reflect this systematicity and logic. Specifically, the creation and development of a new-type of organisation can be viewed as a function of the way in which individuals in a given task-environment select, define, and pursue:

(i) **Ends**
- which refer to desirable states of affairs, that are wanted or judged to be needed in terms of

(ii) **Norms**
- namely beliefs (and underlying values and interests) and judgements about what should be done, how people ought to conduct themselves (proscription and prescription), what an organisation should do and be like, which are implemented by the adoption and procurement of

(iii) **Means**
- various categories of resource such as land, labour, capital, information and ideas and applying them to a

(iv) **Situation**
- a state of affairs that currently exists or once existed, e.g. the absence of a tertiary education organisation in a community, which is judged to be needed, leading to a course of action; which ultimately produces the concrete situation (physical, social, ideological) of the organisation itself, all of which is tempered by

(v) **Conditions**
- a set of conditions which lead to opportunities for action and also act as constraints on what can be achieved.

In order to further clarify the systemic nature of task-environment, the five analytical elements itemised above can be arranged diagrammatically. Here, it is important to recognise that while the sequencing of elements follows the priority that Parsons (1937, 1951) attributed to normative factors in the explanation of
social life, it could turn out in practice that the causes of a particular action or event are based elsewhere. The extent to which any one factor or combination of them is causally operative at any one time is a matter for empirical investigation.
In the diagram, the two-way arrows indicate the reciprocal effect of each of the five main elements. Specifically they indicate the way groups and individuals in the environment are, on the one hand, purposeful and normatively oriented and, on the other hand, constrained or assisted in the actions they take by the prevailing conditions and definitions of the situation. The inclusion of a feedback loop accommodates the possibility of change and modification.

Following on from the adoption of an individualistic and action-oriented conceptualisation of environment, there are two specific and substantive implications that serve to introduce the next major modification.

The Action-System Concept

Because the conventional Structure-Function model of social-systems tends to be somewhat deterministic and to overly emphasise the structural components of systems, the concept of social-system must, like environment, also be modified so that it too can encapsulate the individualistic and creative aspects of an emergent organisation. Within any given social-system individuals can then be seen as organisation building-blocks (Dubin, 1960; Prebble, 1975). The second implication is that a distinction can be made between a system and the environment; specifically task-environment that will impinge upon it. Making this distinction is especially important in the case of a newly founded organisation, for one particular way in which a system can achieve viability is through reciprocal interaction between individuals in the system and individuals in the task environment. As Gouldner (1970) points out, this principle of reciprocity is a concrete and special general mechanism whose operation ensures that the outcome of any specific social act, (for example the creation of a new-type of organisation) is only probable, never certain. In other words, the direction and rate at which an organisation evolves will be a function of the degree of consensus between individuals both within and outside it on the specific values and interests that might be taken up and met.

Faced with the problem of accounting for both the reciprocity and individualistic aspects of forming a new organisation, the concept of Social-system, as it is conventionally used, places a distinct limitation on the kind of explanation of organisational evolution that could be provided. For instance, as a result of their tendency to reify phenomena
and concepts, Structure-Functionalists typically talk, not of the way system members adapt or respond to environmental demands, but how the system adapts and responds. In the case of a new organisation, however, the main research problem is, how is the system itself formed and what problems do individuals encounter in this process. Addressing this problem requires a concept of system that will enable the individualistic and creative aspects to be taken into account. A specific concept that would fulfil this purpose is one derived directly from Parsons' (1937) early work on the Voluntaristic Theory of Action and a later collaboration between Parsons and Shils (1967) -- namely the concept of an action-system.

Parsons and Shils (op. cit.) conceptualised an action-system as a plurality of individuals in reciprocal interaction with each other and in relation to a situation which is external to the system. This individualistic conception of system is appropriate for the present study because it can take into account, in the required way, the possibility of people playing a creative and active role in the evolution of emergent organisation. Recognition can also be given to the way in which individuals are constrained by prevailing conditions and the situation they are in.

Because the concept of action-system takes account of the purposes of individuals, both within and outside it as key variables in the evolutionary process, it is better suited for this study than the more mechanistic conception of social-system evident in Parsons' (1951, 1960, 1967) later work. The difference is, however, one of degree rather than kind. Therefore the problems postulated by Parsons to confront a social-system in the broad sense also are, the problems that could potentially confront members of the emergent action-system.

Explicitly then, the problems likely to be faced by people, either individually or collectively, in the process of forming and developing a new-type of organisation when it is conceived of as an action-system are:

(i) selecting inputs into the system (thus creating it), establishing acceptable definitions of the situation and a boundary which distinguishes the system from its embedding environment,
(ii) establishing system priorities and getting members engaged in tasks,

(iii) creating a social structure, bringing about commitment of members to the system and establishing a collective identity,

(iv) providing mechanisms for creating stable patterns of action and interaction and managing emergent tensions and conflicts.

These are in summary form the theoretical elements of the four functional problems that, according to Parsons, are encountered in the course of action-system evolution. They are to feature prominently in the present study. Accordingly their elaboration follows.

The Four Functional Problems -
definition, interpretation and operationalisation

The following discussion and operational specification of each functional problem concept follows the theoretical sequence set out in the Systems Model given in Chapter one. Accordingly Adaptation, Goal-Attainment, Integration and Latency will be dealt with in that order. In presenting each concept a particular strategy will be adopted. First, each functional problem concept will be defined. Second follows a specific interpretation of it in light of the special characteristics of the present study. Third, a description will be given of how each concept is to be operationalised. This serves to explain the means by which the abstract theory can be translated into empirical terms and applied to the action-system being studied.

1. Adaptation

Definition: Adaptation is a theoretical concept which refers to the process whereby members of any given action-system, through the creation and enactment of boundary roles;

(i) define the external situation of the action system - the environment to which they must relate and in so doing establish a boundary which differentiates the system from the environment, and thus
(ii) create the **conditions** on which to procure and allocate resources (the **means**) and represent the system externally.

**Interpretation:** In accordance with this definition, the concepts of an action-system boundary and boundary-role are a logical starting point for briefly elaborating the specific kinds of functions and activities that are constitutive of Adaptation.

As in physical or biological systems, a boundary is that dividing line that separates one system from another - the interface. Unlike biological systems, however, the boundary of an action-system need not be conceptualised in physical terms. Following Parsons and Shils (1967) the boundary of an action-system comprises individuals in particular kinds of membership roles; that is to say individuals who stipulate how much and which parts of the general environment (for example which particular values and interests) can be brought into the specific situation of this action-system. The result will be the identification of the system's task-environment.

By focusing on the enactment of boundary-roles, it is therefore possible to identify and describe how specific members of an action-system influence the course of evolution through the performance of characteristically adaptive functions. Following Parsons (1969) such functions include: the procurement and allocation of resources, the creation and dissemination of information and interaction with agencies in the external environment.

**Operationalisation:** To be operationalised, the interpretation given above has to be converted into a series of research questions. Those thought to be appropriate are:

(i) In what ways do external individuals and groups assist or constrain system formation and development?

(ii) Within a newly formed action-system how are boundary-roles created, and distributed?

(iii) Who are the individuals and agencies (if any) an individual is interacting with and with whom there is a need to establish relationships?
(iv) Specifically, to what extent and with what effect do the occupants of boundary roles:

(a) interact and negotiate with external agencies in order to gain access to a particular market, e.g. a particular category of clients, and to procure the resources necessary for ongoing development, e.g. funds and specific categories of staff who can either respond to or initiate a particular task-environment, and,

(b) seek to legitimate (Weber, 1947; Parsons, 1951) the new organisation by creating and externally promoting an organisational image; for instance through the medium of advertising and other kinds of public-relations activity.

(v) Once acquired, how are resources allocated and with what effects on;

(a) the internal structuring of relationships, and

(b) the establishment of a division of labour.

(vi) How do the physical conditions of a system assist or constrain the performance of specific roles and system formation and development?

(vii) To what extent and with what effect do the occupants of boundary roles filter and transmit information? Do they act autonomously on some information, consolidate, delay or store it?

2. Goal-Attainment

Definition: Goal-Attainment is a theoretical concept which refers to the processes of:

(i) establishing system priorities - ends; i.e., desirable states of affairs that are sought by individuals both inside and outside a system and which result in,

(ii) creating goals and translating them into programmes and activities.
Interpretation: Consistent with this general definition, the concept of goal is to be taken as a definition (explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious) which an individual has of the situation he is in, in terms of what he wants and what he sees — how the situation looks to him. This definition may include or imply the means, i.e., an explicit or implicit, normatively regulated plan of action intended for use in achieving a desired state of affairs (Parsons and Shils, 1967).

Adopting an individualistic concept of goal avoids the problem of reification that can arise when goals are attributed to the organisation. However the use of an individual goals concept may give rise to the possibility that a psychological conception of motive — what an individual desires for himself — may surface. But seeking to discover goals does not necessarily imply a search for motives. While it is recognised that goals and motives may be closely related, the main focus of attention in this study is on the contribution of a person's goals in the creation of an action-system.

In researching the goal-attainment problem, Structure-Functionalists (for example, Selznick, 1943 and 1957; Perrow, 1961; and Etzioni, 1964) characteristically distinguish between two types of goal — namely official goals and actual or operative goals. In this study the official goal(s) is the purpose for which an organisation comes into being and is hereafter referred to as Mission.

The point in examining official goals is to ascertain their function in forming a new-type of organisation, e.g. do they orient the activities of members (Merton, 1957; and Michels, 1962); are they used to evaluate contributions (Perrow, 1969); and do they serve to legitimate the existence of the organisation both for the participants, significant external agencies and the general public (Parsons, 1960). In so far as official goals, which are at the same time the goals of individuals (e.g. those of the instigators, or a chief executive) do function in one or more of the specified ways, they may go some way in determining the actual goal structure (Gross, 1976).

A number of specific consequences follow from the adoption of an individualistic approach to the investigation of the nature and effects of goals. First, such an approach leaves open the research possibility of discovering multiple goals and may yield a reality
different from the reality promulgated by the originators of an organisation and by its administrators. Second, by examining what happens in reality a check can be made on whether proclaimed goals are subscribed to in practice. Third, by focussing on actual or operative goals the investigator, working within a Structure-Functional framework is able to observe the incidence of both consensus and conflict about what an organisation is for, whose interests it serves and how it is organised and run; especially in a new-type of organisation when issues relating to values and purpose may be close to the surface (Warren, 1971).

**Operationalisation:** The interpretation above leads to the use of the following operational procedure:

(i) Seeking answers to the questions;
   (a) Why does an organisation exist? What purpose will it serve? To what social conditions will it contribute in terms of its mission?
   (b) What is each individual's (dynamic) concept or idea of the organisation aims, purpose, function?
   (c) What is each individual's specific job-role, the nature and type of activities presently engaged in and scheduled for the future and their relationship to other activities?
   (d) How ought one to function in a given role?
   (e) How do individuals define and carry out duties, responsibilities, tasks and with what resources?

(ii) Observing what individuals say and do in action and inferring aims from their actions, and,

(iii) Asking people how they perceive the organisation and what they see as its significant features.

Each approach taken by itself is likely to produce a limited picture of an emerging goal structure. When used in combination and over an extended time period, a fuller picture results.
3. Integration

**Definition:** Integration is a theoretical concept which refers to the process operating within the *internal situation* of an action-system and by which members create;

(i) a sense of solidarity and cohesion

(ii) common loyalties and common normative definitions of the situation, and

(iii) at least some minimum level of respect and acceptance of various goals and attitudes that individuals might have and the distinctive contributions they might make (Parsons, 1964).

**Interpretation:** According to Structure-Functional theory (Parsons, 1951, 1960, 1964, 1966; Eisenstadt, 1964; Levy, 1952), resolving the concrete problem of Integration depends on the creation and maintenance of a social structure.* For the purposes of the present study structure refers to the way the actions of and the interactions between individuals come to constitute a pattern. As Parsons (1951) points out, however, the patterning (or structuring) of actions and interactions does not necessarily result in the Integration of an action-system. Whether or not Integration occurs depends on a variety of factors that require comment, thus setting the scene for the operationalisation that follows.

When setting up a new organisation it is common practice, according to Eldridge and Crombie (1974), to use a formal organisation chart or a blue-print to specify the way relationships and action patterns are to be structured. They also point out that as an organisation develops the members are likely to seek control over the way

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*As Parsons (1951, p.42-43) puts it, social structure is "the core phenomenon of the dynamics of social systems. That the stability of any social system except the most evanescent interaction process is dependent on (the existence of a stable social structure) may be said to be the fundamental dynamic theorem of (Structure-Functional theory). It is the major point of reference for all analysis which may claim to be a dynamic analysis of social process".*
relationships are structured;* in which case the blue-print is likely to lose its initial usefulness. More importantly, from initial blue-prints, new organisations increase in structural complexity and undergo internal differentiation.

According to Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), in forming an organisation, differentiation first tends to occur in response to and reflecting divisions, boundaries and coalitions of interest in the larger social-system - the environment. As growth occurs, as new functions are acquired, new premises are completed, equipment and machinery procured, differentiation into sub-units with responsibility for specific tasks also occurs (Dufty, 1976). In so far as the activities of such sub-units have to be co-ordinated, some higher-level units may become necessary to carry out such co-ordination (Eisendstadt, 1964). The first kind of differentiation that tends to occur to do such work is, according to Parsons, stratification; i.e., the tendency to rank individuals in terms of authority, degree of responsibility and status. This is because in organisations generally and in new ones in particular, many accommodations are made to community values (Stinchcombe, 1965) as they bear on the status of participants, and the community's stratification system is usually reflected within organisational hierarchies (Collins, 1946 cited in Scott, 1964).

The extent to which stratification occurs will have an effect on any necessity to control the direction of evolution through the creation and enactment of leadership roles. According to such Structure-Functional theorists and researchers as Mills (1956), Selznick (1957), Parsons (1964), Hage and Dewar (1973) and Zald (1963, 1970), there is a necessity in creating new organisations for some form of leadership in the sense of an organisational elite.

* A tendency amongst social scientists is to think of social structure in two-dimensional terms as the morphology or shape of an entity. Metaphors such as the pyramid, the wheel and the network are used to represent structure. These simple, static conceptions of the structure of something as complex as an organisation have some usefulness in that they depict a particular feature such as hierarchy. At best, however, they mask the fact that structure in the morphological sense is always an abstraction - a static representation of an ongoing process (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974).
The research that arises out of the Integration concept is to document the effects of differentiation and the structuring of relationships and analyse their consequence for Integration. The effects of differentiation will vary depending on the specific kind of system under study, and the conditions under which it comes into existence. There are, however, a number of ways in which differentiation and its contribution to the resolution of integration can be monitored.

Operationalisation: The prospective relationship between differentiation, social-structure and integration gives rise to the following research questions:

(i) Given the tendency to differentiation, what are the kinds of interest groups or organisational sub-units that form? Specifically to what extent and with what effect are they formed according to:
   (a) specific kinds of function,
   (b) common interests and orientations,
   (c) technical expertise and experience,
   (d) types of service to be rendered,
   (e) material and symbolic rewards, e.g. differential salary levels, and
   (f) super-ordinate and sub-ordinate positions?

(ii) Given the necessity for leadership roles, to what extent and with what effect are they created and enacted, and by whom? More specifically, given the emergence of an organisational hierarchy to what extent and with what effect are advantaged positions used to:
   (a) exercise and delegate authority,
   (b) develop a sense of unity and purpose, and
   (c) specify duties, obligations and rights?

(iii) Given the likelihood of interest groups or sub-units forming, to what extent and with what effect are positions of authority used to limit the incidence of conflict, facilitate co-operation and maintain a balance of power (Zald, 1963) within an evolving social structure?
4. Latency

Definition: Latency is a theoretical concept which refers to the way members of an emergent action-system devise ways and means to control and manage the outcomes of actions and interactions. Specifically it refers to the way they create, apply and conform with normative standards in maintaining desired patterns of interaction and in coping with tensions and conflicts that arise during the process of system building.

Interpretation: For Parsons the problem of Latency has two aspects - pattern maintenance which is the problem of maintaining the patterns of organisational life that are the outcome of differentiation, and tension-management which is the problem of coping with both personal and inter-personal tensions and conflicts. In process terms Latency therefore incorporates the way in which individuals act in accordance with relevant norms, and also the way in which tension and conflict are reduced or contained.

According to Parsons (1951), resolving the Latency problem is positively assisted when some attempt is made to develop a central value system which serves to legitimate both shared and diverse attitudes and values within the one organisation - a super-ordinate value. When understood and subscribed to a central value, which transcends particular sectional interests, can be appealed to he argues, in resolving internal conflict and tensions and may serve as a means of exercising control by conscious consent.

Operationalisation

This interpretation of Latency accordingly leads to enquiry into both creative and normative aspects. The specific aspects to be researched include:

(i) What do individuals regard as the actual and ideal relationships that should develop within a given action-system?

(ii) As an action-system begins to function, what are the normative standards that are created and invoked and with what effect are they applied?

(iii) Given the likelihood of differences of opinion and different interests, what kind of control and management strategies are used to develop co-operative relations and limit the incidence of tension and conflict?
(iv) Specifically, to what extent and with what effect is a central value system developed in an attempt to:

(a) explain the emergence or absence of a power structure and associated policies,
(b) justify entering into relationships with external agencies,
(c) support values the organisation was set up to serve,
(d) legitimate and institutionalise values that are precarious and have only tenuous support in the community,
(e) explain how specific value-orientations fit into an overall ideological framework, or fail to fit in,
(f) institutionalise particular (different or unusual) ways and styles of working and,
(g) create myths which bolster up the contributions of specific groups/individuals and project an image internally of the organisation itself; what we want this organisation to be like as a place in which to work and what it can and ought to do.

Summary

This Chapter has given emphasis to four main Structure-Functional concepts - the individual, the means-ends relationship, the environment and the action-system. These concepts provide the elements of the theoretical framework within which to use the four functional problems for the purpose of explaining the evolution of a new-type of organisation when it is conceived as an action-system which originates from and is embedded in an environment of interests and values. The interpretation adopted is predicated on the assumption that once formed members of the system will activate and respond not to the whole environment but to a task-environment. The latter contains individuals, groups and agencies who subscribe to particular interests and values.

Surrounding the action-system itself there is a boundary of individuals whose main function is to filter inputs from and outputs to the environment. Specifically, the occupants of boundary roles
initiate interaction with and respond to individuals and collectivities in the task-environment; individuals and collectivities with whom members of the action-system will then do business. All such system-environment interactions are adaptive in nature.

Within the action-system all of the functional problems are interlinked, thus conveying the idea that solutions found for one problem have consequences for the solution of all other problems. By confronting and coping with all the functional problems, system members are capable of influencing, either directly or indirectly, the course of evolution. The nature and extent of their influence depends, however, both on their own actions, the actions of others and limiting conditions inside and outside the system, e.g. individuals' definitions of the situation and the availability of various types of capital and equipment.

While the question of evolutionary stages has not been dealt with explicitly, there is an important methodological implication to be drawn from the preceding discussion; that the study be conceptualised as falling into two separate but interdependent stages. The first is the genesis-stage that takes account of the origins, context and pre-history of a new action-system in terms of the environment. The second stage can then be seen as beginning when a boundary has been formed by the creation and enactment of membership roles. Thereafter the action-system can be studied as it evolves. In both stages of the evolutionary process, the theoretical concepts discussed in this Chapter provide a conceptual framework within which the empirical research of the study will be organised and conducted. When used for this purpose they will, when operationalised, primarily play a sensitising role.

With the study's theoretical agenda having been outlined, the next task is to discuss the research methodology which serves to link the theory with the concrete situation of the action-system being studied - the Hawke's Bay Community College.

*Specifically the discussion in Chapter one on pages 6-8 that deals with organisations in historical terms and as human inventions and the discussion in the present Chapter that deals respectively with the role of individuals and the ends-means relationship.
CHAPTER THREE - ON METHOD

Chapters one and two made the theoretical basis of the present study explicit, stated why it was employed and explained how it is to be used in investigating the evolution of a new-type of organisation. The main purpose of this Chapter is to outline a research method for the study and explain how it was used to collect data. Accordingly the Chapter is divided into four sections that deal respectively with:

(i) the selection of a research method - its rationale, strengths and weaknesses,
(ii) the general research strategy and data gathering procedures,
(iii) data sources and discussion of the approach used in gaining access, and procedures for legitimating the researcher role, and,
(iv) the research schedule and its implementation.

Selecting a Research Methodology

In selecting a research methodology for the present study three specific requirements had to be met. First, the method would have to provide a means of viewing and portraying an organisation both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. It should thus be capable of capturing both static and dynamic aspects of the evolutionary process. Second, because the object of investigation is an existing organisation the method would have to be suited to field research. Third, the method would have to be capable of revealing any uniqueness of the organisation in point.

Accordingly a somewhat predictable choice was made in favour of adopting a naturalistic, case-study method. This methodology provides one relatively acceptable way of meeting the specified requirements. As such it follows the research practices adopted by Selznick (1949).

Smith and Geoffrey worked in an Urban American classroom for an extended period and carried out ethnographic research. Smith and Keith documented the development of a new-type of elementary school. Baldridge worked in a large American University. Becker and Geer worked alongside medical students in a Chicago Medical School and Geer and Hughes studied the culture of college students. Selznick conducted field research and analysed historical documents in his study of the Tennessee Valley Authority.
Consequent on choosing to conduct the study in the nominated form, it was then possible to:

(i) select specific research techniques suited for naturalistic settings that comprise networks of relations between individual actors, acting and interacting with each other, and sharing in sets of beliefs, standards and symbols,

(ii) study the organisation, as it evolves - both cross-sectionally and longitudinally,

(iii) view the organisation in question, as a dependent variable and regard it as a whole action-system which is greater than the sum of its individual actors - a totality,

(iv) operationally define the organisation as a set of contemporary and historically-distant individuals who are involved in or have contributed to its formation and development,

(v) regard the individuals concerned along with their attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, and ways of acting and interacting as constituting both the principal units of analysis and the initial building-blocks (Dubin, 1960; and Prebble, 1975) of the organisation - not in a passive sense but as active agents, and,

(vi) account for individual actors subjective comprehension of the organisation and their place in it (Parsons, 1937; Weber, 1968 and Silverman, 1970).

In practical terms these six points, when viewed prescriptively suggested the manner in which naturalistic case study work in the present investigation can proceed. A logical beginning point, and one implied by the study's theoretical framework is the individual's subjective understanding of the situation (Blumer, 1966). A distinct consequence of this is that primary data are likely to reflect the realities of organisational life as the participants see it. An implication, however, is that although the researcher comes to the empirical setting with a set of theoretical-interpretive
concepts, (in this case the four functional problems) he cannot assume apriori that any prior definition of the situation he has himself is necessarily correct. Nor can it be assumed that members of an organisation and others associated with it will agree on the meaning of a given situation (Denzin, 1970) — either within or among themselves. The discovery of a meaning (or meanings) i.e. an individual actor's definition of the situation, will therefore take priority.

While the case study method is appropriate for the current study, the method has some inherent weaknesses. In particular there are specific conditions in organisations that set them apart from other forms of social life, and pose for researchers wishing to study them a number of strategic problems that require comment.

Weaknesses of the Case Study Method

As Scott (1965, p.262-265) points out, in organisations members are usually bound together in a common network of relations. This network, as the core of an organisation, must be examined if organisational evolution is to be understood and the actions of individuals accounted for. In gaining access and collecting data, four main problems are likely to be encountered (Scott, op.cit.):

(i) Because one single hostile informant may become a locus of disaffection and sabotage the enquiry, relations between researcher and subject are particularly important. Special efforts are therefore required to build co-operative relationships and pre-empt hostility.

(ii) If members of the organisation share a common set of values and norms, the investigator must take this group culture into account, for two reasons. First the knowledge is essential to understanding the conduct of individuals. Second, it will, in part, determine the roles he will play as a researcher, the types of relations he develops with organisational members, and the kinds of data to which he is given access.

(iii) As organisations are complex systems with various levels, there are likely to be conflicting values and interests within. This, too, poses problems for the researcher, for he must gain acceptance in each without becoming identified with any particular one.
(iv) Even when a researcher is granted complete freedom for his enquiry, the necessity of gaining permission to enter from top officials may prejudice lower-level participants against him. Some members will control access to certain kinds of information and will help determine who the researcher talks to or is allowed to observe. Despite the fact that information received from various individuals may not be equally reliable, at least in its consequences for the system, such information cannot be dismissed out of hand and individuals who provide it are deserving of respect along with others, both in their own right as persons and in terms of the clues they might provide as to possible fruitful lines of enquiry.

In Parsonian terms this definition of the organisational research situation determines the conditions (constraints) that are likely to operate on the field-researcher. Implicit in this situation are norms which in turn will govern the selection of means whereby research goals can be attained. Specifically there are norms which require that confidences be respected, that identities not be revealed and members not be treated merely as impersonal means to the researcher's ends. In subscribing to these norms and others that may operate, the researcher may gain access to the situation and establish ways of motivating subjects to co-operate in his research (Scott, op.cit.). In effect the researcher is both an observer and a participant. Achieving participant status enables observations to be made. There is a dilemma however (Scott, op.cit.):

Participation is usually required of the investigator if he is to be allowed to carry out his research; but participation because of the involvement it generates interferes with the collection of unbiased data.

This participant-observer dilemma is to be raised later in the Chapter. At this point the necessity to adopt the participant-observer role, and the problems attendant upon it* lead directly into

*As Parsons might point out researchers in the participant-observer mode, like groups, are faced with both task and socio-emotional problems. Concentrating on the solution of task problems - the conducting of research - produces tensions in the socio-emotional area - relations with subjects. The latter must be dealt with if the research is to be successfully concluded. This problem could constitute a research topic in its own right.
the matter of choosing a general research strategy.

The General Research Strategy

According to Blumer (1969), carrying out case study research work of the kind envisaged in the present study can best be facilitated by conceptualising it in two general stages—Exploration and Inspection. During the exploration stage the researcher seeks to:

(i) gain a close and comprehensive acquaintance with a sphere of unfamiliar social life, and, 

(ii) focus the research so that research problems (including those discussed above), directions of enquiry, data, analytical relations and subsequent interpretations arise out of, and remain grounded (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in the empirical life under study (Blumer, 1969).

During this period entry into the field is effected, a research position established, and data sources identified and cultivated.

By contrast the inspection phase builds on prior exploratory work and consists of close examination of the empirical content of the theoretical categories that are to be used for the purpose of analysis and interpretation (Blumer, op.cit.). During this stage theoretical categories are likely to be explicitly invoked in collecting and generating data. Particular organisational processes, networks of relationships, actions and events are viewed in their concrete settings as empirical instances of this or that theoretical category.

The research programme of this study was planned to be carried out in terms of Blumer's two generalised stages. The extent to which this plan was realised in practice is discussed later in the Chapter under the section entitled Research Schedule. The next step is to list and discuss the specific research procedures used in the study.

Research Procedures

Consistent with the prescriptions outlined on page 52, specific research procedures used to collect and generate data for the study include:
(i) interviews and purposeful-conversations – ranging from informal-unstructured to in-depth-structured,

(ii) documentary analysis,

(iii) on the spot semi-participant observations – ranging from systematic to anecdotal and impressionistic.

Each of these procedures is to be discussed separately below, though in reality they complement each other. Mention will be made of the distinctive features of each procedure, the kinds of data they yield and the advantages and limitations of their use in naturalistic case study work.

The Interview

In organisational research the interview is best regarded as a complex interpersonal situation (Silverman and Jones, 1976) in which questions are asked to learn about topics of particular interest. By using interviews and purposeful conversations, data can be generated. For a number of reasons an appropriate topic with which to begin interviewing is an individual’s definition of the situation – Beginning here:

(i) enables the researcher to become familiar with the naturalistic research setting,

(ii) helps the respondent, when asked to talk about his own situation, to be relaxed and at ease,

(iii) creates opportunities to explore many facets of individuals concerns, enables topics to be treated as they come up, and leads to be pursued. It also provides initial insights into individuals points of view, attitudes, and perspective – in a word, definitions of the situation.

(iv) Informal, loosely structured interviews serve as, familiarising exercises, ways of getting the feel of the situation and for establishing an organisational-research role.

The format of specific interviews can be changed to suit the situation. But in whatever form it is used, the interview must
ultimately go beyond initial responses to questions and probe for specific meanings; the aim being to detect underlying patterns. These are not revealed without a struggle. The interviewer is in the position of having to penetrate and understand at the same time, and this requirement may lead to a basic error, of tacitly assumed understandings (Denzin, 1971) and the begging of the question of what a respondent's answer means (Lazersfeld, 1970). The interviewer must therefore not only be able to see a subject's response to a range of interview questions as a picture of an underlying reality; he must be able to see through a response which may depend as much on the setting in which it is asked as it does on the reality reported.

To check on the validity and reliability of interview data, inconsistent and contradictory answers can be explored. As Agatha Christie's Poirot points out, "On the whole you know, people tell you the truth. Because it is easier! Because it is less strain on the inventive faculties! You can tell one lie - or two lies - or three lies - or even four lies - but you cannot lie all the time. And so - the truth becomes plain." In this aspect the interview is a kind of detection work. By cross-checking the contents of various interviews, i.e., triangulating (Cicourel, 1973) evidence of patterns of attitude, belief and interaction can be locked-in, thus achieving some degree of plausibility for interpretations of interview material. The test of any interview account is then not so much whether it produces demonstrably accurate inferences, but whether, given other related information, it produces demonstrably plausible ones.

A particular advantage is that the interview can permit individuals to provide pertinent information about the here and now (Trow, 1957). In other words they can report on the work situation, problems being experienced, who they work with and opportunities and constraints in defining and creating an organisational role, leading onto more explicit elaboration of norms, ends and means that define the contributions that individuals make in the general process of organisation building. The manner in which interview data were gained is detailed in the Research Schedule section of this Chapter.

On its own the interview is not capable of generating all the data required. A variety of documents can prove to be useful sources.

**Document Analysis**

As Scott (1965) points out, in most organisations there are to be found documents relating to establishment, for example statements of purpose (in charters and constitutions, etc.) and reports describing various aspects of the organisation's current and past activities.

While none of these materials can automatically be accepted by the researcher at face value, all of them constitute an invaluable resource which the investigator may adapt to his own purposes (Scott, op.cit., p.264).

For the purposes of this study documents refer to any written materials that may be used as a source of information about the affairs of an organisation. They include organisational records and correspondence (both contemporary and historical), minutes of meeting, published materials such as legal papers, newspaper and magazine reports, professional journal articles, government publications, laws and regulations, editorials, speeches, essays, pamphlets, personal letters, note books and memoranda.

Documents can serve to establish a general perspective (for the most part after the fact) in which to place contemporary sources of data (Cicourel, 1964). Even though documents are always relative to time and place in which events occur, the time span over which a new organisation is being studied is likely to be so short that the usual problems of imaginative creation as opposed to recreation (Gottschalk, 1947) that confront the historian are unlikely to be encountered.

**On the Spot Direct Observations**

 Whereas documents and interviews provide a means of delving into both an organisation's present and past, direct observations are anchored in the here and now. Making relatively unstructured observations (including descriptions of physical setting, buildings and facilities) initially, and developing more structured observations in the course of the research serves much the same purpose as unstructured purposeful conversations do in establishing a research role as
a necessary preliminary to more systematic and intricate (detailed) observations later on. Within such a procedure there is scope for making observations of individuals, acting and interacting, groups of individuals and the organisation as a whole. Such observations may begin at a relatively low level of abstraction and end at a relatively high level, as for example in Roths' (1963) work on the structuring of time in hospitals (Phillips, 1971).

Direct observation requires that the field worker be unobtrusive, watching and listening to what goes on in the naturalistic setting of the research, e.g. in the staff common room, in workshops, and at social gatherings, perhaps adding to the flow of conversation.

Seen from a distance, he looks like a perfect recording instrument: neutral, receptive and unintrusive. But if he is to produce more than a bare chronicle of events, he must gradually assume a more inquisitive posture (Schwartz and Merten, 1971, p.287).

Like other techniques then, direct observation is valuable only in so far as it helps build up a picture of organisational life, and in so doing provides data that complement and corroborate that derived in other ways.

The use of these three naturalistic methods means that the observer-researcher plays more than a passive role in the research process. Being present in the research setting, and in using the techniques discussed, naturalistic case study work has specific consequences (Schwartz and Merten, 1971):

(i) The significance an observer imputes to an act or event depends on the kinds of questions he asks.

(ii) Questions asked, partially shape the subject's conception of the situation.

(iii) It is often the observer and not the subject who places an act or event in a problematic light, thereby adding something to the informant's perception of the situation.
(iv) While the researcher may direct a subject's attention to certain dimensions of his organisational experience, the subject may also bring out aspects of a situation that he deems relevant, thus highlighting the interactive character of field work and the fact that a subject may control the researcher.

In combination these four factors point to the social character of research activity (Karabel and Halsey, 1978). Because of this character, field work, especially the interview-conversational aspect of it, develops its own distinctive interpersonal character. Its internal development tends to lead to an evaluation of interpretations of the meaning of action as they move from the simple to complex. The research strategy can thus be used to probe sources of continuity and discontinuity in organisational evolution itself in the midst of a diversity of daily, ongoing activities (Schwartz and Merten, ibid.).

The next section of the Chapter discusses the manner in which the requirements for conducting Naturalistic Case Study research were met in the concrete empirical situation of the Community College. It serves to prepare the ground for detailing the study's research schedule and the way in which research procedures were used. Specific topics to be covered in the next section include: Data Sources, Obtaining Access to the Community College and Defining the Researcher Role.

Data Sources

The people who were used as the primary source of data for this study were the Community College staff, namely the College's chief executive, the Heads of Departments, professional teaching staff and administrative, clerical and ancillary staff. In addition to this set of people, there were members of the Community College Council, Department of Education officials, (including the Minister) and other selected and historically significant members of the community. Direct observations of people in action, descriptions of buildings and facilities and all the previously mentioned kinds of documents also constituted sources of data for the study. (See Appendix A for a listing of documents referred to). The student body, though also part of the College, was regarded (at least initially) as a dependent variable whose presence in the College was the outcome of the decisions and actions of others. They were not included as a data source.
Obtaining Access and Defining the Researcher Role

The study depended on both gaining access to staff members and getting their co-operation, and in the process, defining a researcher role. The steps followed are outlined below.

At the outset, the study was made possible because of the interest expressed by the Government Department of Education having the development of New Zealand's first Community College monitored. Thus, initial negotiations concerning the nature and conduct of the research were conducted between Education Department officials and University staff. Main outcomes included securing:

(i) the required financial and material support,
(ii) access to Department of Education staff and official documents, and,
(iii) rights to publish.

Department of Education officials then approached the Community College Director shortly after his appointment and mooted the idea of a study. The idea was favourably received. Thereafter further negotiation was left to the Researcher and Director. The Director of the college, a social-anthropologist by profession and sympathetic to research, welcomed the proposal. He undertook to secure approval from the College Council for the research to proceed and to convene a full staff meeting at which members of the college would be invited to participate in the study.

At this latter meeting agreement was reached on research protocol and procedure. In particular, staff members agreed:

(i) to be interviewed, preferably in their work situations, i.e. in workshops, office or study etc.,
(ii) that tape-recording was an acceptable procedure,
(iii) that transcriptions of tape-recorded conversations/ interviews could be taken, subject to safeguards of anonymity and confidentiality.

At that time permission for access to college files, correspondence, minutes of council and other meetings and other documentary material relevant to the study was also given.
The Researcher Role

The initial staff meeting constituted a first step in defining and legitimising the researcher role, and in achieving a position that would not be extended to just any outsider (Becker, 1963). However, a number of other factors likely to affect the conduct of field work and the quality of data also required attention.

First, some degree of rapport would have to be established. Accordingly, field work would have to begin tentatively following the counsel of Strauss, et al. (1964). As secure relationships were established, subjects would more likely come to accept probing and even overtly challenging questions.

Second, becoming accepted, (even liked) by staff members would ensure access to data that would not be gained in any other way. Vidich's (1969) argument was heeded, that a degree of neutrality is also required in order to achieve some degree of objectivity and overcome the possible effects of participant-observer bias.

Third, from time to time, there would be a necessity to remind individuals that a researcher must be actively interested in a number of people and that research, not friendship, was the primary reason for being present (Miller, 1952).

Fourth, achieving these research conditions and legitimating the researcher role would require:

(i) frequent visits to the Community College initially and on a regular basis throughout the study (see the research schedule that follows on page 63)

(ii) a determined effort to speak with and interview every staff member early on, and,

(iii) telling people about the study, in as low key and unpretentious a way as possible – even to say more than might be expected in order to allay fears and suspicions (Dean et al., 1969).

As legitimation is achieved, and as research proceeds the researcher role is likely to become an integral part of the college's social structure – as is the researcher. This raises a fifth issue fore-shadowed earlier in the discussion.
Fifth, acting out the researcher role requires some sensitivity to:

(i) not favouring or being seen to favour specific individuals within the college hierarchy,

(ii) standing apart from major social divisions which might at times become apparent and,

(iii) establishing and maintaining the political neutrality of the research role by not taking sides on matters of staff conflict (Vidich, 1969).

Sixth, and finally, because engaging in naturalistic enquiry meant accepting membership in the Community College, there is a corresponding requirement (well documented) (McCall and Simmons, 1969; and Denzin, 1971) to withdraw from the field from time to time to order, process and analyse the data gathered while in membership using categories other than those implicit in the language-community of the organisation.

With the data sources having been detailed and having outlined the tactics and contingencies associated with gaining access to the Community College and in winning acceptance of the researcher role, the scene is now set for outlining the research schedule, discussing its implementation and preparing the ground for the presentation of findings.

The Research Schedule

In planning the schedule of research for the study the distinction between Exploration and Inspection played a central role. In theory the distinction between stages is quite clear. Exploration is intended to prepare the ground for Inspection. In reality the two stages overlapped and at times Exploratory and Inspection activity occurred in a single episode of research activity e.g. in an interview. In the account that follows the various aspects of both the Exploration and Inspection stages will be displayed and the role they played in the research programme demonstrated.

Initially the study was to cover the College's first year of operation. As it turned out data were collected over an eighteen month period. During this time field work was carried out in 16 months, with only two months (sixteen and seventeen) towards the end of the study,
when no data were collected in the field. From Table 1 it can be seen that there were 71 days of data collection -- the equivalent of 14 five day working weeks in the field.

**TABLE 1:**

Distribution of days/weeks in field for each month of study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No. of Days in field per month</th>
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<td>6 (27)</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>5 (5)</td>
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Total 18 months 71 days
Table 2 provides a frequency distribution showing how field work was distributed through the total period and between overlapping stages of Exploration and Inspection.

TABLE 2: Distribution of days in field

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Days in Field</th>
<th>Exploration</th>
<th>Inspection</th>
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<td>10</td>
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From Table 2 it can be seen that field work was characterised by a series of highs and lows that were centred on months 5 and 12. Each high was preceded by a gradual build up of activity, followed by a decline. This pattern reflects a deliberate strategy that is consistent with the suggestion made by various researchers (Becker, 1970; Becker and Geer, 1969; Habenstein, 1970; McCall and Simmons, 1969; Strauss et al., 1969; Phillips, 1971; and others) that case-study field work should consist of a cyclical pattern of:

Entry to Field — data collection — withdrawal from field (in order to) — order (including transcription, filing, etc. of data) process, reflect on, analyse, extract and prepare the ground for re-entry to the field and further data collection.

Withdrawal periods provided the necessary breathing space in which to: stand-off from the phenomena under study, link data to theory, appraise work done and work out strategies for consolidating existing lines of inquiry and likely new directions.

When Table 1 is read in conjunction with Table 2 the patterning of field work into overlapping exploration and inspection periods is evident. The dotted lines at the boundaries of months 1-2, 5-6, 11-12 and 15-16 mark-off definite kinds of research activity. Data collection in month 5 represents the culmination of predominantly exploration work. Whereas the data collection in month 12 is the main focal point of inspection work.

Month one* was a period in which preparatory data collection, including negotiation and interviews with Department of Education officials** was carried out. At that time the attention of the researcher was drawn by Education Department officials to such seminal documents as the Feasability Study of the Community College (Hamilton, 1973) and

*While the term 'month one' fixes a formal beginning point for the research, symbolised by a word of mouth agreement (to be confirmed later by a research contract) between government officials and the researcher, preliminary work to do with selecting a theory and a research method had been in progress for approximately two months.

**Interviews revealed that these officials (high level administrators) saw the Community College as important not only because it was a first. They also saw it as a possible blue-print or initial model for designing other similar organisations in New Zealand. They thus envisaged that the study would have practical outcomes.
existing and forthcoming journal articles by departmental officials (e.g. Renwick, 1973 and 1976; Garrett, 1973 and 1974).

Chronology of Research Activities

Once initial negotiations were completed and formal approval to carry out the study had been given, the research programme proper began. The following account details the chronological sequence (See Tables 1 and 2):

(i) Month 1 saw the formal beginning of the study. The exploratory work undertaken provided data on the specific aims and expectations for the development of Community College of the Director General of Education and the Officer for Continuing Education.

(ii) Months 2-5 saw a continuation of exploratory work in which time was spent:

(a) gaining access to the Community College and achieving acceptance and legitimation of the research,

(b) simply being around (Becker and Geer, 1969), and getting to know the lie of the land; i.e., learning about the physical lay-out of the College and becoming familiar with the timetable,

(c) learning the names of all staff members and their professional interests and specialities,

(d) identifying patterns of work and interaction,

(e) engaging in conversations, conducting initial interviews, gaining access to and inspecting documents, and,

(f) being present at such gatherings as morning and afternoon teas and lunch breaks and other social events.

(iii) In month 3, one peak of activity occurred occasioned by an open seminar (which will be shown later to have been a significant occurrence).

(iv) Month 5 saw the culmination of the bulk of exploratory work. During it 10 days, spread over three weeks were used for intensive interviewing.
(v) Occasioned by the arrival of new personnel, exploratory work carried on, on and off, up to about months 13-14.

(vi) Inspection and Exploration tended to overlap. While inspection did not begin in earnest until month 9, some of the systematic probing that is characteristic of an inspection phase was possible much earlier, because the researcher had become accepted by a number of key Community College personnel -- including the Director, Head of Department and a small number of professional and ancillary staff.

(vii) By month 9 an intensive period of inspection work was undertaken. This was in response to preceding explorations which had disclosed the emergence of a variety of developmental issues.

(viii) During months 10 and 11 only 4 days were spent in the field. Taped interviews were transcribed and analysed and documents collected so far were also scrutinised. This was a period in which preparations were made for extensive inspection work yet to come.

(ix) During months 12-15 in-depth, inspection work was conducted in the form both of structured and semi-structured interviews and the detailed examination of organisation documents.

(x) After month 15 the study began to wind down, with a final session extending over 5 days in month 18 to consolidate and complete data collection.

Interviews

The Interviewing process fell into a pattern similar to the one just outlined. In all, two hundred hours of tape-recorded interviews were conducted. Table 3 shows their distribution over the 18 month period of the study. As with Table 2, a cyclical pattern of interview activity is evident.
The interview work of months 1-4 served as a preparation for the intensive exploratory interviewing of month 5 (32 hours in all). Interviews began within a month of the college's opening. During this period all members of the college staff were interviewed at least once, and over the four months selected individuals were interviewed 2-4 times. By conducting exploratory interviews this early it was possible to:

(i) discover the initial definitions of the situation held by staff members,

(ii) observe the first steps taken by staff in making the Community College operational,

(iii) catalogue the building processes that occurred, and,

(iv) ask individuals to describe (a) the conditions under which they worked individually and collectively, and (b) the attitudes, expectations and aims characteristic of the College staff from the outset.

In getting the interview programme going a variant of the snowball technique (McCala and Simmons, 1969) was used. The Director and Head of Department were interviewed first because of their positions as senior members of staff and their overall view of college operations. Their interviews opened up matters that in return required further interviews (and with other people) and so on. The initial interviews thus locked-into subsequent ones, generated topics for discussion and questions to be asked. By the end of the first four months of College-based interviews (54 hours in all) a body of data was available for constructing the outlines of a picture of organisational life, patterns of activity and the College's emerging social structure.

From Table 3 it can be seen that during months 6-11 a total of 34 hours of field work was devoted to conducting interviews, with 14 hours of interviewing occurring in month 9. During this six month period all the interviews undertaken to this point were transcribed and annotated, with a view to building up a working knowledge of their contents. When ordered and analysed according to the study's system of theoretical categories, this content-knowledge would provide the basis for interpretation. See Appendix D which contains discussion and examples of the analysis of Interview Data.
TABLE 3: Hourly distribution of tape-recorded interviews per month for the duration of study

Total number of hours of tape-recorded interviews:
N=200. [rounded to the nearest half hour]
During months 12-15, a total of 86 hours was devoted to conducting interviews that were both focussed and structured in nature. These interviews comprised the core of research activity during the inspection phase. They were accompanied by ongoing document-analysis and observational work. By comparing information given in interviews and cross checking it with other kinds of evidence that became available, (as for instance in such documents as council minutes, college correspondence, progress reports on buildings and the like) it was possible to establish the contextual validity of interview responses as basic data.

During months 16-17 no interview data were collected and previously recorded interviews were transcribed, read and annotated in preparation for month 18 of the study when final interviews were conducted and the data collection programme brought to a close.

**Interview Characteristics**

Just as the number of hours of recorded interviews varied from month to month, so the length of discrete interviews also varied. Table 4 shows the distribution and duration of tape-recorded interviews.

While unrecorded conversations varied in length from a few minutes to an hour or more, no single recorded interview was less than an hour, and the longest interviews lasted for 4 hours. In all, there were 101 tape-recorded interviews conducted in this study. There were 45 two hour and 29 one and a half hour interviews - i.e. 74 interviews in these two categories. There were 10 three hour interviews and relatively few in the remaining one, two-and-a-half and four hour categories. The longest interviews (in the 2½-4 hour range) tended to be either with senior staff members e.g. the Director or Head of Department or specific individuals who had proved to be particularly useful informants.

**Interview Tactics**

A notable feature of the interviews is that they tended to develop from a request for information on a single topic. For example one of the four hour sessions began with a specific enquiry about the Director's work in promoting the Community College in the region. In discussing this aspect of his role other matters including recruitment policy, aims and objectives, delegation and the creation of an administrative hierarchy were discussed. As the study progressed many interviews developed in
TABLE 4: Distribution and duration of tape-recorded interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hourly duration of interviews</th>
<th>No of tape-recorded interviews</th>
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<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>1 1/2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>2 1/2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
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Total number of interviews = 101
this way. While specific questions were asked, respondents were able to structure much of the conversation themselves. This two pronged strategy would allow theoretically based issues to be explored and, at the same time enabled respondents to give their versions (definitions) of the reality.

The following fairly lengthy extract from an interview with the Director illustrates the tactics and procedures used in the interview programme. Discussion of the form, the content and the way in which theoretical meaning was attributed to this content follows the extract.

The Interview - An Illustration

This particular interview began, as did many others, following an informal conversation during morning tea in the Activities Centre. During it the Director, Head of Department and a small number of tutors had discussed casually, matters relating to the funding, purchase and acquisition of workshop equipment. This set the interview scene by providing an opening topic for conversation.

The reporting convention adopted is to use the letter 'R' to indicate the researcher's questions and comments. The letter 'S' denotes the subject's answers and comments. For the sake of brevity long answers are occasionally either shortened or interrupted by researcher comment and summary.

R. Question:

What I would like to talk about, to begin with, is just precisely the sort of things you were discussing at morning tea with (the head of department) which relate to funding and accounting and so on; for I imagine these matters take up a fair bit of your time? -- and then go on to talk about other matters which relate to how you see the College developing -- your perspective.

S. Answer:

Well increasingly less. My attitude is that anything that is specifically related to the vocational programme, where there are departmental guidelines on allocation of finances to courses and where bodies of new capital equipment get approved through the system down (in Wellington) I take no part in it at all. That is, as far as I'm concerned, totally delegated to (the head of department) and then the administration of the subsequent financial operation is totally to be taken over by the registrar. It would seem to me to be extremely unproductive, to poke my nose into that. That's their job and they do that. That is, as far as I'm concerned totally delegated. Where there
is something outside the system, well, ultimately I'm going to have to carry the can. They would always refer it to me and I would make some sort of decision related to what we can do. I take full responsibility for something like that.

R. Here, a question of the Director's relationship with other senior staff was being raised, and led to a prompting question:

So generally speaking on matters that relate to the running of the vocational programme that are going on at the moment, when the buck stops, it tends on those matters to stop at (the department head)?

S. Answer:

Right. As far as I can see he has total responsibility for that. Except so far as certain policy things go, I discuss policy matters in vocational training with the Education Department. But I then refer them immediately back to (the head of department) and try to keep him in touch as much as I can with what events are occurring. Some of the correspondence from the department comes direct to me. In all such cases I would either refer it to (the department head) for comment for an answer for me to give, or refer it to him for total action; but would not normally take any action solely on my own initiative in relation to a vocational course. As far as possible I would encourage him to undertake the whole operation from then on.

R. Question:

Does that also mean that when tutors want to know about matters which concern them, the person they contact is the head of the department?

S. Answer:

Tutors wouldn't come to me on any matters concerned with teaching in the vocational area. Unless it was some sort of policy matter where they felt it was going to have to go to a higher level for solution ... Take for example this course for motor vehicle operators. Now this is being conducted by 'tutor-x' who has been doing all the thinking and leg-work. Now he and I have discussed this and an issue came up about his time. He was saying that he's getting a lot of commitments and in what way can he get relief. Now, in a case like this I would make a policy decision. Then the point I made to him is that in organising this he would have to work through (the head of department).

R. Further unsolicited elaboration (not included here) followed on the line of relationships that were developing between the head of department and tutors and the circumstances in which the Director might become involved with staff. This gave rise to the next prompt:

R. Question:

Did the tutor take the initiative in suggesting this to you?
S. Answer:
Yes, it was his initiative in the beginning.

R. Question:
How often does it work the other way around?

S. Answer:
Well I don't know. I think the only example we've got so far of the other way around is (so and so ...). Now what I did in that case is, down at morning tea when the builders (tutors) were there, say, look can one of you guys take over organising a course like this because there's interest in it. They all looked interested. But they're flat stick, they've got no spare capacity. So then (tutor y) took on to find some one; to see if we could locate someone outside the College to take on the responsibility of running this course ...

R. Question:
Rather than going through the Department Head?

S. Answer:
No. It sort of isn't quite as formally linked as that, because it was done in an informal way. But I would say, look, you do this but we'll have to check it out with (the department head) first, because you can only do this if (he) agrees in terms of the disposition of manpower internally. So I would take it up directly with the guy concerned; but then wouldn't reach any commitments without consulting with the (head of department) and having his approval.

R. Reply and Question:
What it seems is happening is that you are operating on an informal basis. The place is small enough to do this. To what extent do you expect that the way the College now runs will have to become more formal as the place gets bigger?

S. Answer:
I think that the organisation control will tend to change somewhat when (the community education head) arrives. You see, at the moment all requests and so on, on that side are channelled directly through me and I'm the only person who is in a position to be able to do anything about them. But I think when the other (head) comes we'll probably develop a committee or a working group for considering the disposition of time and so on in the community-education programme. But I don't envisage at all this getting totally outside the sort of informal contact of ideas coming through and talked around informally.

R. Question:
Do you think that by continuing the way you operate now people will get used to it and will continue this way?

S. Answer:
Well, I hope it will because I would be very uncomfortable operating totally within a formal system; even if the show gets big, I wouldn't see that side of it going. I mean, it's partly a matter of ...
R. In this part of the interview the Director elaborated his approach to communication, organisational control and interpersonal work-relationships. Within the course of this conversation (which lasted close on three hours and extended through the lunch hour) topics covered included the making of policy on staff appointments, the role of specific tutors in terms of teaching and administrative functions, development objectives, priorities, goals and the like.

Occasionally, because of the conversational nature of the interview, the Director was placed in a question-posing stance. For instance,

S. Question:

The extent to which a vocational tutor is interested in community-education depends on the extent to which they are concerned with their own specialist work and their position within that decision-making structure which at the moment is totally concerned with trade training, or the extent to which they take an informal interest - an informal concern, which I thought would have been quite high, on the community-education side?

R. Answer:

I really can't say anything definite on that because I haven't seen enough tutors to talk about it.

which served to prompt the response;

S. Question:

I mean their role at the moment is totally on the trade side. That is quite true and that's what they are employed to do. Some of these cross relationships will build up when we get the Art and Craft side going. These are perhaps trivial levels, but they're indications of a contact and awareness.

R. Question:

So it's a kind of beginning of an involvement. What then are the appointments that have been made on the Community Studies side?

In response, a detailed breakdown was given of specific appointments made or envisaged. A further question:

Do you envisage that say, she (a particular community education tutor), for example will actually run courses, or that she'll be more engaged in setting up courses?

resulted in a quite detailed elaboration of the role the Director envisaged community education tutors would play in the life of the College and accordingly the bases on which particular staff had been appointed. Occasionally knowledge of other events in the College
or a point made by the Director triggered a specific question e.g.

That's interesting. Do these appointments arise exclusively and directly out of Seminar '75?

A response here provided a detailed specification of the Director's rationale (rationalisation) for the staffing decisions made. It culminated with the comment;

S. Comment:

We have no women appointments yet and so I felt it important that we get at least some balance, I couldn't have seen our first round of appointments finishing up with either no maori or no woman.

R. Question:

Can I ask why?

S. Answer:

There are a number of both practical and symbolic reasons why ... (leading to a major point) that our credibility as a college claiming to serve the needs of women as a major objective would be very much less if we went through the round of first appointments and didn't get a woman and a maori on the staff.

R. Comment:

Statements such as this resulted in requests for further elaboration and the raising of related topics as illustrated for instance in the following question and answer sequence:

R. Question:

Getting back to the areas of appointment; you were talking about the needs of women in the community, the needs of the maori and other ethnic groups ... and what were the others?

S. Answer:

I have two others that I usually point out. One is the needs of the rural community and the other is the need for coping with the drop-out situation.

R. Question:

So in fact, could we think of these as statements of priority?

S. Answer:

Yes. But no absolute priority because there are other sorts of priorities. The need to provide for basic vocational training is a sort of supreme priority, so to speak, in the sense that this is part of what we're set up for. There is, if you like, a sort of paradigm of needs that one has in the back of one's mind ... etc...
R. As the interview progressed such questions were asked as:

To what extent do you see joint vocational-community education appointments being made?

In the long-run do you see that (differential salaries between vocational and community education) as a continuing problem?

Answers given indicated the Director's (i) attitude and policy on staffing appointments, (ii) solutions to problems that could arise between staff appointed at different levels, and, (iii) his formulae for achieving a degree of balance in regard to levels of appointment between the College's two departments.

As with the illustration given above, most interviews, and especially the initial ones, proceeded in an open-ended situation specific way.

Consistent with earlier discussion of the interview (pages 56-58), exploratory interviews were used to ask individuals to talk about:

* past experience,
* reasons for wanting to work at a Community College,
* their present work situation and the conditions in which they are working,
* who they work with, and
* how they are going about defining and creating an organisational role.

To begin with, an interviewing aid was used - a palm-card which listed the six questions. The palm-card as aide-memoire often proved useful when investigating, through the interview, particular topics and issues.

The main exception to using this simple procedure was the interview with members of Council early in 1976. These were, excluding a small number with whom the researcher had an ongoing contact, once-only interviews. Accordingly both exploratory and inspection work had to be conducted in the course of a single, and in some cases, a quite lengthy interview -- and at venues that ranged from such places as business offices, high schools, through to a farm, the Y.M.C.A. and private homes. Interviews with Community College Council members were structured. The interview schedule is contained in Appendix B.
All the interview data had to be generated in such a way that it would be amenable to analysis and interpretation using the concepts from the study's modified Structure-Functional theory. To this end, the four functional problem concepts, as operationalised in Chapter two, were used as the source of theory based questions to be asked in interviews, but without revealing to subjects the nature of the theoretical framework from which they were derived. For example, in the interview extract just cited, theory based research questions that featured included questions derived specifically from the functional problem concepts of Adaptation, Goal-Attainment and Integration.

The interview sought information pertaining to:

(i) **Adaptation** and in particular;
   (a) the recruitment and allocation of personnel, and
   (b) the establishment of a division of labour.

(ii) **Goal-Attainment** and in particular:
   (a) the Director's concept of the organisation's purposes and priorities, and
   (b) his view of how he and specific staff members ought to function in given roles, and

(iii) **Integration** and in particular;
   (a) the delegation of authority and responsibility, and,
   (b) the emergence and character of working relationships between staff members.

While not all of the research questions derived from the four functional problems were asked in the illustration given above, sufficient of them were to indicate the way the interview was used to collect information, knowledge, data and material from respondents.

The records of the interviews constitute the interview protocols of the study. They contained the primary data to which the theoretical categories were to be applied for the purpose of analysis, and interpretation. The accumulated interview protocols of the study along with field notes consisted of over 3,000 typed pages. During analysis they were systematically sifted to permit information that related to
the theoretical content of the functional problem concepts to be located. The final section of this Chapter discusses the manner in which sifting and sorting took place and the contents of theoretical categories were applied for the purpose of analysis and interpretation. It does so by making use of the protocols of the illustration given on pages 73-78.

**Analysing the Interview Protocols**

The protocols were usually analysed off-campus. Once the typed transcripts of the interviews were available, the sifting and sorting process followed. All protocols were first annotated depending on whether they could be identified as belonging to a particular functional problem category. For example, in the interview extracts just cited, the Director's reference to the allocation and delegation of responsibilities was identified as an aspect of the structuring of relationships and therefore seen to be classifiable as Integration. Much of the first part of this particular interview was concerned with exploring some of the dynamics of delegation and the working out of an internal division of labour. For instance the suggestion by the Director that a committee structure might be needed was under examination and identified as an attempt to exercise control over and coordinate staff activity. As such it was considered likely to have integrative consequences -- as would the Director's declared preference for communicating informally. In contrast, references in the same interview to devising a recruitment-appointments policy and to the decisions associated with it were identified as a procurement function and categorised as Adaptation. At the same time, because in the Director's eyes, the problem of staffing was seen to be linked with goals and objectives he had for the Community College, a relationship between Adaptation and Goal-Attainment was deduced.

A note in the transcripts indicates that goals were being conceptualised as functions, but no explicit attempt was made to link them with the College's mission. A further note was made to look for evidence of such a linkage in subsequent interviews and in other data sources and also to check on the effects of the Director's stated aims and priorities on other staff.

References to the possibility of forming liaisons between vocational and community education personnel were also noted as the Director recognising a need to develop cooperative ventures and thus an attempt
to integrate staff around common interests. An accompanying note on the transcript indicated the need to pursue evidence on the fate of this intention. A similar note later on served as a reminder to follow-through the effects of differential salaries on staff attitude and morale. The Director's reference late in the interview to Public relations work, preoccupation with buildings and equipment and negotiating with the Education department fell into the external-representation and procurement categories of Adaptation.

The results of identifying and categorising interview protocols in this way served two main purposes. First it was thus possible to begin constructing an interpretation, in theoretical terms, of the Director's definition of the situation. Second, this definition then produced topics for further questions, both for the Director and other staff. For instance while the Director saw acts of delegation in a certain light and as accomplishing certain purposes, there was no guarantee that other staff would perceive such acts in the same light. In a similar way, while the Director was prepared to liaise with individual tutors about their involvement in community-education work, there was no guarantee that say, the Vocational Education Head would share the same view of the appropriateness of such a procedure. The extent of any agreement or disagreement could have a bearing on whether the chief-executive's plans for cooperation might be realised.

Accordingly, data collected in one interview served to sensitise the researcher to topics, issues and problems that might be taken-up again in subsequent interviews either with the same individual or with others. For instance, interviews were used to focus on the way individuals differed or were the same in their conceptions and the consequences for organisation building. For example the interview was used to explore individual actors' concepts of social structure and the way they accommodated to it, what it meant to them and the factual properties of status hierarchies and the fact of the factual properties of them; i.e. how individuals provided for and accommodated to the fact that a status hierarchy was a factual feature of their worlds.

In the case-study that follows, selections from interview transcription serve as basic data, and are to be used to exemplify and support theoretical explanations. As Codd (1979) points out, the interview does not somehow reveal the data as a body of facts. Rather it provides
the raw material for making relatively dynamic and integrated explanations in the form of particularised descriptions or accounts; thus making theoretical interpretation possible. When compared and combined with documentary and observational data, the interview protocols provide the kind of evidence required for analysis and interpretation of problems that Structure-Function theory predicts will be encountered during the course of organisational evolution.
PART II

THE HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE
CASE STUDY
Introduction

Part two of the thesis presents the findings of the Hawke's Bay Community College Case Study. These are in Chapters subdivided into three separate sections. The first section, (Chapters 4 and 5,) deals with the genesis of the Community College -- Chapter 4 covering origins and history and Chapter 5 the formation of the Community College Council and its role in the creation of the College. The second section, which comprises Chapters 6 and 7, covers the stage of formation and is concerned with the activities of the College Director and the initial staff in setting up the Community College and making it operational. Chapter six deals with the initial processes of organisation building while Chapter seven discusses the conduct of public relations work - its rationale and effects. The third section contains Chapters 8, 9 and 10 and covers the post-operational stage of Community College development, -- where attention turned to addressing the question of subsequent development. In this section, Chapter eight deals with the enactment of staff recruitment policy as the means to redirect development. Chapter nine examines tutors' definitions of the situation and their effects on development and Chapter ten focusses on the development of the administrative framework. Finally Chapter eleven discusses the conclusions to be drawn from the case study.

Throughout the case study, the four functional problems will be used to organise and interpret the case study data. To use a literary analogy, they are to be employed to construct the plot and generate themes. In the final Chapter they provide criteria against which to evaluate the extent and condition of evolution of the College.
SECTION I

THE GENESIS OF THE HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE
ORIGINS, HISTORY AND THE PRE-OPERATIONAL STAGE
CHAPTER 4 - ORIGINS AND HISTORY

This Chapter documents the origins and history of the Hawke's Bay Community College and demonstrates the significance of these factors in the College's evolutionary process. The Chapter is therefore, more than a chronological description of the events and the actions of the various national and regional committees and organisations that were instrumental in bringing the Hawke's Bay Community College into existence. However, because predictably, there were certain events that served to influence the evolution of the College, a brief chronology is provided of significant events and dates at the outset. The chronology is given in tabular form and lists dates and events under the two headings of national and regional contexts.
### Table 5

**Dates and events in the History of the Hawkes Bay Community College**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>National-Context</th>
<th>Regional-Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td></td>
<td>Formation of the Hawke's Bay University Trust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Formation of the Hawke's Bay Polytechnic Promotions Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>(October) The Government Education Department agrees to a Tertiary Vocational Department at Taradale (later to become a Technical Institute).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Preliminary design plans produced for a Technical Institute.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>New Zealand Labour Party Policy Committee discussions on Tertiary Education Provisions; specifically Community Colleges and Continuing Education.</td>
<td>An attempt by the local Ministry of Works architect to produce a one-off design for the Hawke's Bay Technical Institute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Education Department produces a brief for technical institute buildings and facilities at Otatara. New Zealand Labour Party Election Manifesto released containing proposals for Continuing Education and Community Colleges.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Mr S. Hamilton commissioned by the Education Department to carry out a Hawke's Bay Community College Feasibility Study leading to Field work throughout the Hawke's Bay region.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1973  (July) Publication of Hawke's Bay Community College Feasibility Study and distribution
       Nationally and within the Hawke's Bay Region.

1974  (first half) Pending: a Government decision to proceed with a Community College.

       Appointment of the Education Department's Officer of Continuing Education.


       (June) Ministerial consent given to a change of name and function from Technical Institute to Community College.

       (July) Education Department requests Ministry of Works and Development to provide Community Education Buildings.

       (Dec) Director of Hawke's Bay Community College takes up appointment.

       (Dec) Formation of the Hawke's Bay Community College Council.

1975  -

       (Jan) Hawke's Bay Community College commences operation.

In presenting its information Table 5 used two perspectives—one national and the other regional. This twin perspective strategy is adopted in order to document the different kinds of goals and plans for tertiary-education that were being entertained and the quite separate, though interdependent courses of action taken to provide a tertiary education facility for the Hawke's Bay. A brief overview sets the scene for the analysis that follows.

At the national level, government officials had, since the late 1950s, favoured technical institutes as the kind of facility most appropriate for the provision of tertiary education in the regions.
With the passage of time and changing political and educational circumstances, community college and continuing-education emerged as the key concepts of government policy on tertiary education in New Zealand. This policy resulted in plans to build community colleges in the regions with continuing education as their official goal. According to Renwick (1976) the continuing-education goal thus replaced man-power training and technical-education and became "the central definition of the responsibilities of the education system for people who have completed their course of secondary education". Accordingly, continuing-education is to feature prominently in the discussion of the present Chapter.

While thinking at the government level was moving in the direction of community colleges for the regions, various groups formed in the Hawke's Bay and advanced ideas of their own as to the types of tertiary-education facility they would like to have. These facilities included a university, a polytechnic and a technical institute. From about 1958 onwards specific campaigns were conducted to acquire each type of facility.

Over the period from 1958 to 1975 (the year the Community College opened for business), individuals and organisations in both national and regional contexts worked to achieve their particular goals. Their strivings resulted in interaction taking place between organisations within the region and with the government. This interaction in turn had a number of specific consequences for the evolution of the Community College. First, it led to a state of dynamic tension between the various organisations. This tension persisted throughout the College's pre-history and was transported into the College itself. Second, the interaction carried with it the implication that the Hawke's Bay Community College would be unique. However, third, it also rendered problematic the College's evolution as a new-type of educational organisation.

Because the Community College originated at Government level and outside the Hawke's Bay, the National Context is discussed first. Treatment of the Regional Context follows next. Then attention is given to how the interests of both contexts converged to lead to a Feasibility Study. The Chapter closes with an analysis of the way the Feasibility Study can be seen as providing an initial set of solutions to the four functional problems.
The National Context

The 1962 Currie Commission on Education in New Zealand was the first government constituted body to suggest that Community Colleges might be established in New Zealand. In its suggestions and recommendations the Commission overtly subscribed to egalitarian and progressive-liberal education ideals as the basis for its quite explicit agenda of educational reform. Within the context of the report the Community College was considered to be a means for broadening and extending prevailing conceptions of and provisions for tertiary education. At this time of the Commission, tertiary education in New Zealand was predominantly being seen in terms of various forms of terminal-occupational training; in particular training for the trades, training for technician and middle management occupations and training for the professions.

While the Commission's brief led it to consider community colleges only in relation to the development of one section of the tertiary education system - technical education - it also envisaged:

that the Community College would cater to some extent for the type of student who does not willingly return to school for what is provided in a typical VI A course but, who, nevertheless, seeks further education. (paraphrase, Currie Commission report, 1962, p.215-216).

Furthermore, this view was supported by (i) the growth of technical education, and (ii) spontaneous and increasing participation in hobby classes throughout New Zealand. In recognising the community value of this growth point in educational activity, the Commission recommended that:

in the overall context of the administration of Adult Education .... close consideration should be given by the Department of Education in association with the National Council for Adult Education to the

* This commitment is evident throughout the Commission's 850 page long report, but is most explicitly acknowledged in Chapter 1 (p.11-46) and specifically in the sections headed - Equality of Educational Opportunity; Priorities in Education; and Modern Methods and their critics. The Currie Commission subscribed, in particular, to the now famous Fraser dictum on Equality of Opportunity, and found in it the basis of a justification for recommended educational reforms and policies.
planning of future development in classes for further education ... and to the revision of the Manual and Technical Regulations ... (1962, p.397-398).

Because Adult Education lay outside the scope of the Currie Commission, there were limits on the recommendations that could be made. Nonetheless, even the relatively small space given to Adult Education in Chapter seven of the report foreshadowed two major developments.

The first development was the implementation of the community college concept. Less obvious or explicit, was the second, the eventual replacement of adult-education by continuing education. This still relatively new concept was derived from that of life-long education which acknowledges, in the words of W.L. Renwick (1976);

that, in the kind of society that we live in and must plan for, all members of the society are likely to require new forms of learning, refreshment, or extension of their existing knowledge and skill, at any point in their life (1976, p.5).

Substituting continuing for life-long simply recognised that a person's education can never be complete. Because continuing-education was developed mainly by educationists and practitioners working more or less in isolation in the adult-education field, it remained neglected by successive governments as a candidate for inclusion in education policies. In contrast the community college concept entered sooner into the political arena.

The desirability of having community colleges in New Zealand was further articulated and discussed, in somewhat closed circles, during the middle and late nineteen sixties by politicians and politically active academics. For example Professor Robert Chapman, head of Auckland University's Political Science Department and active Labour Party supporter was a strong advocate. He was singularly impressed with community colleges in North America and saw them as a suitable innovation for the New Zealand education system. Johnathon Hunt, a Labour Member of Parliament, having visited the United States and Canada as member of a parliamentary team also gained a favourable impression. For Hunt, the salient feature was the link community colleges served between American high schools and the university. In
the New Zealand setting he believed, as did Chapman, they would provide a more suitable learning environment for sixth and seventh formers than the New Zealand secondary schools were providing, and an appropriate way to cater for the educational needs of this young adult group. Hunt's advocacy of the community college concept had a direct impact on Labour's 1969 and 1972 election proposals for education. In due course the community college became an important feature of Labour's Education Policy; but not for education reasons alone.

Not only would this new-type of educational organisation revitalise Labour's long-standing goal of equalising opportunity and access to education at the tertiary level, it was also seen as a potentially important stimulus to regional economic development and a device for promoting a sense of community. By fitting neatly into a general policy of decentralisation, the community college was to be part of Labour's immediate and long-term agenda of national development. In the political rhetoric of Norman Kirk, it was to be part of a plan "that will widen and improve the range of opportunities open to New Zealanders and so stimulate a bold new thrust into the future." (1972 Election Manifesto - New Zealand Labour Party)

By 1972 continuing-education had begun to be accepted as a suitable replacement for adult education and a new way of conceptualising educational provision at the tertiary level. Like community college, continuing-education had also acquired an influential advocate. The Currie Commission's Research Officer, W.L. Renwick, had become the Assistant Director-General of Education and in 1974 became the Director-General. In this new role, and working with the proponents of continuing-education both within and outside the Education Department, in particular with the officer for Continuing Education**, he was in the right place

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**This intended outcome of developing community colleges in regions throughout the country was both explicitly and implicitly expressed in such documents as: the Labour 1972 Election Manifesto; New Approaches to community in New Zealand - a series of Monographs published by the Policy Study Group in Wellington on: The Voluntary Agencies and State Social Welfare; Administration and Research for Community Development; Social Security: A Positive Statement; People: Communities: Cities. Labour Leads: Policies at Work, December 1972 - May 1975.

**This position was first created in 1974. Its first occupant was Massey University's Director of University Extension, Mr D. Garrett. Later on he became the Director of Tertiary Education and held this latter position until his death in 1980. Other positions held by Garrett included memberships of the National Council for Adult Education and the UNESCO Commission on Life-Long Education. It is also noteworthy that Garrett had a long-standing association with the New Zealand Labour Party and prior to 1969 and 1972 elections assisted Labour's Policy Committee on Education to draft education policy on continuing-education and community colleges - policy which, as officer of Continuing Education, he was subsequently able to implement.
at the right time to usher in community colleges to the New Zealand educational scene in the early 1970s. He contributed directly in articulating the concept of a community college and in espousing the educational purpose it would serve. By juxtaposing Labour education policy with current educational thinking, and later amending the Education Act, continuing-education was to become, after Labour's election to government in 1972, the official goal or mission of the community college.

Departmental officials recognised, from the outset, that successful implementation required clarity of concept and purpose and a specification of organisational characteristics. That is answers were required to three key questions in order for this new type of organisation to become a reality:

(i) What does the concept community college mean,
(ii) What educational purpose will it serve, and
(iii) What kind of organisational structure is required to implement both concept and purpose?

The Community College Concept and its Official Purpose

Prior to 1975 when the Community College opened, Education Department administrators translated the Labour Government's politico-education ideology first into policy and then into a feasible action plan. In actuality departmental officers were both the authors and interpreters of ideology* and the policy derived from it. They brought to bear

*The way ideology is used here follows the meaning given to it by Parsons 1951, p.349-350 namely: An ideology is an idea or belief held in common by the members of a collectivity. To constitute an ideology there must be some level of evaluative commitment to belief and an obligation to accept its tenets as the basis of action. In this conception, beliefs entail values and interests. An ideology therefore entails a determinate relationship between a system of beliefs, values and interests and concrete action which is mutually reinforcing. Within an organisation (e.g. a political party) official and unofficial ideologies may emerge and either covertly or overtly result in the formulation of means, ends and plans. According to Parsons (op.cit.) all organisations and their environments are ideological in the above sense. By appealing to the values implicit in community ideologies (e.g. justice, utility, fair play, self-interest, respect for persons, efficiency), reasons are provided why an organisation should have particular goals and why it is right and proper for this to be so.
a distinctive and influential perspective on what the mission and constituent goals of a community college could be. In the first place (and consistent with Labour 'Philosophy'), provisions for Continuing Education were seen by the Officer of Continuing Education as a logical extension of the equality of educational opportunity ideal (viz. Garrett, 1974, p.18) espoused in 1939 by Peter Fraser that:

Every person has the right to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the full extent of his powers.

Second, this ideal was seen to yield two general principles for specifying, in broad terms, how continuing-education was to serve as the Mission of the community college. The administrators expected that the organisation's staff would devise policies and programmes that would ensure the community college:

(i) acted as "a main instrument of social policy and a vehicle for increasing educational opportunity, (for) removing inequalities in the availability of education and matching the provision of education with the needs of learners", (Renwick, 1974, p.7), and in so doing,

(ii) created opportunities for anyone in any place to learn in ways which suit them at times when they need to learn (Garrett, 1974) removing some of the control over the timing, spacing and content of learning from the organisations and placing it in the hands of the learners.

A clear implication of defining the community college's mission in this way was that opportunities for and access to education, ought to be made available, not only to the educationally addicted but also to the educationally deprived (Renwick, 1974 and 1976 and Garrett, 1974). In other words, the future staff of the community college had a clear mandate to provide educational opportunities for all people in the community (Renwick, 1976).

This democratised view of the community college's paramount goal and its role generated a broad range of sub-goals. These sub-goals were expressed in interviews (mainly during April of 1975) and in various
published official addresses and journal articles. Because of the large amount of data available, goal statements from the various sources are reported in summary form. There are six summarised goals in all:

(i) The Community College should be an organisation that aimed to cater for students' changing and developing interests and motivation, and the need to update skills and knowledge which frequently become redundant in a society where there is constant social and technological change.

(ii) The Community College staff should try and attract people, as staff and students, from a wider socio-economic range than is customary in educational organisations devoted solely to education for the professions and trades.

(iii) The Community College should attend to those sections of the Hawke's Bay community which had received short measure from traditional educational practices.

(iv) In order to provide such access to education the Community College was expected to have open-entry, opportunities for part-time and full-time study, on and off campus. Here, the basic idea is OUT-REACH. Rather than having people come to you, we are really talking about getting out into the community ... (The staff) ... will be stuck with the job of being CATALYSTS within the community, generating interests, indicating the ways in which problems may be solved, promoting activities. (Interview, Officer for Continuing Education, April, 1975)

More specifically the aim is not for a conventionally conceived Community College at all ... The need is not for an age of educational cathedral building ... It is an age, rather of educational missionaries to work more directly with those needing to learn something ... Learning should happen most often where people are. It is in any case outrageous to start thinking in terms of buildings when our existing plant has long been grossly under-utilised. (Garrett, 1973, p.32)
By providing a range of low and middle level, credit and non-credit courses of short and longer duration, the Community College's range of programmes was expected to be made more extensive than might be expected in a technical institute.

A distinctive feature of community college work would be its responsiveness to the local community. Comprehensive breadth of programme and flexible organisation was seen as allowing a different sort of articulation with the local community than a university or a large technical institute could achieve. Whereas the latter are usually constrained by academic subject divisions and the practice of operating only at high academic levels or in narrowly specialised fields, the Community College was expected to be student-centred (Renwick, 1976).

In combination the preceding list of sub-goals largely accounts for senior departmental officers' versions of the Community College concept, the continuing education mission and possible ways it could be implemented. More importantly though, it provides an indication, at the level of concept and mission of how the Community College was expected to evolve as a new-type of tertiary education entity.

In order to implement the continuing-education mission in the way intended, Community College administrators, tutors and ancillary staff would be expected as matter of emphasis and priority to: -

(i) look at the needs of students and potential students, wherever they are (in the College's region) rather than at the needs of the organisation,

(ii) focus on problem centred needs rather than curriculum centred needs,

(iii) provide for people whose educational requirements must be fitted into their other commitments, e.g. women wishing to return to work, and,

(iv) avoid classroom atmospheres quite ungenial and (for many) an impediment to learning.

(Renwick, 1976, p.12)
Meeting these requirements was seen as one way of breaking new educational ground and evolving new types of educational delivery-systems (Renwick, 1976). For instance the officer for Continuing Education expected college tutors to work in places in the community where potential students would feel more comfortable and at ease. He argued that by working in this way it would be possible to provide educational second chances for people who had previously failed to fit the mold of the school, as well as those who had benefitted from their experiences of schooling. The overriding practical consequence of this official view was that the teaching personnel of educational organisations could no longer confine their activities solely within the protective walls of an organisational building. Government officials believed that only by working in this unconfined way would the Community College be able to (i) tune into the needs of its many publics, (ii) adapt to emerging needs at many levels and (iii) counteract unequal access to education, (iv) and provide a wider range of educational opportunities than is customary in tertiary level organisations.

The business of formulating the concept and mission of the Community College in these terms was but a first step in the implementation process. At the same time as this conceptualising activity was going on, other steps were being taken to include community colleges as a priority item in the Labour Government’s Education Policy. The decision to include community colleges in Labour’s 1969 and 1972 Election manifestos and subsequent inclusion in the Labour Government’s Education Policy agenda took community college proposals a step closer to implementation. It provided some assurance to proponents of the Community College that community colleges would in due course emerge as part of the tertiary education system. But in 1972, the form they might take had not been settled nor had a specific priority for establishing them been determined. Constant vigilance by senior departmental officers in bringing the matter of tertiary (continuing) education policy to the attention of the minister (whose interest lay much more with early-childhood education) finally resulted in ministerial (and subsequently Cabinet) consent to begin planning for a Community College in the Hawke’s Bay (Interview, officer for Continuing Education, April, 1975).

Towards the end of 1972 and early in 1973, implementation of government policy began in earnest. However the somewhat opportunistic and politically expedient character of the Hawke’s Bay decision was well understood by departmental officials who had been, indeed,
party to it. In the words of the Director-General:

The fact that there was already a technical institute planned for Hawke's Bay and in a fairly advanced stage of development ... the site had already been surveyed and building foundations had been laid ... meant that the minister was in the very fortunate position of being able to deflect the planning from one set of (technical education based) policies to a new set of policies for the establishment of a Community College.

(Interview, Director-General of Education, April, 1975).

The main outcome that flowed from this decision was that the form the Community College might take was influenced by regionally based expectations of three kinds: (i) the type of facility required, (ii) decisions already taken, and, (iii) work currently in progress for the technical institute.

Education Department administrators were aware of the way in which the existing circumstances could affect the development of the Community College. At the time, however, the most important consideration for them was that a decision to proceed with the Hawke's Bay College had actually been taken. In Structure-Function terms, the conditions for creating a new-type of organisation had at least been partially met. A number of the necessary elements were in place, viz.; the need for a new form of educational provision had been recognised and a main purpose had been articulated and specified in operational terms. As well a coterie of authoritative and prestigious individuals (notably the Minister of Education and the Director General, but also other known politicians and departmental officials) recognised they had to legitimate the concept and provide the support and resources that would ensure the Community College would begin to develop. The main developmental question yet to be answered was how would the Community College concept be received in the Hawke's Bay.

There is little doubt that prior to and during the 1972 general election, Labour's decentralisation and regional development policies struck a responsive chord among people in the regions. The policies were taken seriously at a time when strong feeling was being expressed about the absence of central government concern for regional development. Additionally, there was not total satisfaction in some quarters of the
Hawke's Bay with the planned technical institute. While the institute's mission covered the training needs of commerce and industry, many other equally legitimate needs were neglected. (Interview, Council member, May, 1976). All three factors - positive response to Labour's regional development policy, dissatisfaction with the proposed technical institute and neglect of many legitimate educational needs - contributed to the Community College proposal being favourably received. However there were also people in the community, suspicious of politicians and bureaucrats, who expressed resistance to the Community College proposal. They saw it as a somewhat alien idea and a political and administrative imposition on satisfactory in-progress developments. (Interview, Council member, May 1976).

If government policy were to be implemented and the College established local definitions of the situation would have to be given due attention. Inevitably these definitions would interact with the Community College concept and in part determine the kind of organisation that could eventuate. At best this interaction of national and regional plans could result in some modifications and, at worst, diminish the Community College's intended mission to the point where it might conceivably revert to a small conventional type of technical institute. By analysing the regional context in the next part of the Chapter, the ground is prepared for understanding and explaining how both national and regional contexts eventually did merge to produce the Hawke's Bay Community College.

The Regional Context

Before 1972 when new government plans for tertiary education came to public light, the notion of a Community College (as recommended in the Currie Commission) had never been clearly articulated or considered in the Hawke's Bay. While the Community College concept had currency among some professional educators, academics, top echelon administrators and political reformers, it remained a relative latecomer on the educational scene in the Hawke's Bay. Not only was it not considered as a possibility, more to the point, it was simply unknown.

Lack of awareness about the Community College concept did not mean that Hawke's Bay people were uninterested or unconcerned about tertiary education. On the contrary, ministerial decision to provide
a Community College was preceded by intense personal interest and commitment by local people to a long-standing desire to establish a tertiary-education facility in their region. Three locally based organisations came into existence specifically to champion the cause of tertiary education in the Hawke's Bay. They included the Hawke's Bay University Trust established in 1958, the Hawke's Bay Polytechnic Promotions Committee set up as a sub-committee of the Taradale Borough Council in 1966 and the Hawke's Bay Joint High Schools Board's Committee formed in 1968. Each committee had a different but overlapping conception of the form of organisation required.

While recognising there might initially be little support outside the Region for a full University, the Hawke's Bay Trust was convinced that a modest sized organisation, similar to Lincoln College or a small scale Massey University was viable and justifiable. By contrast, the Hawke's Bay Polytechnic Promotions Committee saw the need for an organisation that would combine the trade training functions carried out in small provincial technical institutes with a variety of higher level technician and middle level management courses; courses hitherto regarded as the preserve of such large urban organisations as the Central Institute of Technology and Auckland's Technical Institute. For their part, the Joint High Schools Board's Committee was less ambitious than the other two committees. They lobbied for a modest sized technical institute. The latter committee proved to be the one which finally got government support. However, all three played an influential role in creating the necessary conditions and the opportunity for a subsequent Labour Government to establish a Community College in the Hawke's Bay. In particular, the actions of the three committees resulted in the procurement of a suitable and, at the time a politically expedient site on which to locate an educational facility quite different in name and mission from the one each committee initially envisaged. Elaboration of the role of each committee follows.

* Information sources for this section of the Chapter includes correspondence and minutes of the Hawke's Bay University Trust; Correspondence, published documents - pamphlets and minutes of the Polytechnic Promotions Committee; Community College records and interviews with Community College Staff viz. the Director and Registrar; and interviews with Council Members and B.A.O. Marshall, at the time (1975) Ministry of Works and Development, District Architect responsible to the Education Department for the Design and construction of the Hawke's Bay Community College buildings and facilities.
The Hawke's Bay University Trust

During the 1950's two specific factors led a locally powerful and prestigious group of industrialists, professional men and individuals prominent in regional affairs* to set up the University trust to campaign for the provision of substantial and permanent tertiary education facilities in the region. The first factor was a perceived need to maintain and increase economic and industrial growth in order to promote the general well being of the region. The second factor was that, following the second world war, the absence of a tertiary education facility in the Hawke's Bay and the growth in size and number of universities, teachers' colleges and technical institutes elsewhere resulted in young people leaving the region to further their education in other centres. A university in the Hawke's Bay might help to stem the out-flow, retain young people in the region and perhaps attract outsiders to come there.

The members of the University Trust were sufficiently confident of the success of their plans, that a large strategically located piece of land was donated by a local property owner - Mr S. Hetley - and set aside as the site for future university development. Later, this event was to be significant in the siting of the technical institute and subsequently the Community College.

Progress towards procuring a university went no further than the acquisition of the site. As one member of the Community College Council subsequently commented, the University Trust had already "missed the boat nationally" (Interview, May, 1975). And in view of the recommendations of the Government Committee on New Zealand Universities to limit the number of universities in New Zealand to seven, it is doubtful in retrospect that the campaign for a University in the Hawke's Bay would have ever achieved significant support outside the region, -- especially not at central government level. Councillor B.A.O. Marshall's* 1966

*The Hawke's Bay University Trust was established in 1958 under the Chairmanship of Sir Edwin Bate a longstanding councillor and Mayor of the Hastings City Council, with Sir Peter Tait, Mayor of Napier, as Deputy Chairman.

**Mr B.A.O. Marshall, as well as being a councillor on the Taradale City Council, was also to become Chairman of the Hawke's Bay Polytechnic Promotions Committee, established in 1966; District Architect for the Ministry of Works and Development in the Hawke's Bay (directly responsible for the planning and design of government buildings in the region) and a member of the Council of the Central Institute of Technology in Wellington.
report to the Taradale Borough Council recognised that,

Central government (would) understandably resist ... local pressure for establishment of a university in Hawke's Bay.

Where the university venture failed, Marshall saw that a proposal for a polytechnic might be favourably received by the government as an acceptable solution
to the problem of the total lack in the Hawke's Bay region of any facilities whatsoever for full-time higher education.

His argument drew support from the recent advent of polytechnics elsewhere in N.Z. Specific examples included the conversion of technical post primary schools, such as Wellington, Seddon Memorial and Petone Technical Colleges to centres of technological and commercial training (Taradale Borough Council Report, 1966).

His analysis of the situation ultimately proved to be correct.

The Polytechnic Promotions Committee

In contrast with the University Trust, the Polytechnic Promotions Committee was much more narrow, pragmatic and instrumentalist in its conception of the kind of educational facility required. In the words of the Committee's Chairman,

by providing opportunities for... a technological education ... (the polytechnic would) provide entry to the highly competitive race for jobs in a world currently dominated by science and technology
(Report to the Taradale Borough Council, August, 1966)

The Polytechnic Promotions Committee (1966), was guided by a chairman with a technical-education orientation. Under his leadership the Committee embarked on a public relations campagn to (i) gain regional acceptance of the idea of a Hawke's Bay Polytechnic, and, (ii) secure the government's support for the polytechnic proposal.
In the two years following its formation, the Committee amassed evidence in support of its claims. A booklet - A Polytechnic for Hawke's Bay - was published in 1967 and was circulated through secondary schools and other public outlets, e.g. the library and the departments of Labour, Social Welfare and Education. The local media - newspapers and radio - was used extensively as part of the public relations campaign. The promotional work that was carried out emphasised the potential of the proposed polytechnic to:

(i) make an input, primarily in the form of trained man-power, to the economy of the region - local industry and commercial enterprises, and,

(ii) create for secondary school students and adult members of the community, opportunities for and access to various forms of occupational training.

During the period when the Polytechnic Promotions Committee was most active (1966-68) a third group of local people became aware of the desirability of a tertiary-education facility. This group included the principals and teachers of the local secondary high schools - in particular Hastings and Napier Boys High Schools which shared the responsibility for all trades and commercial apprentice and trainee programmes that operated in the region. The principals of the latter two schools recognised that man-power training needs had expanded well beyond the capacity of the local high schools to provide for them.

Working in concert with the Polytechnic Committee's Chairman, the two principals and the local High Schools Boards' chairmen convened a meeting on August 6th 1968 to submit formally a joint proposal to the Education Department's Director of Technical Education:

At this meeting, the criteria for the establishment of a technical institute were discussed and the realisation grew that a fuller cooperation between the two boards (Napier and Hastings) would be an advantage if these criteria were to be met ... (It was proposed) that a joint (High Schools) Boards' Committee should be set up to coordinate the effort of the two Boys High Schools and to provide
an authoritative voice in negotiations with the
Education Department and Government. (Chairman's
report to the Hawke's Bay Polytechnic Promotion
Committee, January, 1970)

The Hawke's Bay Joint High Schools Boards' Committee

Members of the Joint High Schools Boards' Committee included three
representatives from each of the Boards of Napier and Hastings Boys
High Schools, the principals from both schools, a secretary with many
years experience with the local Education Board and the Polytechnic
Promotions Committee's chairman. Between them, the members of the
Committee had considerable administrative ability and knowledge of the
working of the Government Department of Education. This ability and
knowledge was used to negotiate the establishment of a technical
institute. The Joint Boards' Committee thus completed the work that
had been initiated by the Polytechnic Promotions Committee, even though
the latter Committee was not formally disbanded until April, 1974. As
an ex-member of the Joint Boards' Committee put it, during 1970-74 the
Committee carried out

The nuts and bolts work in preparing the ground for
a technical institute, usually at regular meetings
held conjointly between the Napier and Hastings Boards.
We had direct dealings with the Education Department
and met every school term in Wellington at their
request ... (and when progress was slow) we would
meet with one or more of the three local members of
Parliament to speed things up. (Interview, ex-member
of Joint High Schools Boards' Committee, May 1976)

The work of the Joint Boards' Committee led to and culminated in
a government decision on the 10th October, 1969 to establish a Vocational
Tertiary Department in the Hawke's Bay. It was scheduled to commence
operation in 1972. This kind of facility is not an educational organisation in its own right but an extension of secondary school
trades and commercial training programmes relocated and housed together
on a single site. As such it was to be initially administered by the
Regional Office of Education rather than by an elected governing board.
The decision to proceed with a Vocational Tertiary Department rather
than a fully fledged Technical Institute was due to the anticipated
low numbers of apprentice students* in the first years of operation. However, the Education Department gave an undertaking to redesignate the initial facility as a technical institute once student numbers rose to the required minimum level.

Prior to the Government's October 1969 decision, the Joint Boards' Committee had also taken steps to procure a site for the proposed technical institute. To begin with Mr B.A.O. Marshall, the Polytechnic Promotions Committee's member and also District Architect for the Ministry of Works and Development, proposed and evaluated three sites - a site adjacent to the Napier Boys High School, another at Taradale and a third in the grounds of the Hastings Boys High School. In December of 1968 an initial decision was made in favour of the Napier site. The Department of Education then entered into preliminary negotiations with the Napier Harbour Board for the purchase of land. These negotiations were subsequently dropped when it became known that the Taradale site named Otatarā, initially bequeathed by Mr S. Hetley to the Hawke's Bay University Trust, might be made available as the site for the technical institute. To expedite matters the District Architect took advantage of his acquaintance with Mrs. Hetley to make known to her the nature of the proposed facility.

She expressed interest in both the relevance of a technical institute to the educational needs of the Hawke's Bay, and in the possibility of seeing some building completed in her lifetime. (Interview with B.A.O. Marshall, August, 1976)

Following a further visit by senior departmental officers and after discussions with the University Trust Board, formal procedures were invoked to effect a change of ownership of Otatarā from Mrs Hetley to the Crown. Thus Otatarā became the site for first, the Technical Institute and subsequently, the Community College.

Convergence of National and Regional Interests

In terms of the time-line given at the beginning of this Chapter, the two 1969 decisions were crucial for the convergence of national and regional interests for tertiary education in the Hawke's Bay. Their immediate outcome was a satisfactory consensus between a local body and

*Student numbers were calculated on the basis of Ministry of Works and Development estimates of economic growth in the region. See National Resources Survey, Part 6, Hawke's Bay Region, 1971.
central government. Both parties stood to benefit. The Education Department consented to the Otatara site. In so doing it avoided the inconvenience and cost of negotiating an alternative. For the High Schools Boards' Committee, the choice of Otatara allowed technical institute planning and development work to proceed immediately. In addition the site had a number of advantageous features.

First, the Otatara site seemed to satisfy a criterion of fairness. It was located midway between Napier and Hastings and in the centre of the Hawke's Bay district. Consequently it was thought, by both local committee members and government officials, to offer equitable access to tertiary education.

Second, the location selected was judicious because it helped resolve the issue of the traditional rivalry between Napier and Hastings. According to the Joint High Schools Boards' Committee, Technical Institute Councillors and other prominent local people, a decision to locate the Technical Institute in either of the two main cities would have been regarded as an unjustified partisan act, favouring one city, and therefore one part of the region, at the expense of the other.

Third, because Otatara is an open site, it was argued by the High Schools Boards' Committee and the District Works Architect that it offered a unique opportunity to provide buildings and facilities that would be functionally, educationally and architecturally integrated in their conception and design. In addition, they wanted a structure that would symbolise the contribution they envisaged the proposed institute would make to the life of the region. This third implication entailed the fourth one.

Fourth, the choice of Otatara meant that the institute could be identified as a place to which students come in order to receive instruction in a variety of trades and commercial training programmes. As such it could become the centre of tertiary education in the region, equipped with appropriate workshop, laboratory, library, teaching and recreational facilities.

The one important factor that the High Schools Boards' committee had not fully anticipated was that even though a decision had been made to proceed with plans to establish the Technical Institute, the planning process would take considerably more time than they imagined. During
the latter months of 1970, preliminary planning and design work did commence. However, this work was carried out in the absence of any overall site development plans and an architectural brief, other than a list of likely accommodation, including a workshop block as the first building to be constructed. Thereafter followed a period of some months, during which no definite instructions to proceed with design work were received from either the Ministry of Works and Development Head Office or the Education Department.

In the absence of a clear architectural brief but still holding to the expectation of an operational teaching facility at Otataro in 1972, a joint decision was taken by the Joint Boards' Committee and the District Architect (a member of the Committee) to expedite matters with a locally produced design and thereby procure buildings and facilities that would reflect in the form of a physical structure, "the valuable contribution they envisaged the Technical Institute would make to the life of the region". This one-off design was to incorporate knowledge of the site (a practice not always adhered to) and be uniquely adapted to it. (Interview, Community College Council member and ex-Ministry of Works design architect, August, 1976).

During 1971 a set of sketch plans was drawn up by a local Ministry of Works and Development architect. The plans were the first and as it proved the only attempt to produce an architecturally integrated design.

* This list, based on estimated enrollment figures, was a one page brief specifying square footages and indicating likely facilities - produced by the Department of Education (after consultation with local trades people) and received (via Head Office, Ministry of Works and Development) in the Napier branch of the Ministry of Works and Development in early 1970. It was followed shortly after by a more detailed specification of number and size of classrooms, cafeteria, library and the like (initial documents cited on file during interview with the Design Architect, May 1976).

** While this procedure was quite unconventional and a departure from usual practice, the District Architect (who, as a member of the Joint Boards' Committee had established connections with Senior Officers in the Education Department) reported that individual officials were not entirely unsympathetic to the idea of a local design for the Hawke's Bay institute and even the possibility of a new standard design for this type of small tertiary organisation. (Interview, B.A.O. Marshall, August 1976)
Next, on the basis of tacit Education Department approval to continue, a start was also made on working drawings. These drawings indicated to the Joint Boards' Committee that some progress was being made. The design architect's comments capture the sense of urgency and opportunism that prevailed:

Off we went playing advantage rules. We hadn't been told to design it. Then again we hadn't been told not to design it. We had a brief and we felt right, let's build an institute that's unique to that particular site and to those particular needs ... We had realised the potential of the site and wanted to develop that potential... The argument was that it shouldn't be a standard building ...It was not to be a factory ... it was to be a place where you get away from all these things ... a place in which we're trying to educate people. (Interview, August, 1976)

Despite the initiative taken by the Joint Boards' Committee and the local Works architects, the Education Department's tacit approval was never officially confirmed. The Napier plan (as it was referred to locally) was finally replaced when:

We received a bundle of drawings and a letter. The drawings were for the workshops as they exist today and the letter indicated that the Hamilton office were at present redesigning the Palmerston four storey classroom block ... the Mini-Tech ... which is a reduction in scale and height of something that had been built already at Massey. (Interview, design architect, August 1976).

During 1972 the main burden of site and Architectural work fell into the hands of the local supervising architect. His responsibility was to liaise with architects in other centres (Hamilton, Wanganui,

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*This was also atypical as it sidestepped normal procedure; that is the formal client-architect relationship is between the Government Education Department and the Head Office of the Ministry of Works and Development and not the local architect assigned to a specific project. (Interview, design architect, May, 1976).

**Later to become a Technical Institute Council member.
Auckland and Wellington) and gather-in existing drawings that in combination constituted an architectural recipe for the Hawke's Bay Technical Institute.

Local hopes of creating a unique set of buildings and facilities were denied and replaced with a number of conventional standardised and ready-made architectural solutions. The kind of buildings and facilities detailed in the architectural recipe was one of two factors that remained constant as uncertainty began to mount over the kind of facility that might eventuate. Labour's 1972 election manifesto increased this uncertainty and reinforced earlier information* that, in the event of a Labour election victory, the Technical Institute could be renamed as a Community College.

A second and more important factor also remained constant. The facility to be provided - whether a Technical Institute or a Community College - would meet, as its first priority, the needs of a particular student group and the trained manpower needs of specific commercial and industrial interest groups in the region. The latter constituted a powerful coalition of interests (well represented on the Joint Boards' Committee) and an environment of expectation as to what the initial commitments of the new tertiary organisation would be. The need for trained manpower was, in their minds, the main raison d'être of first the Technical Institute and then later the Community College. The first claims on the Community College's resources came almost exclusively from this quarter, and required an operating and fully staffed vocational studies department at the outset. This state of affairs was well understood and accepted locally.

It was not just Regional definitions of the situation however, that influenced the way in which the Community College could evolve. Within the Education Department itself a rearguard action was being fought by a technical education faction to defend what was perceived as its diminishing jurisdiction. Although it came to be accepted

* As the design architect put it, "We had read a tremendous article on Community Colleges, published in the United States ... and as well one of my colleagues (the District Architect) had been talking with one of the Labour Back Benchers who had mentioned that a Community College was something that was in the pipeline. So we had some prior information on this Community College." (Interview, August, 1976)
that Community Colleges were to replace technical institutes in the provinces, there was as the Director-General of Education commented:

A live worry on the vocational side of the technical education field. They are a good deal threatened by the label continuing education, and they fear that they are going to be taken over once again by the educational generalists. (Interview, April, 1975)

The worry about continuing education had not surfaced in the department during the early planning stages of the Hawke's Bay Technical Institute (1970-71). As a normal matter of course architectural designs for the institute conformed with existing technical education guidelines. However, the technical education perspective remained ascendant even well after it was clear that the Hawke's Bay was to have a Community College. Furthermore this perspective was applied to much more than buildings. It was influential in devising a formula for the organisational structure of the Community College. This topic is to be discussed later in the Chapter.

With Labour's election to office in November of 1972, the possibility that Hawke's Bay might have a Community College increased. A Hawke's Bay meeting was convened by the Joint Board's Committee in February of 1973 to settle the matter. The minutes of this meeting officially recorded the nature of things to come. During the meeting the Department's Director of Technical Education had outlined his view of the future development of the institute. He used Education Department policy guidelines and a population figure of 90,000 as bases from which to predict that development would occur mainly in the areas of commercial and trade training. In addition there was some possibility, he thought, of hobby classes, retraining programmes and nursing studies being undertaken later on. A figure of 90% vocational and 10% non-vocational was given as a likely balance of course offerings. Staff for the institute would come from industry rather than the universities.

At the same meeting however, Mr Steve Hamilton (also from the Department) disclosed a proposed feasibility study to identify ways and means of broadening the function of the technical institute and the existing base of community education needs in the region. He also voiced concern at the general lack of opportunity for tertiary education
and commented on the consequent drift of young people away from the Hawke's Bay; thus echoing locally expressed concerns. In addition, further comments made at this meeting anticipated some of the findings and recommendations of the Feasibility Study. For example, Hamilton specifically mentioned the education needs of the Maori, the needs of those who might do better, educationally speaking, away from the discipline and security offered by secondary schools, and the needs of those people in the work force who wanted a second chance education of a basic kind related to their vocational needs. Reference was also made to the development of Maori language teaching, use of the institute as a cultural centre, and the importance of the arts.

The Feasibility Study was undertaken and published in the latter part of 1973 as: A Hawke's Bay Community College - A Feasibility Study.

In the meantime, the Joint High Schools Board's Committee continued, but in the knowledge that the Feasibility Study recommendations would eventually be followed by a firm ministerial decision to proceed with a Community College. The planning process had gone full circle. The result being a convergence, via the Feasibility Study, of National and Regional plans for tertiary-education provisions in the Hawke's Bay. In bringing together and incorporating two sets of plans for education in the Hawke's Bay, the Feasibility Study marked the end of the preparatory developmental stage in the evolution of the Hawke's Bay Community College and the beginning of another, the stage of formation.

In order to bring together both National and Regional goals for tertiary education it was necessary that the Feasibility Study be primarily a pragmatic rather than a utopian document. In reflecting and combining both sets of goals it proposed an educational-organisation that is evolutionary rather than revolutionary in character (Minutes of Hawke's Bay Technical Institute Council, April 1974). Renwick reinforced this evolutionary aspect by indicating that in reality a Community College would be "a small technical institute writ large, but with a change of name and a new lease of life" (Renwick, 1973, p.71). Thus the Community College would build on, rather than radically alter, local plans. It was, nonetheless, a new idea for which acceptance had to be won rather than merely assumed. In winning this acceptance the Feasibility Study became, as the Director-General of Education put it:
enormously important ... and not only as a legitimating device for the Minister; but as a legitimating device here in the Hawke's Bay. (The aim was) to help people understand that what in fact was going to come here was a bit different from what had been planned, and also to invite them to share a good deal in shaping up the meaning of what the mission of this place is going to be. (Interview, April, 1975, at Taradale)

Here, of course, it was being admitted that local opinion needed to be brought into line with official thinking but also that Departmental plans for the Community College's evolution would inevitably change as local influence was brought to bear. This was not seen as a bad thing, as the Department expected that the Community College should evolve in response to local community needs. However as Selznick (1957) points out when establishing an organisation partial viewpoints should not dominate decisions regarding the organisation as a whole. A true conception of the nature and purpose of the enterprise had to be grasped and held. To this end the Feasibility Study came into its own in providing a definitive blue-print for guiding all subsequent decisions and actions.

The Feasibility Study - Blue-Print for a Community College

According to Education Department administrators the Feasibility Study provided the organisational blue-print which the Council was expected to use to form and develop the Community College. In Structure-Functional terms the blue-print could be seen as containing a set of solutions to the four functional problems. Application of the functional-problem perspective to the Feasibility Study permits a systematic theoretical analysis of the contents of the study. In the final section of this Chapter these contents are to be categorised separately as belonging to Adaptation, Goal-Attainment, Integration and Latency and discussed in that order.

Adaptation

There are four specific aspects of the Feasibility Study which fall into the problem category of Adaptation. These aspects include:
The Task-environment

Several kinds of educational needs were reported in the Feasibility Study. Chief among them was the need for trained personnel in commerce, industry and certain selected professions. These needs had been documented by the Polytechnic Promotions and the Joint High Schools Boards' Committees as the basis for the earlier establishment of the technical institute. As with the technical institute, the Community College would not have been established were it not assured of a very big baseload of trade and vocational students.

(Interview, Director-General of Education, April, 1975).

In recognition of this fact, the Feasibility Study recommended that the Community College should, as its first priority, aim to provide opportunities for vocational education. In this way, the study committed the Community College, at least initially, to serving existing, well established and dominant community interests and values. The benefit of making this commitment was alleged to be the support to be gained for the Community College from the relevant interest groups. These were expected to consist of; a continuing supply of students; endorsement of college-based programmes and activities; and the provision of resources such as equipment, community-based facilities and part-time personnel. The outcome anticipated in the Feasibility Study, of this two-way relationship between the College and the community was that the College could begin immediately to

(i) the delineation of a task-environment for the College through the identification of various categories of educational needs in the Hawke's Bay region that might be taken up and met,

(ii) the specification of particular kinds of staff positions to be filled,

(iii) the detailing of personal qualities such as prior experience, attitudes and administrative and teaching abilities required in a staff,

(iv) the recommendation that a governing board - a council - be formed to administer the college.

Each of the above points is discussed in turn.

The Task-environment

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train young adults and school leavers for selected occupations. In this way its future would be assured.

While man-power training needs constituted a major part of the task environment of the College, proponents for a Continuing Education role implied that a much wider range of educational needs should be provided for. As Hamilton (1973) put it,

If the College is to add a new dimension to adult education in New Zealand it should respond directly to local initiative ... (and in so doing) ... open up in the broadest possible way continuing educational opportunities for young people and adults ... and encourage all sections of the community to take advantage of them (Hamilton, 1973, p.63).

Consequently the Feasibility Study identified a variety of community-education needs. These needs were to be met through courses and programmes in (i) the Arts specifically; varieties of instrumental music across a broad age range, the theatre, journalism, script writing, film making, and drama, (ii) the natural sciences, (iii) humanities, (iv) child-study and (v) the social-sciences (specifically marriage and home management) and recreation. A variety of target groups were also identified as belonging within the College's task-environment. Specific mention was made in the Feasibility Study of such distinct groups as (i) the Maori, (ii) women, especially women at home or wishing to re-enter the work force, (iii) people in the rural community, (iv) disaffected school-leavers, (v) teachers wanting in-service training, (vi) parents and (vii) minority and underprivileged groups.

Staffing Establishment

Once educational needs were identified the specification of the staff needed to fulfil them followed. The staffing formula used in the Feasibility Study was based on the assumption that community-education and out-reach functions would account for about a quarter of the total college programme. Trades and vocational education functions on campus were to comprise the bulk of the programme. As regulations for the staffing of Community Colleges did not then exist, technical-institute regulations were applied to determine that
the College be given

a staffing entitlement at the level of a Grade0+
institute ... (with the likelihood that) Grade 1
status would be achieved within a few years (Hamilton,
1973, p.54).

According to formula, the Community College was entitled to an initial
staff comprising: a Principal, a Head of Department and eleven full-
time vocational education staff, (covering the carpentry, automotive,
fitting and turning and electrical trades plus a secretarial tutor).
In addition a number of part-time tutors, equivalent to two full-time
tutors was suggested to cover courses in accountancy, welding, plumbing,
joinery, motor mechanics, fitting and turning, food-servicing and
N.Z. Certificate courses in electronics and building.

In addition to formula, an entitlement of four tutors was judged
a sufficient number to promote and conduct non-vocational education
programmes. These programmes were to cover the humanities, sciences,
child-study, social services and Maori language and culture. The
full-time tutors were to be supplemented with part-time tutors. The
Feasibility Study suggested that the full-time and part-time tutors
should develop in a spirit of joint endeavour, a variety of programmes
in music, arts and crafts, recreational training and provide services
for existing cultural and recreational groups.

Not only did the Feasibility Study spell out in detail what the
staffing provisions should be, but also there was a recommendation to
maximise the College's initial impact on the community by "taking the
bold course of making permanent appointments from the outset". The
Study recommended that the first three permanent appointments should
include the Principal (later to be renamed Director) and the two Heads
of Department.

The Qualities required in Personnel

According to the Feasibility Study, the Principal of the Community
College should have two main qualities. He should be "a versatile
person of broad cultural and human sympathies" and "qualified to
control a technical institute." The three executive staff in combination
should have qualities that would enable them to "create a staff climate
of confidence in one's own usefulness and respect for what others are
doing in the community." Staff appointed to the vocational education
domain should "be alive to the general educational and cultural implications of their work." Equally, non-vocational education tutors should "be aware of the vocational possibilities open to them" both within the College and the Community. However, the Feasibility Study stopped short of specifying detailed criteria that might be useful for recruitment and selection. The specification of any such criteria was to be the responsibility of the statutory body elected to form and administer the College - the Council.

The Council

The Study had recommended that "the logic of community involvement be extended to overall control." This should be exercised by a locally constituted board of governors - a council. The Council was recommended to include representatives from all sectors of the community:

Industry and commerce should be strongly represented as befits their importance in regional planning. Other councillors would probably represent Napier and Hastings cities, Hawke's Bay County, the Education Board, the High Schools' Boards, Massey University, the Department of Education, the Maori community and bodies active in the arts, humanities, sciences, social welfare and recreation (Hamilton, 1973, p.53).

The Council's overall responsibility was to be the formation of the College and the exercise of control over its direction of development. In the first instance the Council was to oversee the construction of buildings and facilities and recruit personnel. In addition, the Council was to attempt to develop the College in the direction of meeting the needs reported in the Feasibility Study. To assist in this task the Study detailed a set of goals.

Goal-Attainment

The goals of the Community College were outlined in the Feasibility Study in nine goal-statements that specified what the Community College should do; namely the Community College should provide:

(i) alternative programmes for senior secondary school students,

(ii) general education for those who have completed the minimum statutory period of secondary education,
(iii) remedial and second chance education,
(iv) vocational education and training at various levels,
(v) retraining and in-service programmes,
(vi) continuing education at a higher level for adults,
(vii) transfer courses associated with a university or other institution of higher learning,
(viii) cultural and recreational studies often linked with community activities, and,
(ix) guidance and counselling services.

(Feasibility Study, 1973, p.1-2)

The inclusion of vocational educational goals in this specification of the College mission reflected the interests of commerce, industry and various government agencies and the professions. However, the specification also permitted the meeting of a much wider range of education needs than, for instance, members of the various prime-mover groups initially envisaged.

Of the nine goals listed, number one - the provision of programmes for senior secondary school students - is deserving of special comment because its inclusion had implications both for the scope of the Community College operations and the relationship between the Community College and the local secondary schools.

Earlier in this Chapter some attention was given to the suggestion (made by Hunt and Chapman, P91) that the New Zealand-styled Community College might, like its North American counterpart, provide a suitable learning environment for sixth and seventh form students. The Feasibility Study rejected this suggestion. The reason given was that in the initial stage of the College's development the sixth and seventh formers and their teachers would have been likely to outnumber all other students and staff. This would result, as Hamilton (1973) put it, in "an overstrong academic emphasis to the detriment of the practical vocational courses." The Feasibility Study accordingly recommended that the proposal for a general transfer of senior secondary school students to the College be disregarded in the meantime and be raised again only after the College's other courses were securely established.
This recommendation pleased the local High School Boards and secondary school principals, most of whom had resisted the transfer suggestion from the outset. Neither the Boards nor the Principals wanted to lose their most highly valued students (Interview, member of the Joint Boards' Committee, August, 1976).

With the intended goals of the Community College having been specified the Feasibility Study turned to the issue of devising a social structure for the Community College.

**Integration**

In Structure-Functional terms the social structure of an organisation is relevant to the resolution of the problem of integration. It is for this reason that the Feasibility Study's treatment of the issue of devising an organisation structure is to be discussed under the heading of Integration.

**The Organisational Structure**

The organisational structure proposed for the Community College in the Feasibility Study was outlined in the form of a diagram:

**Proposed Organisational Structure of the Hawke's Bay Community College**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mainly vocational</th>
<th>Mainly non-vocational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H.O.D. 1</td>
<td>H.O.D. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.S.1</td>
<td>C.S.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.S.1</td>
<td>C.S.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutors</td>
<td>Tutors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11 full-time and part-time)</td>
<td>(4 full-time and part-time)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H.O.D. = Head of Department
C.S. = Course Supervisor

(Hamilton, 1973, p.58)
In the words of the E.D.C. report on Organisation and Administration, the given organisational structure is a combination of the organisational blue-prints for a small technical institute and a continuing education unit (Educational Development Conference - Report of the Working Party on Organisation and Administration, Wellington, 1974, p.106). Within the Feasibility Study there was, however, only a small number of recommendations made as to how this bifurcated, hierarchic structure could be made to work. These included a brief comment that, "the role of the non-vocational head of department is vital to the total concept of the College." There was no explanation given as to why this role especially was important and why others were regarded as less vital. There was however, a recommendation that staff should work to accomplish "overlap between the two specified administrative domains." To achieve this overlap they should attempt to work in cooperation with each other. The practical aspects of how to achieve the desired overlap and cooperation were not discussed in the study. However the officer for Continuing Education* was able to provide some additional clarification:

If the Community College was to differ from other tertiary education organisations it would do so by ensuring that vocational, non-vocational and (a third category) community service elements be seen as integrated rather than discrete purposes ... The concept of Integration in this sense is really quite basic - we don't want there to be any split which says this is vocational and that non-vocational ... nor a split down the middle in the institution between its internal and external functions. This is a pretty important structural concept. It should run through the organisation (Interview, April, 1975).

For the Community College to become "integrated" in the desired way depended in turn, as the Director-General pointed out, on the ability of the Director and two Heads of Department to turn "pious

*He commented there was little opportunity to devise a "brand new-type" of organisational structure, especially in view of the speed with which planning had to proceed if the college was to be opened in 1975 (interview, officer for Continuing Education, April, 1975).
hopes into a reality" by:

(i) devising new forms of organisation,
(ii) implementing new styles of administration,
(iii) developing among the staff, positive attitudes towards and a sense of identification with the Community College,
(iv) engendering into the Vocational Education tutors a sense of allegiance to the overall goal of Continuing Education

(Interview, Director-General of Education, April, 1975).

The Director-General's comments had the character of a set of imperatives that went a step further than the suggestions of the Feasibility Study. There was, however, still a lack of explicated principles or procedures that might help a Council and a newly appointed staff achieve the desired organisational conditions.

**Latency**

The Feasibility Study acknowledged that forming a Community College was a complex business and recognised the prospect of tension and conflict.

A healthy Community College organisation (i.e. one characterised by cooperation, mutual respect and reduction to manageable levels of conflict and tension) will be one where there are minimal distinctions between roles and considerable staff mobility. If the essential purposes of the College are kept in mind no difficulties are anticipated in achieving these conditions (Hamilton, 1973).

Beyond these injunctions to minimise role distinctions and keep the essential purpose in mind, the Feasibility Study gave no further suggestions about the development and maintenance of desired organisational patterns, cooperative relationships and the management of tension and conflict. The focus of attention was more external than it was internal. Specifically the Community College should aim to involve the community itself deeply at every stage of planning, provision and use of the college facilities ...
(to provide) close and continuing liaison between the College and existing educational, cultural and recreational agencies in the district. Essentials of a Community College organisation, then, are arrangements that place considerable responsibility for planning procedures and administration within the community itself (Hamilton, 1973, p. 64).

On this note of "community" the Feasibility Study had gone full circle. Within a month of its publication, steps were taken to form the Community College Council; not however, without a touch of irony. The Education Act had not been amended to provide legal sanction for the provision of Community Colleges. This sanction was not given by Parliament until June 1974. Consequently the Minister of Education instructed the Joint High Schools Boards' Committee to form not a Community College but an interim Technical Institute Council. The latter was required, nonetheless to implement the recommendations of the Feasibility Study, and, somewhat late in the day prepare for the Community College to open for business by January of 1975. Thus ended the stage of preparation with the scene set to begin the formation of the first New Zealand-styled Community College.
CHAPTER 5 - THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE COUNCIL
- ITS FORMATION, FUNCTION AND IMPACT

This Chapter deals with the formation of the Community College Council and the role it played in the creation of the Community College. In Structure-Function terms, the Council was an action-system in its own right. However it did not begin entirely de novo. Because some of its members came from the Polytechnic Promotions Committee and the Joint High Schools Boards' Committee, continuity with the past was to some extent preserved. For their part, other members with no such direct associations brought different perspectives and interests. The formation of the Council and its strategic role in the evolution of the College are to be discussed under three main headings: -

(i) Its formation and functions,
(ii) Members' definitions of the situation, and
(iii) The selection of the staff.

Formation of the Community College Council

Following the publication of the Feasibility Study, local people expressed considerable interest in the question of which community organisations and interest groups might be represented on the Council. One Council member commented subsequently that "everybody in the community wanted their particular body or association represented." The determination of the composition of the Council was, according to the Council's Chairman, a public issue. The Minister resolved the issue. He decided, in line with Feasibility Study recommendations, that the interim Technical Institute Council should have a membership of ten and represent a total of seven community-based interest groups, namely the:

- High Schools Board    (2 members)
- Society of Accountants (2 members)
- Trades Council        (2 members)
- Federated Farmers     (2 members)
- Employers' Association (2 members)
- Local Bodies
- Institution of Engineers
A Council election notice was gazetted late in 1973 and was followed by elections early in 1974. The inaugural meeting of the interim Hawke's Bay Technical Institute Council took place on the 22nd April, 1974 and an interim chairman and secretary were duly elected.

To signify the importance of the occasion, the first meeting was attended by three senior Education Department officers - the Director of Technical Education, the Officer for Continuing Education and Mr S. Hamilton, author of the Feasibility Study. Each officer made a distinctive contribution to the meeting.

The Director of Technical Education gave formal notification that the Government had given its consent to proceed with the Community College and that the required amendments to the Education Act, then being drafted, would be forthcoming later in the year.* The Council would then be renamed the Hawke's Bay Community College Council and the Council would be given power to co-opt three additional members under the heading of Community and Cultural Affairs. Specific authorisation was given to the Council by the Director to (i) advertise for and appoint the College Principal, the Registrar and a basic complement of technical-institute staff, and (ii) take responsibility for overseeing work in progress on buildings and facilities.

The Officer for Continuing Education and Mr S. Hamilton elaborated on points contained in the Feasibility Study and outlined how it might be used by the Council as a blue-print for developing the Community College. They mentioned a number of specific needs that might form the basis of the College's Community Education programme namely; educational needs of people who had left school at the age of fifteen, the need for trained voluntary social workers and youth-recreation leaders, the educational needs of women, the need for trained people in the areas of child care and child study and associated with this,

*Five months later, on the 27th September 1974, a Ministerial press release gave official public notification of the Government's intention to provide Community Colleges in the regions. This coincided with the submission to Parliament of a 1974 Education Amendment Bill that provided the legislative foundation of the Hawke's Bay Community College and others that would follow it. (See Appendix C which includes a copy of the Press Release and the Education Department's Statement of objectives of the Community College.)
the need for a model child care centre. The possibility of setting-up programmes in the Arts and Music was also mentioned. The need to work with, rather than replace, the adult education function of secondary schools was emphasised. The desirability of adopting a regional out-reach and an open-door policy was highlighted. It was suggested that the news-media, specifically the radio, should be used to help promote this policy throughout the region.

The departmental officers' comments carried the implication, according to the Council Chairman, that Councillors should adapt their outlooks so as to be able to think in terms of educational purposes that were more general and perhaps more far-reaching than the goals merely of a technical institute (Interview, Council Chairman, May, 1976). As a beginning step in the adaptation process the Education Department was asked to supply each Council member with a personal copy of the Feasibility Study.

At the meeting, two significant decisions were taken. First the Council decided to accept an offer by the District Ministry of Works and Development architect (Mr B.A.O. Marshall) "to provide continuing liaison; to wait on any or every Council meeting and to meet the Council on the site at any time" for the purpose of expediting site and construction work already in progress. To this end he was asked by the Chairman to provide each Council member with drawings showing current and planned future developments. The second decision taken was to

advertise the position of principal in the Education Gazettes of May 15 and June 1, 1974 with applications closing at the end of June 1974 and the successful applicant to commence duties by October 1st. (Minutes of the inaugural meeting of the Hawke's Bay Technical Institute Council, April 22nd, 1974).

Thus the Community College Council began to function in its own right as a legally constituted, autonomous body - an action system.

During the nine months following its formation, the Council implemented the decisions taken at the inaugural meeting. The work carried out by the Council was, in Structure-Function terms, characteristically adaptive in nature. A Buildings and Facilities sub-committee was formed and dealt with the various agencies involved in
site development and construction work. The consequent negotiations and oversight of this work dominated Council business. As the Council's Chairman commented,

We were charged with the responsibility of making sure the buildings were finished, even though we had nothing to do with their design, or structure or even the commencement of them. We had no staff and we had a building on its way up. Consequently we basically dealt with getting the buildings completed so that we could commence as an institute at the beginning of 1975. We couldn't be a technical institute or a Community College without a building (Interview, May, 1976).

In addition, the Council took seriously the suggestion made by the Officer for Continuing Education that it conduct a public-relations programme. This programme initially consisted of occasional media statements that reported on progress (or lack of it) with buildings and site development. Very little was reported on the nature and role of the Community College. This latter aspect was, in the main, left for the Principal to deal with.

During the first half of 1974 Councillors read the Feasibility Study. It provided little help to them in the making of decisions to do with the site and buildings. This lack of help is not surprising since the Study gave scant attention to the buildings and facilities aspect of the formation of the Community College. Even the departmental officers centrally concerned with the development of policy on Community Colleges found it extremely difficult to determine just what buildings and facilities might be necessary in the long run (Officer for Continuing Education, in Correspondence with the researcher, January, 1977).

Despite this shortcoming Councillors reported, in interviews, that the Feasibility Study helped them understand the difference between a technical institute and a Community College, and the wide range of goals that might be pursued by the latter.
As 1974 progressed, the Government urged the Council to appoint staff well in advance of the College's scheduled January 1975 opening date. A second committee on staffing was set up to deal with the recruitment and selection of an initial Community College staff. From July 1974 the business of the recruitment and selection of staff took over from other Adaptive functions and dominated Council meetings.

With the Feasibility Study having been read, Councillors began to develop their own definitions of the situation. That is to say, they developed attitudes of their own about the Community College and the goals that might be implemented by it. These definitions influenced the process of staff recruitment and selection. Accordingly the next section of the Chapter is devoted to reconstructing and analysing the attitudes, goals and concepts to which Councillors claimed subscription.

Council Members' Definitions of the Situation

To provide an informative preface to the commentary and analysis that follows, a brief resume of three biographical qualities of the Councillors - occupation, educational qualifications and involvement with Community organisations will be given.

Biographical Characteristics

The occupations of the Council members were accountant, trade union secretary, high school principal, farmer, teacher, service station owner, deputy-mayor, civil-engineer, architect, company directors, catholic priest and education board clerk. Their academic and professional qualifications included a Doctorate in Philosophy and Theology, professional degrees in Architecture, Engineering, Accountancy and Education, bachelors and masters degrees in the humanities and social sciences and a variety of qualifications in the trades ranging from basic to, advanced-trades certificates and New Zealand Certificate.

*Corroboration is contained in a letter, dated June 19th, 1974 from the Secretary of the Hawke's Bay Technical Institute Council to Mr J.R.A. Harrison, M.P. for Hawke's Bay, commenting on the Minister's (Mr P. Amos) statement that the "Community College must be opened next year." On June 25th, 1974, the Minister, while attending a Council meeting, confirmed that the College would be open in 1975 (from Hawke's Bay Technical Institute Council minutes).
Involvement in Community Associations ranged from membership in the local Lions and Rotary clubs through to regional and National Boards and committees.

**Definitions of the Situation**

Not surprisingly, perspectives on education were diverse. Councillors varied considerably in their conceptions of the Community College and its likely role in the Hawke's Bay. Some Councillors were better able (and in some cases perhaps more willing) to articulate their points of view. Among those who expressed a well developed viewpoint were the two High Schools Boards' representatives, both with a long history of association with technical-education and the preparation of secondary school students for occupations in commerce and industry. Once assured, however, that commercial and trade training needs were to be catered for by the Community College they became committed to achieving a wider set of goals than the goals implied by the technical-education perspective that hitherto had been dominant in their thinking. Thus the Hastings High Schools Board representative was able to comment that while

the technical-institute would have taken over and given a secure footing to the (hitherto) high school-based vocational classes, the idea of a Community College changed all this ....We hope that through the development of the Community College that, that trend will continue and that the College will take over the vocational classes. However, its role is going to be much wider than this. The real purpose of the Community College is with Community-Education - of getting out into the community (Interview, May, 1976).

In the period prior to the advent of the idea of a Community College, preoccupation with planning for a technical-institute had created a kind of tunnel-vision. But planning for a Community College triggered the imagination of even the hardened technical-institute campaigners on Council and allowed latent ambitions to surface. For instance, one of the ex-Joint Boards' Committee members, now on the Council, commented that:
I had five and a half months overseas, two of them were spent in the United States, two months in the U.K. and the rest of the time I was able to look at some education in Australia ... not because I thought of a Community College in New Zealand, but because I was basically interested in Community Education - probably stemming from the tertiary classes that were here (in the Hawke's Bay). I don't know, I never really stopped to think about it. But I did spend quite a lot of time in such institutions and saw something of what happened in Community Education.

In further elaborating this concept of Community Education, it was noted, by the Hastings High School Board's representative, that the typical adult education pattern is for people to attend classes in a school setting; for example night classes at secondary high schools or extension classes at a university. In contrast the Community College should "take education to the community." This notion of taking education to the community "was pretty basic" and carried the implication that the College staff would work out in the community. "They should move around and identify needs and organise on a sound community basis. That's the kind of education that's wanted." (Interview, May, 1976).

Whereas the two Councillors cited above had already begun to formulate for themselves a personal concept of Community College, others took some time to decide what this new kind of organisation ought to be like. This kind of reflection about purposes was an unfamiliar process. For most Councillors the purposes of education had remained implicit, or were taken as given. In his attempt to arrive at his explicit formulation of concept and purpose.a Councillor representing Cultural and Community Interests (one of three co-opted some months after the Council was elected) noted that the first aspect to be coped with was the fact that "the Community College is not a well recognised category of institute." His problem, along with others was "to decide just what the Community Council is going to do and how it might differ from a technical institute." He emphasised two main features that might be incorporated into the organisation of the College:
(i) the Community College should take seriously its relationship with the community - geographically, in terms of economic development and to meet a diversity of needs, and,

(ii) at least notionally, attach equal importance to the vocational and non-vocational education aspects of the College mission (Interview, May, 1976).

The Napier High Schools Board's representative, an architect by profession, went a step further. He claimed that the Community College should aim to

upgrade the general level of education for illumination of people in the Hawke's Bay. It could induct people to different ways of life than what they were used to; to go somewhere else, to make some sort of contact that would enlighten them to the fact that there is something else in life other than what they are doing. And if this could be injected all the way through we'd get a cross-flow of knowledge, non-specific though it might be and this is what I felt the Community College was going to have to be about. I didn't see it as a degree making facility. I didn't see it as certification authority. I saw it as a place where a lot of things could happen for a lot of little interests and out of which something good was going to grow...... An apprentice has to go to that institute. My feelings were, all right you've already directed the poor fellow there against his will. Now, show some activity going on there which he might like as well. Make it pleasant so it's not just another factory where you learn your trade, but it's a place where you can see that there are other things happening (Interview, May, 1976).

There are three noteworthy aspects to this Councillor's definition of the situation. First his concept of the College was both a liberal and a broad-minded one. This is reflected in the range and type of educational activities he envisaged for the College. Educationally speaking, he saw the change from Technical-Institute to Community College to be advantageous. Second, he saw the Community College
as a place of learning to which students might come. This counter-balanced the out-reach conception expressed by others and in the Feasibility Study. Third, his implicit commitment to the idea of the Community College as serving needs — in this case the need to upgrade the general education for illumination of people in the Hawke's Bay — was consistent, in general terms with the view of others.

The Feasibility Study itself, in order to both stimulate new educational ideas and reinforce existing ones, had expressed the College's Continuing education Mission in terms of serving the community by responding to a diverse range of community-based needs. Neither in the Feasibility Study, nor in Council members' views was the role of College staff seen as generating needs or prescribing what students ought to study. While the notion of meeting needs was taken as a given by most Councillors, the Federated Farmers' representative on Council both forcefully and clearly articulated the view that the Community College should predominantly respond to rather than be a prescriber of educational needs. Even in relation to the vocational-education domain;

It isn't the function of the Community College to determine needs — that is the function of the industry. The industry training board — professional training council — should be representing the industry, speaking for the industry. It's the Community College's function to see how it can best respond to those needs (Interview, May, 1976).

The carrying out of this responsive role by Community College staff was seen to carry with it the implication that staff become actively involved in the community. As a result they could "become attuned to wants and needs" and assist in the initiation rather than the prescription of courses and activities.

This view of the College as an initiating and responsive educational agency was the dominant view amongst Councillors. As one Councillor put it:

the Community College is a technical institute with the lid off. (As such) it should meet the needs and the wants, which is not quite the same thing as the demands of the community — which was in touch with the community to
identify those needs and which was infinitely flexible but which must not be dominant. This was important in community education in particular. Nuclear technology is in the news, somebody could start that. It could go like a bomb. It could go for two years and then go phut. Now we've got to respond to that because whether it's important that Joe Doakes learns something about nuclear technology or not, I think it's damned important that if Joe Doakes wants to know something he can have some mental pabulum on which to exercise his brain. The main thing about the Community College is that - and again I come back to this word "flexible" - it has to be reactive, it has to respond to whatever the community wants but recognise that what the community wants is a changing thing. What I'm really saying is that I don't want you or I or some other genius to sit up on top and say a Community College shall be this, come forward in ordered lines and accept your doses. You've really got to do it properly or leave it alone. You can put across if you do it properly, the idea of trying to understand rather than making judgements; of trying to see another point of view. There is certainly a lot to be done in this area but it's a serious activity and should be an ongoing one (Interview, May, 1976).

The ideas contained in this interview extract were consistent with the perspective of the Feasibility Study. However, as a personal account the extract provides direct evidence of the kind of thinking that lay behind Council decisions. Specifically the ideas of "flexible response", "service to the community", "searching out, understanding and meeting educational needs" featured as guiding conceptions. While these conceptions were both seriously entertained and subscribed to by Councillors, there remained a solid core of Councillors who kept a watching brief over the specific need for Vocational-Education. They were concerned that Vocational-Education remained the primary goal of the Community College. This concern is reflected in a comment made by the Employers' Association representative that

the trades are going to have to be very carefully watched ...
They've got to be our first priority; to make sure there is
training available readily ... further development in technical training, technicians' courses, ... small business management, foremen's courses, that type of thing ... and I think gradually, as a Council we're going to have to be involved in policy making which will direct the College in which fields it's going to spend its time (Interview, May, 1976).

Even though there was a solid core of Councillors who saw their role as that of establishing and maintaining Vocational-Education, there was also a small, but articulate group who wanted to see a commitment of resources to social-welfare oriented courses and programmes. Thus one Councillor representing community and cultural affairs saw the Community College as

a government organisation that is capable of innovating; especially amongst those in the community who look for and are in need of alternative forms of education - forms that have never been evident in New Zealand (Interview, February, 1976).

In order to carry out this innovative role he believed, along with others, that the Community College should employ staff who were able and willing to

go out into the community where no other organisations are - apart from say, the Police, Welfare and Justice departments - and work in the field with people at risk. It was mainly from a community education point of view that this idea was fed into the Community College Feasibility Study, that along with all those, shall we say, 'services for people with plenty, the needs of those who had no communications with an educational organisation should be recognised ... For a Community College to be successful in this work it's got to team up with local groups (Interview, February, 1976).

Each of the Councillors was an advocate and representative of a specific community interest group. However, the Council was virtually unanimous that (i) the Community College was best served by the Council attempting to implement a diversity of goals, and,
(ii) at least in principle, providing an equitable distribution of resources to both vocational and non-vocational education goals.

With this two-pronged policy in place the Community College could "look forward to a balanced development." This balanced development position stood in contrast to the view expressed by the Education Department's Technical Director who commented on various occasions * that vocational-education courses were to account for up to 90% of the College's teaching, with Community-Education at no time accounting for more than about 25%.

This horrified all of us, even the vocational education people on Council, if you could call them that (Interview, Councillor, May, 1976).

The Technical-Education Director's comments resulted (perhaps unwittingly) in an increased determination (by the Council) that development occur on a 50-50 basis.

The Council, having thus resolved to its own satisfaction the question of balance, but also conscious of diverse points of view, expectations and goals represented among them, made preparations in August 1974 to select the initial staff for the College. Councillors were aware, as one Councillor put it, that they were starting off a new venture as beginners. We had no traditions to guide us (Interview, May, 1976).

They recognised, however, that the creation of a new-type of

* The first was at a meeting of the Joint High Schools Board's Committee on 15 February 1973, the second at the inaugural meeting of the Interim Technical Institute Council on 22 April 1974, and reiterated to the Council at meetings convened to select staff and on numerous other occasions both personally to Council and College staff members and in correspondence. Such comments were indicative of "the live worry" in the Department (referred to by the Director-General in an April, 1975, interview) about the diminution of technical-education, and moves underway in the Department to develop a Continuing Education Directorate that would either subsume or at least compete with Technical-Education for control over resources and jurisdictions.
organisation involved much more than appointing executive staff simply to carry out routine administrative work and a professional teaching staff simply to organise and run courses. Even though the Feasibility Study neglected to make this requirement explicit, Council members understood, as did the Director-General of Education that,

You have got to implant staff first so that (the Community College) will get the chance to go in the direction in which you want it to go. (The appointment of staff) provides a good illustration of what I regard as one of the (primary) tasks of administration in transforming fictions into fact (Interview, April, 1975).

The Selection of the Initial Staff

The Council never formally articulated a policy on staff recruitment and selection. Even at the end of the present study, some eighteen months after the College opened, an explicit and codified policy did not exist. Decisions on the recruitment and selection of staff were initially based on tacit understandings between members of the Council. Later, these understandings were extended to include the Director and other executive personnel. The data on staff recruitment and selection were collected from observed and reported conversations, informal and formal meetings, organisational correspondence and documents and interview discussions. Despite the absence of formal and codified policy statements, there was an abundance of material from which to construct a reasonably accurate facsimile of guiding conceptions and relevant considerations in the personnel decisions taken at this College and the outlines of a policy that can be inferred from them.

The Selection of the Chief Executive

Without exception, the members of the Community College Council regarded the selection of the Chief Executive Officer as the single most important decision they were required to make. They were aware that, in effect, they were selecting a partner to work with them to set goals, create policy and see both goals and policy implemented. While all Councillors were concerned to select "the right person for the job", there were some differences of opinion as to the qualities such
a person ought to possess. Among the Council members, two dominant attitudes came to light. One group of Councillors wanted the Community College to break new educational ground. They hoped to attract a responsive and innovative person to the position of Principal. The other group of Councillors wanted a person whose achievements and reputation might give to the Community College a degree of academic respectability that could set it apart from technical institutes. They wanted to create an organisation that would ultimately resemble a university in prestige and status, though not on the same scale or necessarily in the same style of operation. After all,

Hawke's Bay had always regarded itself as being entitled to a University and the Community College was the best we could get. So we thought, well, we'll make it into a University of some sort (Interview, Council Chairman, May, 1976).

During the months of July and August 1974 the Council received in response to advertisements that had been placed in the Education Gazette and in local and metropolitan newspapers, applications for the position of Principal of the Community College. The applications received came from lecturers and administrators in New Zealand teachers' colleges, technical institutes, and universities, from secondary school teachers and administrators and from administrators in universities overseas. These applications were considered by the staffing committee. A short list was drawn up and submitted to the full Council for approval preparatory to the conducting of interviews in mid August, 1974.

As the staffing sub-committee of Council saw it, the Principal of the Community College should have professional knowledge, insight and experience of educational organisations, their functions and operation. However, just what knowledge, insight and experience was most appropriate to direct the affairs of a Community College was by no means clear. One Council member observed that prior to the interviewing of candidates

all we seemed to know was that there was a job to be filled and a Community College to be developed, and it was going to require a person with a fair amount of talent to do it (Interview, Council Member, May, 1976).
The Council sought guidance from the Education Department. This was provided by the Director of Technical-Education who sat in on interviews and participated in pre-and post-interview discussions. His advice was, however, predominantly in the direction of favouring a Principal whose prior experience was with the management of technical institutes, thus reflecting his concern that the Community College should be concerned primarily with vocational-education.

On his view choosing a Community College Principal was, in the main, a routine process of applying established criteria. Councillors, both individually and as a whole, steadfastly resisted any tendency to regard the task of appointing their Community College Principal as routine. The general attitude is summed up in one Councillor's comment that an acceptable applicant would be

Someone a little out of the mould of the technical institute principal. Consequently (the Council) was not necessarily going to pick the man that the Departmental Advisor (might) have picked - a proven administrator, a (person) who had come up through the ranks of the Department, who knew the ropes and so forth. Such a person would have been very acceptable, but in fact we wanted someone just a little bit out of that line, and yet not someone who was going to be all charisma and no administrative ability. We had to have that (administrative ability) clearly, since we couldn't, apart from the Council Secretary, provide him with anything at that stage in the way of administration (Interview, Council Member, May, 1976).

The Council finally made a decision to appoint to the position of Community College Principal, a forty-three year old New Zealander. He was a Social Anthropologist, and possessed a doctorate from the London School of Economics. He was widely travelled with work experience in occupations ranging from freezing worker to university lecturer. At the time of selection he occupied a position as Professor and Faculty Dean in an overseas university.

In virtue of his experience and various abilities, Councillors saw in their first Director a person who was capable of acquiring the kind of in-depth and intimate understanding of the infra-structure of the
Hawke's Bay community that would enable the Community College to make both an immediate and, it was hoped, an enduring impact. To make such an impact he would have to both attend to the internal requirements of organisation-building and assess and cope with an ideologically diverse, community based and perhaps a competing array of claims for action that could be made to the College. With the Principal having been appointed, the Council then set about appointing other executive personnel.

**Vocational Studies - Choosing a Department Head**

The selection of a second Head of Department for Community Education and a Registrar was shelved at this time as being beyond the competence of the Council alone to decide. The appointment of the Vocational-Education Head was however, another matter.

Most Council members recognised that, in forming a new-type of organisation, the chief-executive appointment is not the only problematic one. All senior positions accordingly were given serious consideration. Though, from Councillors retrospective comments it is not clear that all of the Councillors fully understood that for a Community College, the vocational-education aspect should be seen as an integral part of the total operation (Interviews, May, 1976). Consequently the person appointed to the position of Vocational-Education Head had to be someone who could integrate technical education with other educational-functions. He had to be well experienced and knowledgeable in the ways of technical institutes, but also capable of cooperating and working with staff whose backgrounds might be of a non-vocational nature.

From a Structure-Functional standpoint, the problem was the developmental one of creating an initial homogeneous staff, capable of developing a shared general perspective and of reflecting the basic policies of the organisation in their own outlooks. As Selznick (1957) points out, where the mission of an organisation is regarded as open-ended, its key personnel have to be capable of spontaneous regularity of response. The Vocational-Education Head of Department could help develop a shared perspective among the staff and then devise vocational-education programmes that were wider in their concept and scope than conventional technical institute offerings.
From a relatively wide field of applicants, the choice of a Vocational-Education Head went to a forty-eight year old senior course supervisor from the Wellington Central Institute of Technology. He had trades qualifications in the engineering and motor-trades and wide experience in both fields. His task was regarded by a number of Councillors primarily as establishing an operational technical-training centre within the College. However, the effectiveness with which such a task was carried out was likely to be measured in terms of both conventional technical-education and innovative criteria related to the overall goal of Continuing-Education (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

**Vocational Studies - Choosing the Tutorial Staff**

Because trade-training programmes were the first to become operational, trade-training tutors had to be appointed at the same time as the two senior-executive positions were being filled. Although the Chief Executive had been appointed first, he was not immediately available at the College to participate in the making of further appointments. This absence had a number of consequences. As well as having no say in the selection of the Vocational Education Head of Department, the Principal also did not have the opportunity to assist in the selection of trade-training tutors. The Council was thus left with the task of not only assessing the technical competence of prospective tutors, but also of selecting personnel who they hoped would work with the Principal to establish a shared perspective on the mission and role of the College.

The Council decided not to appoint Community-Education tutors until after the arrival of the Director. However they had to appoint Vocational Education tutors to take up positions by January of 1975. The Council asked the newly appointed Department Head to assist them in this task. No time was wasted. On the same day that he accepted the position the Head of Department was given

- a list that contained the applications for the other positions and an (acquisition) list for equipment.

The job virtually started right then (Interview, Head of Department, June, 1975).
The criteria for selection were not altogether unequivocal. On the one hand, there was a clear requirement for demonstrated expertise and experience in specific trade areas. On the other hand, an open-ended attitude that would allow flexible adaptation to the as yet unknown requirements of Community College work was also required.

The first criterion was however seen as paramount. Other circumstances served to subdue the second. For some tutors winning an appointment at this College was not in doubt. Because they were employed in local high schools, a number could exercise the right of transfer. This right was also perceived by some as presenting a bleak alternative; either to take the job or go to another organisation outside the region. The applicants therefore fell into two categories. First, there were those who could move, virtually automatically across to comparable positions at the Community College. There was some disquiet at the manner in which translation occurred. In the main, salary levels were protected as these tutors moved into tutor grades that offered salary prospects better than they could expect to achieve in the Secondary School Service. For the Council, the task of selection was denied in the case of the six tutors who fitted into the automatic transfer category. Second, the remaining applicants competed in the normal way for positions on the Community College staff. In this case the Council was able to select the staff.

According to the newly appointed Head of Department, applicants were judged in terms of:

(i) recent and related successful work experience in industry,

(ii) a proven ability to initiate new programmes,

(iii) variety of work experience in industry,

* Some staff were not notified about the fact of their transfers until December, 1974, thus denying the opportunity to seek employment in other secondary high schools or technical institutes elsewhere. The question of transfer on "protected salary" was also perceived as unfair in that it placed a limit on salary increases that could be achieved.

** Two tutors were appointed to fill out-reach trade-training positions in Gisborne.
(iv) prior experience in a position of responsibility,
(v) high level of achievement as measured by appropriate trade qualification,
(vi) an ability to initiate teaching programmes from the ground up (and if necessary to design and assemble workshop fittings) and
(vii) an ability to relate subject matter to the current training requirements of industry.

These criteria constituted a formidable list of qualities for any one person to possess. While particular applicants may not have met all of them individually, the initial intake of eleven tutors did collectively meet them. Their age range was from 24 to 43 years. Background experience ranged across middle management positions in industry, teaching in trade programmes in places from New Guinea to Fiji, and both full-time and part-time teaching positions in high schools and technical institutes both in and out of New Zealand.

Additional appointments included a maintenance officer and three ancillary staff. Along with the Director and Vocational-Education Head these staff had all arrived at the College by February 1975. The distribution of appointments in the first month of operation is given in table 6. This table shows the pattern of initial appointments in the context of a slightly modified Hawke's Bay Community College organisation chart as given in the Hawke's Bay Community College Feasibility Study (Hamilton, 1973, p.57).
Table 6  
HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE ORGANISATIONAL CHART  
FIRST MONTH OF OPERATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H.O.D. - 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tutor 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutor 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tutor 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typists - 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Tutor 3
- Tutor 2: Building Trades 1, Mechanical-engineering 1, Automotive-engineering 1
- Tutor 1: Building Trades 3, Mechanical-engineering 1, Electrical 1, Secretarial 2, Hairdressing 1
- Support Staff: Maintenance officer 1
- Total College Staff n = 17

n = 13
From table 6 it can be seen that with all the full-time teaching staff appointed to vocational-education positions, initial programmes could not avoid being heavily weighted in favour of vocational-education goals and perspectives.

For a Council wanting to implement a policy of balanced development, this initial organisational asymmetry was a matter of some concern, a concern which might be alleviated however by having the Director work with the Council in the devising of a balanced development plan. To this end a pre-Christmas Council meeting was arranged to coincide with the Director's arrival to take up his position. At this meeting (December 5th, 1974), he was invited to become a member of, and work with Councillors on the staffing and buildings and facilities sub-committees of Council. Even though the Community College and the Council would thereafter function as two separate organisational entities, the initial steps were taken for a symbiotic relationship to form. Irrespective of whether or not such a relationship developed, the appointment of staff and the near completion of buildings meant that the Community College could become operational and begin to function as an action-system. With the Director's arrival there thus began a new phase in the evolution of the Hawke's Bay Community College.
SECTION II

THE FORMATION OF THE HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE
THE OPERATIONAL STAGE
Whereas the previous two Chapters dealt with the various agencies responsible for forming the Community College, the focus of attention in Chapter six is on the internal process of making the Community College operational. This process began with the arrival of the Director and, as a stage of development, extended through to the completion of a major public relations exercise, Seminar 75, in mid April, 1975. Thereafter a new phase of organisation-building activity began which is deserving of attention in its own right.

At the beginning of the operational-stage, the Director worked closely with Council members to appoint additional staff and to expedite the completion of buildings and facilities. Both the Director and Councillors wanted a full complement of executive staff with whom to open the College. They also wanted the buildings to be ready for occupation, provide congenial working conditions for both staff and students and be conducive to convivial relationships within the College (Interview, Director, June, 1975). The appointment of executive personnel and the provision of operational buildings and facilities are the two topics which provide, in this Chapter, a basis from which to discuss:

(i) the working out of an internal division of labour, and,

(ii) the manner in which the staff formed an operational Community College.

The Selection of Additional Executive Staff

The Council could have appointed all four of the College's executive personnel in August of 1974, the date of the Director's appointment. They had to appoint the Vocational-Education Head. However, there was a strong consensus that the Director should be directly involved with the appointment of the Community Education Head and the Registrar. The Council had taken a gamble that the Director and Vocational-Education Head could work together to develop the College, but believed that the Director should be permitted with the remaining two executive appointments to make such a judgement for himself. The Council retained the right of veto and took final responsibility for the staff selections.
Shortly after the Director's arrival at the College, the staffing sub-committee of the Council asked him to advertise the positions of the Community Education Head and the Registrar. While seen as urgent, the recruitment of the Community Education tutors was judged inadvisable until after the appointment of the Community Education Head and the completion of the open-day-cum-Public Seminar scheduled for mid April.

The selection of the Head of Community Education and the Registrar necessitated, as a first step, that the Director come to terms with the administrative framework within which appointments could be made. This framework, it will be recalled, consisted of an hierarchically organised structure containing the positions of Director, two heads of Department and the Registrar. As a second step the Director believed that any new appointments at the executive level should blend in with and extend rather than duplicate existing administrative talents and ability. He therefore assessed existing talents and ability as a basis from which to work out the specific additional administrative qualities required to guide and control the direction and form of the Community College's development.

In the assessment of his own abilities and talents, the Director identified four main qualities that dominated the way he sought to exercise his particular executive role. These included:

(i) relating to people informally in the public sense, i.e. initiating and sustaining communication externally,

(ii) relating to people at a number of levels, from mothers' union groups to rotary club luncheons,

(iii) thinking situations through on one's feet and being prepared to be reasonably rash, in a productive sense, in order to initiate programmes, and,

(iv) establishing some standing in the community, i.e. either by deed or reputation - thus gaining access to various groups and organisations (Interview, Director, June, 1975).
In contrast, the Vocational Head of Department was seen as a person who by experience and disposition was better suited than the Director to manage the internal running of the College. His particular strengths as an administrator were seen to derive from the fact that not only is he strongly vocationally oriented, he knows, (in setting-up the College) how to deal with technical institute problems, knows how to deal with the Wellington paperwork, knows what the expectations are. He is someone familiar with (departmental procedures). If we'd swapped it over, and if I were concerned with (that side) there would be an awful shambles. So you've got to treat that as an organisational unit (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

As a result of this appraisal of the existing administrative situation, the Director outlined in broad terms the qualities required for the remaining executive positions.

The Community Education Head should be able to;

(i) assess community needs and mobilise community interests into areas of study,

(ii) take a suggested idea and translate it into a systematic series of objectives, and

(iii) create an organisational division capable of mounting programmes and making them operational.

The Registrar should be able to set up:

(i) a general office system which is efficient and capable of satisfying all the staff's needs, and

(ii) an accounting system that will;

(a) make effective the day to day operation of the College's administrative processes

(b) provide information to monitor expansion and justify further expansion in terms of costs, and

(c) establish and maintain financial control over the total operation

(Interview, June, 1975).
The selection of the Director and Vocational-Education Head had been a lengthy process. Short-listed applications had been brought for interviews from various places both in New Zealand and from overseas. The interviews were conducted by the whole Council and extended over two days. In contrast, the selection of the two remaining executive staff involved a much simpler process, and for a number of specific reasons. The Council had been favourably impressed by one of the other applicants for the Director's position, an individual known and respected by the Director. When he applied for the position of Community-Education Head, the Council offered it to him without further ado.

The person appointed to the position of Community-Education Head was an ex-Hawke's Bay resident and New Zealand trained teacher, with a masters degree in Geography. He was knowledgeable in environmental studies, formally qualified to teach speech and drama and currently held a senior university position in extramural studies and media. The position was accepted, with an agreed appointment date in November of 1975. This appointment was seen by both the Council and Director as providing an ideal complement to the first two executive appointments. However the euphoria was to be short-lived. The appointee, having last set foot in the College in April at Seminar '75, resigned. The resignation was seen by the Council as a major set-back for planned College developments and by the Director as a personal disappointment. The effect was simply that the position of Community-Education Head remained vacant and had to be re-advertised. It was not finally filled until May, 1976. As it was, the agreed initial arrival date of December, 1975 had a number of unintended and un-anticipated development outcomes. These outcomes were accentuated by the Community-Education Head's non-arrival. They are to be discussed later in the Chapter.

The appointment of the Registrar took place under similar conditions. The manager of the local branch of a large computer firm had, prior to the position's being advertised, expressed an interest in coming to work at the Community College. Previously he had installed computer-based accounting systems in business firms and government offices throughout the Hawke's Bay and was well known to a number of Councillors. The Council offered him the position and
consented to a belated start date on the 15th April, 1975, some three and a half months after the College opened. In the Council's and the Director's eyes, the Registrar was regarded as comparable in status with a Head of Department. He subsequently became Secretary to the Council and, along with the other three executive staff, a member of the College management team. Under his management the College Registry was destined to play a key role in the evolution of the College. The effects of the Registry and the interaction of Registry staff with other College personnel are to be explored in more depth in a later Chapter.

The Delegation of Authority and Responsibility

The agreement by Council to accept belated appointment dates for both the Community-Education Head and the Registrar had specific consequences for internal division of labour, the allocation of responsibilities and the delegation of authority. Ultimate administrative authority and responsibility for devising policies and determining priorities came to be vested in the Director. However, the Director recognised that both staff morale and organisational effectiveness were dependent on the Chief Executive being perceived as willing to create opportunities for staff to share in the determination of priorities and in policy making (Interview, Director, March, 1975). The creation of such opportunities by the Director required significant acts of delegation, but no sacrifice of ultimate authority or evasion of final responsibility for the overall operation of the College.

Authority and Responsibility - The Director

The unequal weightings of staff appointments, in favour of Vocational Education and the lack of a Community-Education Head and tutors resulted in the Director initially playing a dual role as Chief Executive and Department Head. With the carrying out of this dual role he took responsibility for and control over:

(i) the initiation and setting up of Community-Education programmes in the form of "one-off courses getting off the ground one-by-one" (Interview, Director, June, 1975), and,
(ii) the administration of the College as a whole and the conducting of a variety of relationships with individuals and organisations in the external environment; the latter ranging from public speaking engagements, council meetings, through to negotiations with the Department of Education on matters such as progress on buildings and facilities, and the implementation of the Standard Tertiary Bursary.

In broad terms, the Director's role was operationally defined by him as more associated with external communication than with internal development. This dominating preoccupation with the environment is to be discussed in Chapter seven.

An immediate consequence of the Director's role definition was that his attention was directed away from working with other staff and the development of the College as a socially cohesive unit. This aspect of organisation building took second place at a time when achieving effectiveness in the form of operational programmes and the conduct of public relations were given first priority. However, building harmonious and productive working relationships did not go entirely unrecognised by the Director as a potential development problem that required attention and resolution. He hoped that de-emphasising status differences and adopting informal approaches to staff relationships would enable staff to work together and cope with any interpersonal difficulties that might occur (Interview, June, 1975).

Taking responsibility for interpersonal leadership was not so much delegated but assumed to be something that could more or less look after itself -- something that other staff members should cope with if and when the occasion arose (Interview, March, 1975). As Selznick (1957) points out however, in a new organisation, the problem of cohesion should not be taken for granted -- especially before goals, ways of conducting programmes and techniques of administration that presume its solution are instituted. The point not fully appreciated at the time by the Director was that by virtually opting-out of an interpersonal leadership role, he ran the risk of losing touch with and therefore control over the formation of attitudes, the setting of goals and the development of sub-unit and interest-group loyalties.
The possibility of this outcome occurring was not envisaged during the first few months in which the staff, both at executive and tutor levels, were preoccupied with the day to day business of making the College operational.

The Vocational-Education Head

Consequent on the Director's taking responsibility for both his own Chief Executive functions and mounting non-vocationally oriented Community Education programmes, (and contrary to the intentions of government planners) distinction between vocational and non-vocational executive roles began to emerge. The Vocational-Education Head delegated the authority, took on virtually full responsibility for setting up what was, in effect, a small technical institute operation (Interview, Head of Department, July, 1975). In the words of the Director, the Vocational Head was to act on any matters:

that were specifically related to the vocational programme, where there are departmental guidelines on allocation of finance to courses and where new capital equipment is approved through the (departmental) system. That is ... totally delegated to the Head of Department and then the administration of the subsequent financial operation is totally delegated, when he arrives, to the Registrar, (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

Thus the Vocational-Education Department was formed. It comprised the Head of Department, all the trades and commercial training tutors, technicians and students. Within this domain the Department Head took responsibility for

(i) the coordination and control of teaching and learning,

(ii) the procurement and allocation of equipment and facilities,

(iii) the generation of a continuous supply of students,

(iv) the counselling of tutorial staff and students,

(v) the carrying out of negotiations with employers and various professional organisations, community groups and associations, and higher controlling authorities, such as the Vocational Training Board and the Education Department.
In addition the Head of Department had a mandate to respond to expressed needs for and perhaps even initiate trades and commerce oriented Community Education programmes. On the latter point the Director and the Head of Department both expected they might succeed in blurring the distinction between vocational and non-vocational education.

By virtue of his position within the College, and the authority delegated to him, the Vocational-Education Head also had an opportunity, (almost equivalent to that of the Director), to influence the creation of policy and control the direction of development. Though not explicitly delegated authority to deal with interpersonal matters, he came to accept this as an integral part of his role and an important aspect of organisation building.

There were limits of course to what the Vocational-Education Head could do. On occasions the Director took over. In particular, when new programmes were envisaged the Director either participated in forming the associated policy or required that final proposals be submitted to him for approval (Interview, Director, March, 1975). When new programmes or planned developments required outside approval, the Director sometimes exercised his prerogative to carry out negotiations with the Council, the Education Department, or a National Training Board.

Sub-Executive Staff

The staff, by sharing with the Director and the Head of Department, in the organisational building process could make the College an operational and going concern. The staff could be instrumental in determining how the College could evolve as an unique and distinctive new-type of educational organisation. The achievement of such an outcome might be taken as a measure of their effectiveness as a staff (Interview, Director, July, 1975).

At the sub-executive level staff roles were relatively clear cut. Each tutor had been appointed to teach courses in a designated commercial or trades area. Each was allocated a classroom, a workshop, requisite teaching aids, equipment and a number of students. Within particular specialities, each staff member was given considerable freedom
to exercise his or her own judgement in defining a role. The process of role definition included:

(i) designing and fitting out workshops,
(ii) ordering materials and equipment,
(iii) regulating hours of work (though within government prescribed limits),
(iv) initiating courses and programmes, and,
(iv) coping with various related demands on time and energy.

Because staff appointment dates were so close to the College's opening date there was little if any time to settle in. All teaching staff had to begin classes almost immediately. Classes had to be conducted with buildings and facilities incomplete and in some cases teaching aids and workshop equipment missing. At the beginning of 1975 the state of the buildings and facilities constrained the actions of staff and provided a physical context within which distinct interaction patterns and work relationships began to emerge. In other words the buildings and facilities* influenced in a direct way the character of life in the Community College and provided less than optimal conditions within which the staff could develop courses and programmes. For this reason the next section of the Chapter describes the development of the site, buildings and facilities and the state they were in at the beginning of 1975. With the scene thus set, discussion then turns to developments within the buildings and facilities.

Buildings and Facilities

In an earlier Chapter mention was made of the manner in which the site was initially procured and buildings and facilities planned for a technical institute and how, subsequently, a Community College became the institute. It was not until the Council was formed, that a determined, though somewhat belated effort was made to adapt the buildings already

* A detailed analysis of the effects of the buildings and facilities on the evolution of the College is given in Nolan, C.J.P. The Design and Institutional Character of a Community College Hawke's Bay Community College Research Project, Massey University, 1976.
begun and procure new buildings to suit the requirements of a Community College. As one Council member commented,

We were very concerned with buildings and grounds. We had to have a base. That was important. So a quite definite aim of some Councillors was to get a good building set up. There has been a constant battle with the Department of Education and the Ministry of Works and Development over what they think we need and what we think we need (Interview, May, 1976).

The contribution that a physical structure can make to the life of an organisation became an issue of some importance to the Director. The professed aim of some Councillors was to construct an educational-organisation (an educational cathedral, in the terms of the Officer for Continuing-Education) that was the centre of tertiary education in the Hawke's Bay (Interview, May, 1978). However, the Director's professed aim was to change the closed technical-education orientation implied by many of the College's buildings so they could be consistent with the Community College. He wanted physical structures that were:

- relatively open and flexibly adaptive to a wide range of possible uses
- capable of facilitating a sense of community within the College itself, and
- likely to produce a sense of allegiance that teachers and students might take and carry with them when they leave the College and go elsewhere.

(Interviews, June and December, 1975)

Although a number of Council members were committed to industrial and commercial training they also recognised (partly as a consequence of the Director's influence), that the physical character of the College could affect the staff's ability to reach a wider clientele. That clientele might make a substantial contribution to the College's growth. The Director set out, soon after his appointment, to work closely with the Council and the Hawke's Bay District Ministry of Works and Development architect to modify the architectural briefs in order to produce facilities and buildings that might be suited to a Community College.
Ultimately the Otatara site was fully landscaped and sealed roads and parking spaces were provided. The Education Department planned six separate, interconnected buildings. These buildings were to include:

(i) a workshop block (a large, rectangular building subdivided into five workshop-cum-teaching units for the trades),

(ii) a building barn,

(iii) a library,

(iv) a boilerhouse,

(v) four-storey teaching and administration block to comprise the core buildings and facilities for a small technical institute, and,

(vi) 'relocatable' community-education buildings.

A plan of the site and projected buildings is set out in Diagram 3.

The dates on which contracts had been let for each of the buildings and site development work extended over a two and a half year period. The scheduled completion dates were: the Workshop Block on November 27th, 1972; Building Barn on February 7th, 1974; Boilerhouse on September 19th, 1974; Library on December 5th, 1973; Relocatable Block on November 11th, 1974; 4-storey Teaching Block on April 18th, 1975; Stormwater and Reticulation on February 14th, 1974; and finance approved to commence site development on October 20th, 1974 (i.e. roads, carparks, landscaping etc.).

By January of 1975 buildings were in various stages of completion and correspondingly in various states of readiness to receive staff and students. The Building and Grounds Committee reported to the January 1975 Community College Council meeting that the:

- Workshop Block was 99% completed and due for completion by the first week of February
- Library Block was 89% completed and due for completion by mid February
- Building Barn was 76% completed and due for completion by mid February
Diagram 3 Plan of
Hawkes Bay Community College.
Relocatable (Community-Education) Block was then only 7% completed.

Boiler House was 20% completed but able to provide "temporary heating", by May if necessary.

Road and Car Parking was only 50% completed but due for completion by mid April.

Four-Storey Block was awaiting authority from the Department of Education to go to tender.

In reality none of the buildings was completed on time. In some cases there were delays ranging from two to twelve months.

Three out of the six buildings were occupiable when classes began in February of 1975. The Workshop Block and Building Barn served as classrooms for various trade-training programmes. A number of secretarial and commercial training programmes were conducted at a local high school as a temporary expedient. The Library Building served not as a library but as an interim administrative facility. The Director, secretary, typists and later on the Registrar were housed on its mezzanine floor. The ground floor housed the Vocational-Education Head, and later the first Community-Education tutor. The ground floor also housed (noisy) reprographic facilities and provided a venue for coffee and lunch breaks and staff meetings. During the evenings and weekends the Library served as a multiple-use, activities centre and provided a venue for Council meetings, public gatherings and various educational activities. Indeed this building came to be known as 'the Activities Centre'. The effort required to open the College on time in the buildings and facilities provided, generated both costs and benefits for the staff.

The Costs of becoming Operational

Delays in the completion of buildings, and in the arrival of teaching aids and equipment meant initially that "tutors had to work against the clock" to install equipment themselves at very short notice both before and during the commencement of classes. In some cases delays in the arrival of equipment and the incomplete state of workshops meant that classes could not begin on time.
Thus one tutor reported that:

I was appointed on February 1st, 1975, and arrived here on that date expecting to find a complete workshop all set up. When I walked in the door, all I had was an absolutely bare room. Not even a piece of cable switch gear or anything else - absolutely bare. I looked at it and thought it's not finished, there were wires dangling from the ceiling, builders still working, there was muck all over the floor, there were no tables or anything. The Head of Department suggested we defer classes for a further week, even then that was ridiculous - we didn't want classes for three months at least. All I had for tools when I came across was one pen knife, half a dozen screwdrivers, four pliers, three sidecutters, a big wood saw and a few hammers; tools which were completely insufficient to run a course (Interview, June, 1975).

Another tutor commented:

I wasn't employed as a tutor - I was employed as a remover to start with, then I had to install the equipment. In the end they got the stuff here, it was just lumped in the middle of the floor - a gigantic pile of machines, tools and bits and pieces - this had to be sorted out because a lot of it was junk - I say junk because a lot of it was donated (Interview, June, 1975).

A third quotation illustrates the kind of pressure under which tutors were working at the beginning of 1975:

The motor shop was the first to start and it looks like it will be last to finish. I think we had a week up our sleeves ... we were pretty worried in a lot of ways. I actually helped shift all the equipment over from the Hastings Boys' High where it was already being used. I took a day off work and we borrowed a truck from the Power Board and shifted a lot of it over. The workshop was absolutely full of equipment and we had the mammoth task of sorting it all out and putting it away. I knew we were supposed to start our courses on Monday.
We actually got it put back to Wednesday to give us an extra two days to sort things out. And then once we got the motor shop going, I became involved with setting up the welding shop and so I virtually had very little prep. time here at the College. When I got that set up I had to start doing the preparation for the forthcoming lessons in the welding shop. As I say, after about eight or nine weeks I was just about reduced to tears, I really wondered whether I could carry on. Fortunately there's plenty of encouragement going around here, plenty of people willing to help (Interview, June, 1975).

Comments similar to those cited above were made repeatedly by all the tutors. The comments indicate a price in terms of the personal effort that had to be paid in order that the College could become operational as a teaching unit.

Privations and inconvenience were experienced not just by the tutors. Senior staff members were unable to achieve sustained periods of solitude in which to engage in the necessary thinking and writing required for policy development and administration. Work had frequently to be taken home as there was little, if any, time left over during the day for the more reflective activities such as formulating goals and objectives, devising policy guidelines, instituting formal procedures and designing an internal communication system.

In coping with the day-to-day affairs of making the College operational, these more reflective activities were often neglected. There were more pressing and immediate problems to be coped with. But, because of the good-will of the tutors, everyone was sufficiently interested and concerned about getting the (College) going ... It was just because we all thought, and everyone was sufficiently excited about the enterprise ... that the (staff) carried the load without complaining (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

Indeed the good-will and cooperation that characterised life at the College during the first half of 1975 was evidenced in the way "people
helped each other between workshops, where the carpenters have put in the underfloor service for the motor mechanics, the electrician has wired up another shop — and so on (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

Very early in the life of the new College, the Director commented on "the quite unique collection of people on the staff and their willingness to get on with the job, at times under conditions of considerable hardship — and that's how it is, right through to ancillary staff, everyone. There just isn't an exception to this rule" (Interview, 18.6.76). Thus conditions of adversity also generated a number of beneficial outcomes.

The Benefits of Initial Conditions

The staff members experienced frustration at the excessive demand put on their time and effort. They opened the College and made it operational under less than optimal conditions. However they had a personal stake in the success of their new organisation and had come to the College with a high degree of commitment to "doing a good job ... Everyone was seen to be pulling their weight, from the Director to the caretaker" (Interview, tutor, June, 1975) in a collective effort to have the College ready to open on time.

All the tutors worked in classrooms and workshops. At other times they all met together informally as a group in the Activities Centre. Each situation is discussed in turn.

Work Settings

With two exceptions all the tutors worked in pairs. There were four building trades tutors who formed two working units. One unit occupied the Building Barn and the other unit occupied a workshop in the Workshop Block. There were two automotive-engineering tutors, two mechanical-engineering tutors, two secretarial tutors, an electrical-trades tutor and a hairdressing tutor all of whom were allocated workshops and classrooms.

In their respective territories the staff worked together. For the most part each pair of tutors was well matched, capable of sharing the planning and implementation of programmes and interacting harmoniously. As one tutor put it, "we had a genuine team effort."
There was only one case in which differences between staff led to disharmony, irreconcilable conflict and eventually a resignation.

At the executive level the Director and Department Head conferred with each other when necessary, but on the whole tended to go separate ways. For both, the pressure of work was continuous and apart from lunch and tea breaks little time was found to fraternise or engage in joint planning. In contrast, most of the tutors not only worked together, but found opportunities to share worries and concerns, develop work-based friendships and discuss questions that related to their role as Community College (as distinct from technical institute) tutors. For example a particular task, initiated by the Director and delegated for implementation to the Department Head was, how to include a liberal-education component in vocational education programmes. The meeting of this requirement resulted in the development, as a by-product, of a number of interest-based programmes. The most notable of these, initiated in the mechanical-engineering unit, was to mount a motor vehicle driver training programme. Encouraged by the Department Head tutors began to envisage other courses such as farm-welding and tuning of motor vehicles. Continuing-Education was thus coming to be defined in terms of vocational orientations - no doubt the result of the initial priority given to Vocational-Education.

As this development occurred, sub-group identification and loyalties emerged in varying degrees of explicitness and intensity. This identification and loyalty was a matter of concern to the Director. He wanted the Vocational-Education tutors to develop an identification with and a loyalty to the College as a whole and not just to a part of it. He discussed his conception of the role of a Community College tutor with the staff at informal gatherings in the Activities Centre.

The Activities Centre as a Common Meeting Ground

People from all levels within the organisation met together on a regular basis in the College’s Activity Centre. In this setting a distinct interaction pattern emerged. First, staff came to address each other on first name terms. Status distinctions were ignored. In particular the Director and Head of Department took the initiative to mix informally with both the professional tutorial staff and
administrative personnel, - the secretaries, clerks and the caretaker. This interaction, mainly during the lunch hour and at morning and afternoon tea breaks provided opportunities to discuss work and non-work related matters. They had ready access to each other when seeking advice, consultation and decisions. Second, the Activities Centre was the venue for impromptu and informal staff meetings. At these meetings the staff gained a fairly detailed knowledge of each other's work activities and the problems being encountered. They discussed the affairs of the College, were privy to and often participated in policy making. They thus gained a fairly detailed knowledge of each other's plans for and ideas about the College and the thinking behind decisions. For instance all the staff participated actively in the planning of the public seminar to be held in April. Third, in this setting the staff apparently looked to find ways to "blur the distinction between departmental boundaries." For instance Vocational-Education tutors discussed ways to conduct community education courses. They were assisted in this endeavour by the Director. Reciprocally, the Director, acting as a Community-Education tutor, participated in a number of apprentice training programmes. He made few explicit attempts to change staff attitudes to education by exhortation, and expressed the view that attempts to extinguish old attitudes and inculcate new ones in this way seldom work (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

The conviviality of the Activities Centre served to reinforce the personal friendships, loyalties and generally cooperative relations that had formed in the work settings. It also led to the College staff communicating with each other in an informal, impromptu rather than in a formal way. This practice was reinforced by the Director. The Vocational-Education Head shared the Director's view on communication. His interest, though, was more explicitly in the direction of maintaining the morale of the tutors and establishing a departmental identity. His attitude was that

I don't flow a lot of paper around. I like to go and see the guys every second day to see how things are going ... In the first year of operation I feel that personal interest is vital ... They've got to feel they are important and they are (Interview, December, 1975).

This attitude was generally seen as appropriate and appreciated by
the staff. One particular comment summarises the general attitude:

As well as having little meetings virtually everyday in the lunch hour etc., he'll come down here and have lunch with us, or morning tea and we'll discuss policies, the way the place is going and different matters that come up. (In this way) we have a fair bit more to do with (the Head of Department) than we do with (the Director). We have a fair bit to do with him all the time (Interview, June, 1975).

With this pattern in place, the work of the College got done not so much through the management principles of authority, responsibility and accountability, as embodied in a vertical organisational hierarchy, but through negotiations and consent. The result was that staff were able to get on with their respective roles and initiate new courses of action when the opportunity arose or the situation required it.

During "the panic of getting the College ready to open on time and start courses", staff members experienced frustration and anxiety. Sometimes conflict and tension resulted. Occasionally criticisms were made of the staff by outsiders. For instance one tutor was criticised by a local high school Principal when he discarded equipment that had been donated to the College. Another was criticised for "bludging scrap metals" for use in practical classes. In such cases the Director and Head of Department defended the staff from external criticism, accepted the blame for occasional staff errors and acknowledged the success of programmes by giving praise when it was due. Their ability and willingness to do this assisted in the management of tension and conflicts and in the establishment and maintenance of staff cohesion and morale. However, these outcomes were initially the result of a shared organisational experience rather than a consciously planned attempt at organisational design and administration. The effects of this approach to design and administration on the development of the College are to be discussed later in the study.

In Structure-Functional terms, the organisation building activities that occurred initially resulted in:

(i) differentiation of the College from the environment by the enactment of membership roles,
(ii) the delineation of an initial task-environment in terms of mainly Vocational-Education courses and a small number of Community Education ones,

(iii) the consequent implementation of matching Vocational-Education goals and a limited range of Community-Education goals,

(iv) the development of staff identities as Community College members whether as Community College tutors, clerks, or service personnel,

(v) the integration of staff into a working unit as evidenced by cooperative work relationships, and the emergence of loyalties, friendships and a sense of respect for each other's attitudes and distinctive contributions to the life of the College.

The College achieved operational viability mainly through its Vocational-Education programme. If a more widespread penetration of the College into the region was to occur then a substantial public relations effort was required. To this end and concurrent with internal developments, the Director embarked on a public relations campaign. This aspect of organisation building went on hand in hand with overall development. It preceded the arrival of Community-Education tutors and persisted throughout 1975 and beyond. The nature and effects of public-relations work comprises the main topic for discussion in the next Chapter.
CHAPTER 7 - THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN

In Structure-Function terms, Public Relations is a function which bears on the resolution of the external legitimation aspect of Adaptation. In this sense public relations entails the creation and enactment of boundary-spanning roles. Individuals taking these roles represent the organisation to the community and perform the function of articulating the organisation with external groups. They thus create an image of, and establish and develop a task-environment for, the organisation.

The purpose of this Chapter is to document the Community College Public Relations Campaign and to analyse it as an aspect of Adaptation. Discussion will focus on the campaign's origins, process and effects, notably on the establishment of a task-environment for the College and the consequent creation of courses, educational activities and programmes.

Origins

Events in the early days of the Community College directly influenced both the nature and conduct of the public relations campaign. Specifically, the three local committees – the Hawke's Bay University Trust, the Polytechnic Promotions Committee and the Joint High Schools Board's Committee were trying to promote educational organisations that were somewhat exclusive. The student and community interests to be served were both rather limited. In contrast, the Community College as it came to be conceived by its instigators was neither selective nor exclusive. Rather it should provide open access to continuing education. To this end the Feasibility Study served to do more than provide a blue-print for developing the Community College. It was also intended to serve according to the Director-General of Education (Interview, April, 1975), two other purposes namely:

(i) to create public awareness of the government's decision to provide the Hawke's Bay with a Community College, and

(ii) explain how, the Community College different in name, purpose and function from a university or technical institute, might be supported and used by people
from all walks of life to meet their continuing education needs.

The Education Department hoped in this way to overcome the images and concepts of tertiary education that earlier local campaigns had promoted. For instance, the Department wanted people typically excluded from tertiary education organisations to see the Community College as

(i) a place in which they could feel comfortable and at ease, or,

(ii) as being able to provide for their educational needs in the community.

The Department hoped that the College would appeal to and be used by the Maori, people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, disaffected youth who had acquired an aversion to education, married women and country people.

The Feasibility Study had no doubt, stimulated local interest in the Community College in that direction. However, the Council and the Director were sceptical that the Study had created widespread public awareness of and support for the College. For instance the Study though reported in the news media, was given only limited coverage. Understandably then, the Feasibility Study failed to stimulate public interest in the Community College. Two later surveys (Taylor, 1975 and 1976)\* substantiated the Council's and the Director's initial diagnosis of the state of public knowledge and awareness. The first survey disclosed that some people were totally unaware of the College's existence. Included among them were people who lived in Taradale quite close to the College. The second survey found that the majority of respondents (over 1200 in number) viewed the Community College primarily as a "vocational training centre". Also because they subscribed to the traditional idea that education and training terminated with the award of a qualification, they tended not to see either training or education as continuous, life-long processes.

The location of the site and the buildings provided on it were unlikely to counteract such impressions and attitudes held by local people. The College was centrally located in the district between the two main cities, but was at the same time set apart from the communities which the instigators of the College intended it to serve. Furthermore some Councillors expressed the view, that the Community College buildings themselves were "off putting to potential students." That is to say as one Councillor put it, there was a distinct possibility that the very isolation and the educational cathedral aspect might, contrary to intentions, "convey an image of the Community College as a middle class institution."

The Campaign Proper

During 1974 the Community College Council (following the advice of the Officer for Continuing Education) used the media to keep people in touch with Community developments. Intermittent press and radio statements were made that:

(i) reminded people that a Community College rather than a technical institute was being provided at Taradale,
(ii) provided reports of progress, and sometimes the lack of it, with the building programme and staff appointments, and,
(iii) indicated the kind of tertiary-education opportunities to be offered by the College.

At this stage, before the College opened, the Council mainly kept a low profile and did not pursue a particularly vigorous public relations campaign for three main reasons. First, the Councillors had not yet defined in specific terms the College's purpose and role to the extent that they could speak with confidence of them in the community. Second, they saw the articulation of purpose and role as primarily the prerogative and the responsibility of the Director. Third, over and above these considerations, the Council was preoccupied in its meetings with the business of the building programme, site development and staff recruitment. They had little time for public relations work.
With the appointment of the Director however, the public relations aspect came more into prominence. Just after he had accepted the chief executive position and while still in the Hawke's Bay, the newly appointed Director issued his first press statement about the College at that time:

The two most important themes in the development of the Community College should be community involvement and the idea that education is a life-long process ... We should have people who are still at school, in mid-career and retired to break down the idea that education is only study in a classroom, rewarded with a certificate. I want to push out into the Community, not suck everyone into a set of buildings .. this is particularly important with groups such as Maoris and Polynesians ... Many of the drop outs from education left because they could not get on within a formal structure. The last thing I want is to impose yet another structure on them .. (therefore) the quality we will be looking for in the Community College staff is flexibility ... We do not want people who are in ruts, and who think of their own particular subject as a little isolated pocket. We need people who can see relevancy to other things in their subject (Hawke's Bay Daily Telegraph, August 30th, 1974).

Like the Council members before him, the Director had made a point of reading the Feasibility Study. Furthermore, he was intimately familiar with Labour Party Policy on Tertiary Education and had studied articles on Continuing-Education and Community Colleges written by the Director-General of Education and the Officer for Continuing Education. The August 1974 press statement reflecting as it did the Director's agreement with Education Department views, also provided an indication of the goals he subscribed to and the qualities he expected a Community College staff to possess.

During the period from August 1974 to January 1975 very little else was done in the way of specific Public Relations work. However, the Council expected that, upon his arrival, the Director would promote a public image of the Community College along the lines of the August 1974 press release. While the College was still in its infancy the
Director should, they considered, orchestrate and conduct a public relations campaign. The Director was in agreement. However the College staff for their part were fully engaged at this time in setting up the College and in teaching courses. They were not expected to play more than a supporting public relations role.

During December and January, 1975 the Director became the chief spokesman for and protagonist of the Community College. The Public Relations Campaign he developed was conducted through the use of the national press, the local media and by word of mouth at meetings around the district. In January, 1975 two statements appeared in the local press but it was a Listener article that gave the College national coverage for the first time. That article entitled "Teaching Unlimited" (McCracken, March, 1975) reported an interview with the Director in which he gave his most definitive view to date of the nature and role of the Community College in the Hawke's Bay.

The Listener interview highlighted the Director's intention to "give to the Community College a shape and a purpose." He was portrayed as an intellectual, an innovator and a champion of the educational underdog. The Director was reported as seeing his job as "a bit scary"; because "attitudes on how the Community College might develop were not tied down." The government had given no definite direction for development and there was no prospectus for the College. Within this context of uncertainty the Director emphasised three major points that were central to his concept of the Community College and its role. These are given in precis form below:

(i) The College was to be an open door organisation with, at least in principle, no limit on what it could do.

(ii) The role of the College staff was to identify and understand community education wants and needs and to stimulate, and mobilise interest in and then conduct and coordinate appropriate educational activities.

(iii) The people in the community should come to see the Community College as their place.
"Teaching Unlimited" outlined an agenda for future development. Following its publication there was a small number of requests for courses. In the light of the initial small number of requests a much more systematic public relations campaign was seen to be required to stimulate a positive, wide-spread and sustained public response to the College. A public 'happening' was to constitute the first step.

Seminar '75

The Director organised a public seminar to enable members of the community to participate in the planning process to help create opportunities to develop courses with contents and styles of presentation which grow out of the special needs of the community (Council Chairman, in Seminar '75, 1975). This meeting, given the name Seminar '75, was the Council and the Director's way of demonstrating the seriousness of their intentions to meet community education needs.

The Director's aim was to canvass the widest possible range of educational needs. In addition the Council wanted the Seminar to be seen in the community as the "unofficial opening" of the College. In order to highlight the importance they attached to it, the Council invited to the Seminar the Minister of Education, senior Education Department officials and prominent Hawke's Bay people.

The Seminar was held at the Community College on Saturday the 19th April, 1975. There were two sessions - morning and afternoon. In the morning session there were speeches by the Council Chairman, the Minister of Education and the Director. The afternoon session comprised workshops and a plenary. Each session is discussed in turn below in light of the Adaptation function.

The Morning Session

Each of the three speeches in the morning session served a different but related purpose. The Chairman opened the seminar and indicated its main aim. The Minister made declarations of support for, and confidence in the College as a new and significant educational enterprise. He also explicitly recognised the work of community organisations and the Council and staff in making the College operational. He reiterated publicly the Community College's mission of Continuing Education and
reaffirmed the Council's mandate to develop the College in ways that reflected regional-community based needs. In the Minister's judgement the Hawke's Bay Community College should

develop its own unique characteristics, its own format and its own range of studies; (features that) probably (would) not be duplicated anywhere else in New Zealand (Amos, 1975, p.5).

The Director articulated the mission of the College in both general and specific terms and with the rhetoric of uplift and idealism. His opening address was an important step to create and promote in the community an open-door image for the College. He explained and asserted the identity of this organisation as a Community College – another aspect of image creation. His comments were also intended to reinforce harmonious relations and esprit de corps within the College. The Director explicitly recognised the significance of the trade training programmes already operating in the College. The address also focussed on Continuing Education and community involvement and the associated notions of two way communication, community needs, evolutionary development and service to the community (Harré, 1975).

The Afternoon Session

In the afternoon session, fourteen workshop groups were formed. The Director asked each group to produce a position paper and make recommendations that could, within the general framework outlined by the Minister and Director, become an integral part of an overall Community College Development Plan. Collectively the fourteen workshops recommended that the College mount programmes and courses and arrange educational activities that included the following:

Art and Craft
Communication and Creative writing
The Community and its Welfare
Dance and Drama
Environmental Studies
Health Science
Industry, Business and Commerce
Maori Needs
Music
Pre-School Children, Parents and the Home
Recreation and Sport
Rural and Agricultural Needs
Women's Needs
Themes and Styles in Community Education

According to tutors who were interviewed after the Seminar, the Director-General of Education, the Officer for Continuing Education and the College Director listened to what others had to say and made contributions of their own. Specifically, the Officer for Continuing Education drew attention to the College's emerging image as a place to which people must come. He expressed the departmental opinion that the College should be viewed as a concept that is not rigidly tied to the traditional concept of a tertiary education organisation. The Director declared his hand by commenting that the College might cater for the educational needs of schools' and society's drop-outs. That is those members of society for whom the existing formal education system had not been relevant. They were probably very negatively oriented towards anything that smacked of formal education; but nonetheless should be seen as a possible client group (Director, in Seminar '75 report).

The Director-General commented on the innovative role of the College and its capability with a staff of four Community Education tutors to be receptive to and initiate new types of educational programmes. For instance, he responded positively to the idea of the motor vehicle driver training programme mooted for the first time at the Seminar.

The Director had hoped that the Seminar would attract a representative cross section of Hawke's Bay people. A survey undertaken at the time however had this to say:

(i) The participants at Seminar '75 were not fully representative of the community as a whole, being atypical in terms of social status, occupation and in their recreational and cultural interests.
(ii) Participants' attitudes seemed largely altruistic - they were there principally to benefit others rather than themselves.
(iii) If the influence of those present at Seminar '75 was to be felt in the policy making of the College, then particular note should be taken of those who were not there. Notable amongst those missing were the under 20 year olds, the elderly, the rural and those from the lowest socio-economic group. There was also an under-representation of sporting interests (Taylor and Adams, 1975).

The Director had foreshadowed such conclusions in his address to the Seminar. In it he publicly acknowledged that,

It is unfortunate, but probably inevitable, that on occasions such as this the group we draw together is restricted to the most articulate members of the community ... The College must go further than this seminar if (it is) to serve those who are either not able to clearly express their needs or perhaps do not fully realise what their needs are ... It is our task to serve such individuals in ways that are relevant to their interests (Harre', 1975, p.7-8).

Even at the Seminar itself a number of Maoris in attendance deliberately refrained from expressing their interests and concerns (Interview, Council Member, April, 1975).

As the Director subsequently commented (Interview, June, 1975), there was as much to be learned from those who were either silent or absent as there was from those who were present and spoke out. The wants and needs of silent and absent groups should, as he and others saw it, find expression and satisfaction through participation with the College.

The Seminar then was but a first step in the direction of getting a wide cross-section of the population to use the College. More was to occur.

The Follow-up to Seminar '75

The Seminar was a beginning point for further public relations activity. After it the Director spent a considerable amount of time
both during the day and in the evenings, addressing meetings throughout the Hawke's Bay. In order to cope with this work and carry it out effectively, he adopted a particular strategy which involved taking the key concepts of the Seminar '75 address and using them as main points to emphasise in his meetings. By operating in this way the Director was able to talk fully and incisively about the Community College. The following extract outlines the strategy he adopted when speaking outside the College:

I begin by delineating the basic idea of continuing education and the evolutionary idea. That gives a reason for being there and brings the audience in straight away. By introducing the idea of an evolutionary institution, then the question is in what context are we evolving. The answer is, in the context that, they are the community. So they are immediately then part of the whole situation right from the beginning. Then I divide up and discuss the two sides – the vocational side and the community education side. Breaking down the vocational side to these various categories: all-professional or trade courses; sub-professional courses; topping up courses and then new types of developments, the drivers' one for example, and then merge into the ones that are sort of vocational but not professional; in a sense the leadership courses, youth leadership training courses and so on. They merge over into community education. By doing that I try and create a situation where they're not seeing the two sides as rigidly divided. Then I divide community education into the general community orientated courses and the creative courses and then sub-divide each of these into the long courses which will be established as regular, and short spontaneous courses – all the time trying to bring in the basic idea of flexibility, different types of modules and so on (Interview, Director, July, 1975).
As part of his public-relations strategy the Director tended to respond to requests rather than to initiate courses of action. In this way he hoped to avoid alienating people by imputing needs to them. He wanted especially to avoid making judgements that might unwittingly denigrate a person by implying a deficit and therefore inferiority. According to the Director, both he and the staff must not patronise potential clients.

The involvement of the Director with community groups in these ways had two main internal consequences. First, the Director had to channel resources into setting up and running one-off and short-term courses. This had to be done initially in a flexible way, in order to leave room to redeploy resources for the new courses. If the Community College was to honour the promise (made at Seminar '75 and elsewhere), to meet expressed wants and needs, then some irreversible commitments had to be made. These irreversible commitments were made through the appointment of staff, the employment of part-time tutors to run short duration courses enabling the College to: (i) honour its promises to mount courses, (ii) retain programme flexibility and (iii) forestall the appointment of full-time staff until after Seminar '75. The second consequence was that the College staff had to exercise restraint in the initiation and setting up of courses. They must, as the Director commented (Interview, July, 1975) titillate the educational palate of potential Community College customers by creating a congenial and appealing image of the Community College.

The fact that over two thousand people, comprising five hundred involved in formal vocational programmes and another one thousand and five hundred who have undertaken some sort of activity in the College either through enrolment and attendance at a course, or attendance at a seminar or a general meeting that the College has been involved in sponsoring (Interview, Director, October, 1975), is partial evidence of the effectiveness of the Director's public relations campaign.

In Structure-Function terms, the College's Public Relations Campaign served to expand the organisation's task environment. This expansion of the task-environment and the formulation of new goals provided both real and symbolic evidence of the effort being made by the College Council and the staff to develop the Community College as a new-type of educational organisation and to give to it an identity and character different from that of technical institute.
SECTION III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE
THE POST-OPERATIONAL STAGE
The single most exciting element in the Community College movement is (its) open-ended character, the fact that there is no blue print describing precisely, and in detail, what any particular Community College should be ... It is an institution which is designed to evolve in reaction and adaptation to the community .... (Therefore) it is very important that as an institution we create a relaxed and open image. (However) a relaxed and open institution is not necessarily one without direction (Harré, Seminar '75, Director's Address).

The Community College had been formed to accomplish a mission of continuing education. Yet there was a certain vagueness inherent in the continuing education concept that precluded the Director from using it to formulate specific goals and a definite direction for development. According to the Officer for Continuing Education, a prime task for the College was the setting of realistic objectives for itself, which recognised the scope and the limits of what it could do and where its priorities lay within a very wide ranging set of potential developments (Precis, Education Department document on Aims and Objectives, April, 1975). Initially the dominant developmental trend was to meet the man-power training needs of commerce and industry. As the Director commented, the fact that the College was founded on the basis of a series of trade-training courses ...(was) of great value in ensuring that our feet are kept firmly on the ground as we develop a college (Harré, 1975).

Seminar '75, however, provided a different set of directions that subsequent development might take. Their import was that an attempt should be made to redress the initial imbalance between vocational education and non-vocational education. Following Seminar '75, the Council and Director took definite steps to recruit and appoint personnel who, by responding to a diverse range of needs and implementing a broad spectrum of goals, could develop the Community College in this second way. Accordingly, the recruitment and appointment of personnel in the post-operational stage is the main topic for discussion
in Chapter eight. In theoretical terms, the main theme is again Adaptation. But unlike Chapter seven, the emphasis here is on the procurement and allocative aspect of the Adaptation problem.

The Selection of Community Education Tutors

Even though a decision had been taken by the Director and Council not to proceed with the appointment of Community Education tutors until after Seminar '75, a Community-Education Advisory Committee was set up by the Council just prior to the Seminar to consider a policy framework within which appointments might be made. It comprised four Council members (three representing community and cultural groups and the one trades-council) and the Director. (Hawke's Bay Community College Council meeting, Minutes, March 24th, 1975). This Committee had little difficulty in adopting the view that it was essential to the concept of a Community College that its non-vocational teaching responsibilities and community services be promoted as vigorously as its vocational (Renwick, 1973, p.17).

As a first step towards the appointment of full-time Community Education tutors, the Director articulated what he called a "needs paradigm" which included the educational needs of the Maori, of women, of rural people and of drop-outs. The Director was then able to specify criteria for the selection of Community Education tutors; a specification though that was somewhat in violation of the non-patronising image that he conveyed at Seminar '75. In the first instance and,

In practical terms, the chances of making effective contact with the Maori people are pretty slim if you don't actually have a Maori on the staff. The fact that we appoint a Maori is also symbolic evidence of our desire to recognise ethnic minorities as part of the system. The practical (issue) is less significant in terms of women's needs. The symbolic issue is perhaps more important given the state of play ... in terms of women's organisations. Our credibility as a College, claiming to serve the needs of women as a major objective would be very much less if we went through the round of first
appointments without a woman on the staff. Not at all costs, and we agreed upon this in Council.

A strong case was put for a certain representation of minority groups on the staff, but only in the context of having a good applicant (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

This extract demonstrates the influence of the Director, acting as organisational leader, to create basic policy and establish a procedure for its implementation. It is worth noting, however, that while policy was stated in the language of "objectives", the organisational goals from which these objectives were derived remained unstated. The question of why these needs should be pursued rather than some other was avoided — an indication of the state of ambiguity that existed with respect to the organisation's mission at this time.

The recruitment and selection strategy reflected not just the Community Education Committee's and the Director's assessment of staffing requirements. It also reflected the findings of the Feasibility Study in at least two ways:

(i) The findings of the Feasibility Study gave firm indications of the teaching expertise that was required by identifying specific categories of non-vocational, community-education needs.

(ii) However, by omitting to identify the value assumptions upon which such needs rested, the study also omitted to articulate the rationale for selecting specific organisational goals and the order in which to implement them.

The Feasibility Study's recommendations were used in conjunction with the Director's "needs paradigm" as the basis from which to recruit and select staff. In particular, Community Education tutors were selected to organise and conduct courses and programmes in the following areas:

Art and Craft
Environmental Studies
Music
Child-Development and Pre-School Education
Human-Relations
Literacy, Language and Literature, and,
English and Creative Writing.

The selection process itself had two main features both relating
to the activity of the selection committee. In its modus operandi it:

(i) favoured applicants who possessed multiple
talents and could therefore perform multiple
functions, and then,

(ii) used a simple process of elimination to appoint
individuals to specific positions.

What happened in fact has been described by the Director
(Interview, June, 1975). The first applicant interviewed had
(i) demonstrable administrative ability, and, (ii) strengths in two
teaching areas. He was appointed. The next step was then to
look at another category. You might start off
with Maori educational needs ... and then see who
there is ... and finding that one of the Maori
applicants is clearly the best person also in ...
such and such teaching areas ... we appointed him
without a second decision having to be made. There
were some areas that had to be covered e.g. pre-
school education ..., that put considerable pressure
on the positions related to pre-school and human-
relations being a woman - as none of the other
positions had been filled by women - I couldn't
have seen our first round of appointments in
the area of Community Education finishing up
with either no Maori, or no woman (Interview,
Director, June, 1975).

By mid June of 1975 four Community Education appointments had been
made: in English and Creative writing, Music, Art and Craft - a Maori,
and in Human Relations and Parent Education. Even so, additional
staff were also appointed in specific Vocational Education areas.
In particular two appointments were made in the fields of Financial Management, Commercial Law, Office Management and Secretarial training. The appointment of staff confronted the Council and more particularly the Director with a dilemma whose resolution was to have significant consequences for the development of cooperation and harmonious relations within the staff later on.

The Staffing Dilemma

Initially staff were appointed at the tutor 1 and 2 levels, with no appointments made at the senior tutor 3 level. In the selection of new tutors, for both of the College's departments the Director was confronted by the dilemma of whether to continue with the existing policy of appointing new staff at the tutor 1 and 2 levels or, change existing policy and recruit at the tutor 2 level and higher.

The first option meant that it might not be possible to acquire staff with the professional skill and demonstrated competence to undertake the tasks peculiar to the new College. An inexperienced tutor might not be able to cope with the "pioneering situation." The second option, if taken, could result in the appointment of experienced and demonstrably competent personnel. But it could also lead to status discrepancies between the two departments and consequent disquiet among staff.

In order to find a solution to the dilemma the Director made a projection of the hierarchical distribution of positions within the College and the likely tutor levels at which appointments might be made. He projected a disproportionately high number of appointments at high levels in Community Education and a disproportionately high number of appointments at low levels in Vocational Education. There were always likely to be more trade-training people at the tutor 1 and 2 levels and relatively greater concentrations of Community Education tutors in tutor 2 and 3 positions. Therefore,

as the operation gets bigger on the trade side
and the structure builds up, there will be more
positions of responsibility at higher levels, and
as the Community Education side develops, it will
tend to grow down. In that sense we'll spread out
to more people at the lower levels. In process
terms, the technical side started on a broad low level and as it expands will create senior positions in a sort of pyramidal form. The community education side, because its basic job initially, was to organise the programme, started off with the tip of the pyramid and will gradually expand out to produce its base. I suspect the base will never go as far down as on the trade side and probably the trade side will narrow off. I would expect the two pyramids to become closer to one another. What we've got at the moment on the trade side effectively, is the base of a pyramid and a peak. Now gradually, as time goes on, this will tend to get filled in. (Of course) a lot of people (in both) pyramids are going to be part-time. A lot of the part-timers will tend to come in higher up ... because they'll be, say, people in specialised areas of accounting, business studies and so on. The (Community Education) part-timers will provide our basic backlog. So therefore the actual permanent appointments to staff will always tend to be more senior on the Community Education side (Interview, Director, June, 1975).

Consistent with this projection of the College's staffing requirements, the Director made a policy decision in favour of the second alternative of the dilemma. He was cognisant, however, that appointing people at a high level in Community Education could adversely affect relationships within the College:

One of the realities of institutional life, that one can't afford to ignore, partly because each Community Education tutor ... is virtually a Head of Department ... with responsibility for opening up a complete field; whereas the trade tutors are in fact working within a closely defined system. While I'm a little unhappy about this differentiation, we have just got to see it through if we're going to get good people on the Community Education side (Interview, Director, June, 1975).
The Director's justification for the adoption of a policy of differential appointments was also related to the "missionary" aspect of a Community College. He argued that missionary zeal was required in the new staff and the cost had to be paid. Cost, however, has two aspects. In a very limited sense cost can be thought of in monetary terms as the price to be paid for a highly valued human resource. Cost can as Selznick (1957) points out, also be equated with loss of organisational flexibility.

The appointment of personnel in the post-operational stage was a further step in the directions outlined in the Feasibility Study and more recently Seminar '75. There were specific implications for the setting of goals. This was because the newly appointed staff had attitudes and goals of their own that would in time come to be implemented in the College. They would devise and conduct certain types of activities, courses and programmes that reflected their particular educational interests and subject areas. A direction for development was thus established, with however, a consequent loss of flexibility to develop the College in alternative ways.

Table 7 shows the distribution of positions filled by the end of the first year, roughly six months prior to the Community Education Head taking up his appointment.

From Table 7, it can readily be seen that, with twenty-one full-time tutors, the "Vocational Education wing" of the College remained dominant, but with only one person at tutor-three level and four out of the twenty-one staff at tutor-two level. Community Education had four staff, two at tutor-three and two at tutor-two level. In addition, part-time tutors (varying from between 5-6 to 15-16 in number depending on the time of year) were extensively used to mount short-duration Community Education courses and activities. Of the total of thirty-seven people employed full-time at the College, just under one-quarter occupied Registry positions. This latter figure reflects the extent to which support services were judged necessary to administer the Community College. It also indicates that the Registry was beginning to emerge as an organisational-unit in its own right with an internal division of labour and a sizeable budgetary allocation.
### Table 7

Hawke's Bay Community College Organisational Chart

End of First Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocational Education Department</th>
<th>Director and Secretary</th>
<th>Community-Education Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H.O.D. and Secretary</td>
<td>Registrar and Secretary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutor 3 Accountancy and Business Management 1</td>
<td>Clerk-typist 3</td>
<td>Tutor 3 Art and Craft 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutor 2 Building Trades</td>
<td>Senior clerk 1</td>
<td>Music 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>Caretaker 1</td>
<td>Tutor 2 Preschool Education and Human Relations 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automotive Engineering</td>
<td>Cleaners 2</td>
<td>Creative writing and Language Studies 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutor 1 Building Trades</td>
<td>Gardener 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>groundsman</td>
<td>N = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automotive Engineering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretarial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support staff</td>
<td>Maintenance Officers 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total College Staff N = 37
During the twelve months following Seminar '75, the Director carried on with public relations work. In particular he held frequent discussions with key figures who represented the interests of specific youth groups and the Maori. The identification of specific possibilities for youth-education arose out of the College's (particularly the Director's) association with the Napier Y.M.C.A. and the Down-Town Y-Drop-in Centre. This association, aided and abetted by the Y.M.C.A. president in his role as Council member, led to enduring contacts being made with secondary school teachers and Maori Youth and Social Welfare workers active in youth programmes elsewhere in the Hawke's Bay.

The tertiary education of the Maori was seen to be interdependent with the continuing education of youth. This interdependency arose out of the fact that many youth whom the College might work with were Maori. Furthermore, local Maori elders had expressed an interest in working with the College to integrate youth with the Maori community and in so doing create opportunities for them to mix with a broad spectrum of people and not just with their peers. By working in collaboration with representatives from various Hawke's Bay Maori communities, the Director made plans to institute the Whare Wananga no Ngate Kahungunu – a programme for the revitalisation of traditional Maori education. Three specific beneficial outcomes were envisaged:

(i) In the context of an education system which places most emphasis on the learning of European culture as a basis for life, the Whare Wananga was to provide for the Maori community a legitimate and officially recognised means whereby Maori cultural needs could be supported.

(ii) In a situation (particularly the cities of Napier and Hastings) where the transgressions and rebellion of youth (particularly Maori youth) were causing growing concern, a Whare Wananga could provide a means whereby, on the basis of knowledge and traditional skills, the youth of the community could feel more confident to participate in the activities of the Marae, with the result that they remained more effectively under the guidance and supervision of community elders.
At a time when employment was difficult, the developments of traditional Maori craft skills could provide a means of earning based on cottage industry production. The College was in a position to provide various forms of support as such developments progressed.

(Hawke's Bay Community College Council meeting, minutes, May, 1976)

By way of a brief digression it is worth noting that the Director, while wishing to commit the College to an involvement in various social welfare and youth oriented programmes, had first to justify such an involvement in educational rather than just social welfare terms. This was because some Councillors and people in the community had initially opposed the inclusion of social welfare programmes within the College. They argued that the Community Council was set up as an educational not a custodial, rehabilitation type of organisation. The Director and social welfare oriented Council members had to find a way to overcome the problem of justification with which they were confronted. The Director eventually found a solution by suggesting that while welfare organisations are predominantly concerned with cure, the College, as an education organisation, might have a legitimate role in terms of the prevention of social problems. The making of this cure-prevention distinction assisted the Director to make a case for new staff. With the Council's consent he sought permission from the Government Departments of Education and Social Welfare to appoint tutors to initiate and coordinate youth leadership training programmes, youth work re-entry courses, professional training programmes related to welfare services and Maori Education programmes.

In June 1976 Ministerial approval was given to appoint three additional tutors to conduct three types of programme:

(i) youth re-entry to education and the workforce,

(ii) the training of various kinds of community workers including youth leadership, and volunteer social workers, and,

(iii) the Whare Wananga no Ngate Kahungunu.
These authorisations were the result of a quite deliberate strategy by the Director and a small group of welfare-oriented Councillors to ensure the College evolved in ways other than might have occurred had technical-education perspectives remained ascendant. The strategy entailed that individuals appointed to the newly created positions were required to work with both Community and Vocational Education tutors, predominantly within the College but also in the community.

The Director realised that the tutors might not always be easily able to "blend in with each other" and "blur the distinction between the vocational and non-vocational aspects of the College." Both he and the staff should work towards this end but, there would inevitably be people who are primarily concerned with training people for an occupation and people who are primarily concerned with broadening people's educational horizons ... You've got to build your organisation in such a way that you can cope with this ... I just can't ignore this distinction ..

One recognises it and then tries to build bridges between two aspects of education which are complementary and overlapping (Interviews October, 1975 and February, 1976).

The Appointment of a Community Education Head

Some semblance of balance in the College division of labour and its emerging social structure was finally achieved with the appointment of the second Community Education Head. In the making of this latter day appointment, it was the Director's opinion that the selection criteria specified earlier were still appropriate. However, he specified that the successful candidate should be someone with "a developed capacity to get out into the grass roots area" and be able to "work with other senior staff to blur the distinction between vocational and non-vocational"; and in so doing help develop within the College shared perspectives and cooperative working relationships. Generally, Council members accepted the Director's assessment of the situation but during the selection process incipient tensions and conflicts surfaced. They resulted in divisions within the Council and open disagreement between some Councillors and the Director.
The disagreement had to do with the issue of whether the whole Council or a Council Committee and the Director should appoint an executive staff member.

As a result of working closely with the Director, a pro-Community Education group of Councillors expressed confidence in his judgement. They recognised his right, as the College's chief executive to accept resignations, place advertisements and make final decisions regarding staff appointments. Disagreement and conflict occurred when the Director, working with the Community-Education Committee of Council, began actively to assume responsibility for the selection of the Head of Department.

A small, somewhat conservative, technical-education oriented group of Councillors expressed concern that the Community Education Committee might reflect a minority view. They urged the Chairman to curb the attempt at autonomous decision making. The Chairman pointed out in a Council meeting that the Community-Education Committee had only advisory not executive powers and reinstated the procedure that executive-level appointments be the responsibility of the whole Council.

On Friday, March 12th, 1976, putting aside previous differences of opinion, the Council and the Director and Registrar, interviewed seven applicants. A final decision was made by the Council (with one Councillor abstaining on the grounds that insufficient time had been given) to appoint to the position of Community Education Head an English born, Physical-Education trained teacher with qualifications in Sport and Recreation. He currently held a position of responsibility in one of Auckland's large community oriented secondary schools. The fact that he had devised and operated an extensive community-learning network was seen by the Council and Director as the kind of experience and knowledge that could be used to:

(i) build on and extend existing community-education programmes, and generate new programmes and thereby,

(ii) establish Community-Education more securely within the College's emerging goal-structure.

With the appointment of the Community Education Head having been made, the Community College had at last gained a full complement of
executive staff members. By the time he arrived at the College, just one month before the completion of field work, the number and distribution of personnel had changed yet again. The following table shows the staffing establishment of the College at eighteen months.

Within a total of forty-two full-time staff, twenty-three were in the Vocational Education Department, ten filled Registry positions and six were in Community Education. (See Table 8). There were up to 38 part-time staff in all. Six to eight were to Accountancy, Commercial Law and Business Management. As well up to thirty part-time tutors were employed to teach in a wide variety of Community Education activities, courses and programmes. Three tutors were employed part-time and paid half-salaries, pending the appointment of full-time staff, to conduct "Community Development" activities.

The composition of the staff had changed substantially since the initial intake of full-time Vocational Education tutors. They had come from technical institutes and various kinds of commercial and industrial enterprise. Within the Vocational Education Department there was a wide variety of experience and expertise, though generally speaking, similar attitudes towards education. In contrast, Community Education tutors were a much more cosmopolitan group. They had been recruited from Teachers' Colleges, The Education Department Advisory Service, Secondary Schools, Universities (both in New Zealand and overseas), the Social Welfare Department and a New Zealand penal institution. Qualifications were equally diverse and in one case consisted of no formally recognised school qualifications. Others were Trained Teacher certificates, Bachelors, Honours and Masters degrees and professional qualifications. Specific individuals had also become established with regional and national reputations in several artistic domains.

Such then was the composition of the Hawke's Bay Community College staff when field-work for the present study came to an end some eighteen months after the College had opened. The procurement of a relatively large number of individuals, diverse in attitude and background, was but a first step in building what Selznick (1957) refers to as a committed policy; a policy in which the Director hoped there would be "unity and strength in diversity."
Table 8

Hawke's Bay Community College Organisational Chart
First Eighteen Months of Operation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Tutor 1</th>
<th>Tutor 2</th>
<th>Tutor 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Education Department</td>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>Art and Craft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Automotive Engineering</td>
<td>Automotive Engineering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>Pre-school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secretarial</td>
<td>Secretarial</td>
<td>Education and Human Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>Hairdressing</td>
<td>Creative writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.O.D. and Secretary</td>
<td>1 Building Trades</td>
<td>2 Building Trades</td>
<td>1 Tutor 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>1 Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>Art and Craft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Automotive Engineering</td>
<td>1 Automotive Engineering</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Electrical</td>
<td>1 Electrical</td>
<td>Pre-school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Secretarial</td>
<td>1 Secretarial</td>
<td>Education and Human Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Hairdressing</td>
<td>1 Hairdressing</td>
<td>Creative writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support Staff</td>
<td>Maintenance Officer</td>
<td>Technical Officer - electrical</td>
<td>Youth leadership and Social work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Technical Officer - electrical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Technical officer - engineering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Registrar and Secretary**
- clerk - typists: 3
- senior clerk: 1
- caretaker: 1
- cleaners: 2
- Gardner: 1
- groundsman: 1

**Librarian**

**Community-Education Department**
- Tutor 3 Art and Craft: 1
- Tutor 2 Pre-school Education and Human Relations: 1
- Tutor 1 Youth leadership and Social work: 1

**Technical Officer**
- electrical: 1
- engineering: 1

*N = 23

Total College Staff *N = 42
Within the Hawke's Bay College during the post-operational stage, there were two factors that affected the level of unity and organisational effectiveness actually achieved. One factor was the manner in which the staff defined the situation they were in, implemented their own attitudes and goals and interacted with each other. The other factor was the creation and institution, by the College administrators, of a system of administration with which to manage the College's operation, coordinate the work of the staff and control the direction of evolution. While these two factors were interactive, they are treated separately in the following two Chapters.
CHAPTER 9 - TUTORS' DEFINITIONS OF THE SITUATION AND THEIR EFFECTS

Chapter 9 describes and analyses the manner in which the tutors defined the situation they were in and carried out their respective roles during the College's post-operational stage. In Structure-Function terms, the tutors had the tasks of setting and implementing goals and the establishment of harmonious working relationships. Once formed, such relationships might serve to unify the staff and help minimise the possibility of tension and conflict. In the words of Bakke and Argyris (1954), the problem was

how to take an aggregate of varied individual people, with varied capacities and predispositions, and get them involved in cooperative activity which adds up to success for the organisation (its effectiveness) and satisfaction for the individuals concerned. In short, the problem (was) to integrate the individual participants with the organisation.

Accordingly three functional problems feature as themes in the present Chapter namely, Goal Attainment, Integration and Latency. As has been the case in preceding Chapters, the narrative reflects the order in which actions and events actually occurred.

Vocational Education Tutors' Definitions of the Situation

Following Seminar '75 the Director encouraged Vocational Education tutors to define their roles in an open-ended way. Such a definition of tutor roles was, he believed, "a requirement of accepting employment in a Community College rather than say a technical institute." In other words tutors were to try to avoid the tendency to confine their teaching activity within narrow, single-purpose and exclusive categories. The Director admitted that "being open-ended" could prove difficult for some tutors.

The main problem is the degree to which trade tutors in particular can see their position in relation to the Community College as an organisation different from a technical institute ... to become involved with the non-technical side ... By and large the perception of the trade staff of their roles is pretty much trade-
training. Some will always remain that way. Not everyone can have multiple functions. Some tutors are going to have to keep their functions narrow (Interview, Director, October, 1975).

For instance the electrical trades tutor was limited by government regulation to teach only directed trades apprentices and again, because of the high level of skill required to use precision tools and machinery, tutors in the motor and mechanical engineering fields could be precluded from offering courses in Community Education. The Director thought that of all the tutors, the Building Trades and Welding tutors were best placed to offer Community Education courses. Not surprisingly then, the way the tutors themselves defined the situation came to determine what could be offered in the way of courses and learning activities.

The discussion that follows examines the ways in which Vocational Education tutors defined their roles during the post-operational stage of the Community College prior to the arrival of Community Education tutors. During that period all of the Vocational Education tutors took "trade-training" as their primary goal. This goal was realistic, specific and capable of being operationalised by them. In contrast the official goal of Continuing Education was seen as general, abstract and diffuse. Nonetheless, some tutors recognised that the generation of trades-oriented Community-Education courses was a tangible way in which to begin to implement the College's official goal. There was then the potential for creative revision. The following extracts from interviews conducted in June and July of 1975 exemplify the divergent attitudes and goals of the Vocational Education staff.

About half of the Vocational Education tutors defined their roles narrowly as exemplified in the following comments:

To my side of it here, Community College doesn't mean any more than what we were doing at high school - just the apprentice type training.

Because we (teach) apprentices we have a fairly clearly defined role and we are in water-tight compartments. At the moment I am a trades-tutor for apprentices, full stop.
You sometimes get the feeling; well which is the most important, the organisation this (Vocational Education) side, or teaching the guys over the other side (Community Education). Basically we're employed as trades-tutors. So let's get on with that tutoring job.

Other tutors acknowledged the broader organisational context in which they worked:

Basically I'm a trade-training tutor. But we're on this campus site which is classed as a Community College which in its broader aspect should include me as a Community College tutor. Therefore I should be involved not only in trade training but basically my duties are towards the training of apprentices. Mine is a 'closed' trade and it's very difficult to spread to the Community in general.

Here, the implementation of a broader view of Community Education work was inhibited by the nature of the trade. In another case the question at issue was mental set;

At this stage I basically consider myself to be a technical tutor. If I am landed with taking a tutorial or anything else as a Community College tutor rather than strictly as a technical tutor, there'd probably be quite a flap - mentally - because I simply haven't thought about it. But I'm very pleased to be here as a member of staff of the Community College - I think it's quite something.

The following two extracts illustrate an even stronger degree of commitment to becoming a Community College rather than just a trade training tutor; a commitment that was not quite so evident amongst others:

I see myself as a tradesman. I'm a tradesman who teaches ... In the Christmas holidays I get a job fixing trucks, doing brakes and trailers. I go back to the trade every now and then to keep my hand in.
The way I see my job is to help the trade ... But it's not wholly a trade place. I wanted to come here and I knew that if I stayed at the Boys' High School, that when this place opened I had a right to transfer. I could see that if I got in here perhaps I could make some of the things I wanted to do come true. Because of my interest in the practical side of things we were able to get the motor vehicle driver training programme going ...

The second extract reflects a similar attitude:

I'm employed to teach apprentices, but we can get involved in community studies too. I'm all for it. I think that if there are courses to be run that's good - For instance I've just finished working with a group of truck drivers. It's not trade-training ... This I believe is coming in on the community studies side.

Both of the tutors cited in the last two extracts, defined their roles broadly rather than simply in terms of apprentice training. They wanted to develop their specialist interests and abilities by conducting Community Education programmes.

While a number of tutors were keen to define their roles in an "open-ended way" the Education Department imposed constraints on the extent to which tutors could become involved with Community Education. As the Vocational Education Head commented,

Trades tutors are to a degree straight jacketed by Education Department regulations which specify that twenty-four hours a week be spent in class contact with regular students ... (In addition) it takes longer to develop a short Community Education course for say one day than it does for doing two four-hour sessions with apprentices which is an ongoing thing ... So, running additional courses is difficult to accomplish and still keep up with a load of apprentice teaching (Interview, Vocational Education Head, June, 1975).
It is worth noting in passing that later on the same constraints did not apply to Community Education tutors. They were in a position to determine themselves when, how and where they should work both on and off campus.

The Vocational Education Head supported initiatives by trades-tutors to implement Community Education ventures, but it was a qualified support. He was the first to admit that every one of our trades tutors could contribute something to the Community Education side ... they've got expertise that flows over into this category.

But he also took the view that,

the needs and requirements of their commerce-industrial application is all important and must be done right. Extension into Community Education is peripheral and secondary (Interview, June, 1975).

In contrast with the Vocational Education Head's initial policy of restraint, the Director was enthusiastic about the involvement of trades-commercial training tutors in Community Education programmes. In response to the Director's enthusiasm a number of tutors began to look for ways in which they could apply their specialist skills in the Community Education domain. There was, however, a problem. Who should they approach in order "to try out an idea and get it off the ground."

The Effects of Emerging Role Definitions

When a Vocational Education tutor wanted to discuss matters related to ongoing trade-training programmes the appropriate person to go to was the Head of Department. However when seeking consultation about Community-Education ventures they were confronted with a choice. They could approach either the Head of Department or the Director. This had particular significance when the proposed programme involved the creation of new policy. New policy was a matter that, by convention, should be referred to the Director for decision and action. Yet the same tutor, in another capacity had explicit trade-training commitments
which might have been compromised by the taking on of extra commitments. For example, the Vocational Education Head was initially by-passed by the tutor who initiated the Driver Training Programme. This caused the Department Head to react negatively and, at least in the beginning to oppose the suggested programme. In the absence of clearly understood procedures and channels of communication, this kind of situation tended to create tension when correct or acceptable channels of communication remained unspecified.

The Director did recognise the necessity for setting up clear and open channels of communication. However, the informality that generally characterised relationships in the Community College sometimes led to the generation of conflict and tension when organisational jurisdictions remained unclear or were thought to be violated. Tutors who were sensitive to the possibilities of joint participation in both Community Education and trade training programmes, sometimes experienced a conflict of loyalty and interest when attempting to reconcile competing demands on their time and energy. This was perhaps an inevitable outcome when individuals were confronted by a variant of the classical approach - approach dilemma, that posits two alternatives as equally appealing. The problem was one of organisation development and occurred throughout the post-operational stage. It resulted from the Director's and staff's organisational response to the composite requirement of simultaneously setting up closed and open systems within the same organisational setting - a problem that was unanticipated in the initial organisational blue-print.

The problem came to be coped with and resolved. However it took time and required mutual adjustment on the part of all staff members, but especially senior staff. The Director came to the recognition that successful execution of this role required that opposing interests and influences be brought into a state of balance. That recognition was curtailed because of his preoccupation with the initiation and the development of Community Education. For his part, the Head of Department also had to adapt his technical institute orientation to meet the demands of a much wider organisational mission than simply trade-training, though trade-training was to remain paramount. The wide range of Community Education programmes that were eventually mounted is testimony to the adjustments to Continuing Education that were made in this department.
Vocational Education tutors developing interests in Community Education reinforced the value of Vocational Education as the basis of Community College operations. As 1975 progressed and trade and commercial training programmes were established, the Vocational Education Head reported a shift in attitude to Community Education:

I began to see I should be better acquainted with the way other people are involved, the hassles they're having in getting things off the ground. I was inclined to work in isolation - trying to isolate my department from other goings on ... I originally thought isolation would be a good idea. Mind you I had been brainwashed by the Technical Education Director and the Inspectorate - (in the sense) that here's Vocational Education, there's Community Education and you just go your own separate ways. But you can't ... After a while in the job, I came to realise that its got to be a joint effort wherever possible. There has got to be inter-relationships if you're going to make a go of the thing (February, 1976).

The Department Head eventually became a supporter and an advocate of specific trades-oriented, Community Education ventures mounted by tutors in his department. He began to assist such outside groups as the Agriculture Training Council and the Horticultural Society to initiate and conduct Community College sponsored programmes for such people as market gardeners, orchardists, viticulturalists and the like. These programmes "generated a level of business that hadn't been expected, and served to broaden the College's image" (Interview, Director, February, 1976).

Throughout the post-operational stage, Vocational Education tutors sought to implement the goal of Continuing Education. They ran additional courses in response to requests made by community groups. As the Vocational Education Head commented;

We became more than purely a vocational set-up limited only to the teaching of directed apprentices. Here, we are going outside the very strict guidelines and branching out into activities that would be frowned on in a technical institute (Interview, Vocational Education Head, February, 1976).
This was not to say, however, that the Vocational Education tutors were wholly committed to Continuing and Community Education. They had taken to heart the Director's conception of the College as an "open-door" organisation. But, having observed, early on, a number of dance and drama activities conducted by part-time tutors, they began to have doubts about just how "open" the College should be. They began to make speculations about what the Community Education Department would be like and to imagine ways in which they differ from their Community Education counterparts. The speculations and their effects are worthy of brief comment.

Speculations and their Effects

In the two to three months following Seminar '75 the Vocational Education tutors discussed informally the contributions they thought that Community Education tutors might make to the life of the College. In the absence of definite knowledge about specific appointments, they voiced a variety of speculations about:

the airy-fairy aspect of the Community College as opposed to the positive down to earth aspect associated with the technical institute side (Interview, tutor, June, 1975).

The tutors expressed concern that whereas Vocational Education had substance and demonstrable value, Community Education was insubstantial, lacked demonstrable value and could contribute little to the effectiveness of the College. As one tutor put it:

trade courses teach a basic skill so that a person can earn his way in life. Community Education will be more concerned with leisure activities - the airy-fairy side of the College. The serious side is your trade, your skills. We may marry the two together, but it won't be easy (Interview, tutor, June, 1975).

This "airy-fairy" impression of Community Education had begun when, following Seminar '75, part-time tutors were employed to conduct distinctly non-vocational "leisure-type" courses in drama and dance. In response, the Vocational Education staff created a number of Community Education tutor stereotypes. Community Education tutors were, according to existing staff, likely to be "off-beat", "somewhat
impractical", "way-out", "unconventional", "airy-fairy" and "arty-crafty."

During the first few months after Seminar '75 the Director was frequently absent from the College and was not party to staff room discussions that produced these stereotypes. In his absence and lacking a Community Education Head to provide a contrary viewpoint, the stereotypes took hold and became the basis of predictions about what the Community Education tutors would be like and the kind of courses they might run. The existing staff anticipated that new appointees would be different from rather than similar to them in interests, expertise and attitude. However, even though the existing staff used such stereotypes in a somewhat disparaging way in conversation, they did not dismiss out of hand the notion that Community Education could have "a legitimate place in a Community College." They were "prepared to give (Community Education tutors) a fair go." In contrast with the reservations of the Vocational Education staff, the Director saw the Community Education Department as being crucial to the development of the College as an innovative organisation more so than Vocational Education. The Director's definition of the situation in this way was reflected in the much greater emphasis he gave to Community Education during the course of 1975. His reasons for concentrating on Community Education arose out of his concern to develop the College in a balanced way and reflected personal interest in this side of the College operation. The way the Director distributed his time, interest and energy to the two aspects of the College was observed by the staff and had consequences for inter-departmental relations that are to be discussed later in this Chapter. In the meantime, Community Education tutors were appointed and began to arrive.

The Advent of Community Education

In July, 1975 the Director put an end to speculation about new staff. He did this by sending to staff members a memorandum which listed the appointments made in Community Education and two new appointments made to Vocational Education. The order in which the newly appointed tutors were to arrive at the College had consequences for staff relationships. The Human Relations tutor was due to arrive on July the 7th to be followed by the Accounting and Business Studies tutor on August 4th, the Secretarial tutor on September 8th, the Music tutor on September 15th,
The Creative Writing and English tutor on September 20th, the Art and Craft tutor on October 13th, and the Community Education Head in late November.

There were two immediate reactions to the information contained in the memorandum. The individuals appointed to positions in Music and Accountancy and Business Studies were local people "well known in the community and respected." The staff generally and in particular the Vocational Education staff reacted favourably to these two appointments. However, the Human Relations appointee was seen as fitting the stereotype of the Community Educator. She was married but living apart from her husband, (unknown to them, for academic reasons) currently employed as a university tutor and well qualified academically. Her main responsibility as a Community Education tutor was to develop programmes in pre-school, early childhood and parent education and human relations. In addition the Director saw her as "dealing with human relations situations (problems) that might arise" within the College.

In the light of this knowledge about the first Community Education tutor, the staff members either withheld making a judgement or voiced concern about the value of the contributions they believed Community Education tutors could make to the life of the College and its role in the community. Despite their adverse reactions and initial reservations, the staff welcomed the new Community Education tutor and made an effort to help her settle in as a staff member. They did this by including her in informal conversations and in social activities. As the tutor in point commented:

I couldn't have had a better reception, they've really gone out of their way to help me fit-in. Everybody has, so far (Interview, October 1975).

To begin with she occupied an office in the Activities Centre, and, in consequence, came in frequent contact with other staff members. "Some of them did not appreciate the courses in human relations and early childhood education" (Interview, tutor, July, 1975). However, because of the location of her office and its openness, the tutor was visible to other staff and was seen to be "pulling her weight and putting in the hours on the job" (Interview, Vocational Education Head, August, 1975). She met with staff regularly, and discussed and explained the work she was doing with them. One outcome was that a number of the
staff members who had young children, came to see that there was a need for courses in Parent Education. In this way the Human Relations tutor began to win acceptance of her role among the existing staff and demonstrate subtly her ability to establish harmonious relationships.

The Human Relations tutor's definition of the situation is discussed in more detail later in the Chapter. Early in August when she was the only full-time Community Education tutor at the College, the new Community Education building was completed. The occupancy of this building led to a change in the patterns of interaction and work relationships among the staff. Now the trend became the segmentation of staff into separate organisational sub-units. Discussion of these developments at this stage in the Chapter is consistent with the sequence of events in the College. More importantly it sets the scene for the discussion, later in the Chapter, of the new tutors' definitions of the situation.

Changes and Developments Within

Consequent on the completion of the Community Education building, the Director worked out new accommodation arrangements. He made a decision to vacate the Activities Centre and to develop it as the Library. The new Community Education building was used for a variety of purposes. The building itself consisted of some offices and large rooms arranged in a square around a central courtyard. (See the diagram on page 155). One side, the southern, was divided into two parts. One part provided office accommodation for the Director, Vocational Education Head, the Registry and the receptionist. The other part served as the Staff Common Room. The Eastern wing provided a set of interlocked offices for the Community Education Department and the Accountancy and Business Studies tutor, a classroom and the Art and Craft Studio. The pre-school unit was housed in the Northern wing and opened outwards onto a children's play area. Because of its location at one extreme end of the College near the main highway, the play area was surrounded with a substantial log fence. The Western wing housed the College printery, offices and classrooms for the secretarial and hairdressing tutors (previously accommodated off campus at a local high school) and the College cafeteria. The only staff members not housed in the new building were the Vocational Education tutors, the maintenance officer, groundsman and caretaker.
In their new accommodation the administrative staff remained close together. However the Community and Vocational Education Departments were separated from each other and the Vocational Education Head was separated from his staff. While the Community Education tutors were next door to the staff common room the Vocational Education tutors were now two to three minutes walking distance away from this new central meeting place.

There were immediate outcomes. The physical separation of the staff was accompanied by the formation of sub-groups. In the Community Education block there were the Registry staff, the administrators, the Community Education group (which until mid September comprised only one member - the Human Relations tutor) and the Secretarial and Hairdressing tutors. The Vocational Education staff remained in their original offices, but even among them, sub-groups were beginning to form - e.g., the builders, the engineers and the motor trades tutors.

In the four months between August and November the recently appointed tutors and additional Registry staff took up their positions. Each new appointee became a member of a staff sub-group. The Community Education group, (which initially included the Accounting and Business Studies tutor) increased its membership to five full-time staff and between two to four part-time tutors. The latter included the Social Welfare, Youth Leadership and Work Re-entry tutors. They were often present in the Department for up to two to three days a week.

Within the various groupings dotted around the College, the staff discussed work related matters and in the process of interaction developed group-based friendships and loyalties. They continued to meet in the Staff Common Room. Previously when the Common Room had been in the Activities Centre, the staff met as a more or less undifferentiated group and discussed both work and non-work related matters. In the new Common Room, they tended to congregate with work mates who shared similar attitudes and value orientations, thus reinforcing the work-group identities, friendships and loyalties that were emerging in work settings.

When staff members from different groups did mix, the conversation generally centred on non-work related topics and seldom on topics to do with courses, programmes and teaching methods. In this way, the staff
were able to avoid issues that could have highlighted differences of opinion and served as a source of conflict. There were two outcomes. First, little opportunity was found in the Common Room to share ideas and attitudes about College work or develop professional relationships across departmental boundaries. Second, the Staff Common Room was a congenial setting within which staff could relax and enjoy harmonious relationships with others. There were, of course, occasions on which tension and conflict did surface. This was mainly the outcome of staff from different groups expressing contrary opinions. There were some occasions on which a staff member might attempt to "one-up" or discredit in some way the work or opinion of another.

One such occasion occurred just after the completion of the Child Care Centre. A small number of Vocational Education tutors made this new facility an object of banter. When the log fence was completed the Centre was referred to derisively as "the Stockade." Such references were at times seen by the Human Relations tutor to reflect a negative judgement about her work and her role. Because of the good-will that existed amongst staff members such banter and one upmanship was never allowed to act as an overt and direct threat to staff relationships. Nonetheless, an element of divisiveness entered into relationships.

For instance some trades tutors who were interested in the early childhood developments that were taking place objected, though not in an outspoken way, to the expression of negative attitudes towards these developments. Such objections (or as some put it, "differences of opinion") were not an outcome of personal dislikes. Rather they were an indication of disquiet. And that disquiet seemed to be due to:

(i) differences over the relative value of contributions to the educational life of the College,

(ii) lack of knowledge or understanding of what others were doing, and,

(iii) concern about the question of overall direction and purpose.

The problem stemmed from the organisational structure of the College itself and the somewhat uncomfortable fit between the paramount goal of Continuing Education and the structural distinction between Vocational and Community Education.
During the latter months of 1975 the Director gave most of his attention to either administrative work, or public relations. The latter was mainly concerned with the promotion and development of Community Education. Meanwhile inside the College a large minority of Vocational Education tutors became critical of the emphasis being given by the Director to Community Education. They compared the work of the two teaching departments and came to feel the value of their own work was being diminished -- a feeling reinforced by comparisons of the appointment levels and salaries of the staff in the two teaching departments. As one tutor commented with some feeling:

where are your values? Where does one start and where does one finish — I mean a music teacher — a tutor three. Is he that valuable to the Community ... The same with carving, arts and crafts, screen printing, things like this? What is (more important) someone's contribution to the country's productivity or the country's utilisation of free time (Interview, October, 1975).

During the formation of the College, the Vocational Education staff had readily accepted and approved of the Director's efforts to promote the College and build-up Community Education. However, with the passage of time, they expected him to look to the welfare and development of both Vocational and Community Education. The Vocational Education Head summed up his own attitude and the attitude of tutors that:

I would prefer that (the Director) oversees the total picture; that he give an unbiased proportioning of his time to both Vocational and Community Education (Interview, October, 1975).

The Vocational Head was confident in his own ability to administer and develop the Vocational Education Department. However, like the Director, he wanted to develop "cross relations between the two departments" and to minimise the incidence of division and conflict.

The Director believed, mistakenly as it turned out, that all the group on the central campus are very solid and even though Community Education people have been here a short time, they'll build bridges in
terms of personal linkages between the Community
Education side and the Vocational Education side
(Interview, October, 1975).

While a number of "personal linkages" did form, there was a general
hesitancy among the staff to initiate or become involved in a serious
way with joint departmental ventures. It was one thing to get on well
socially with each other in the common room but quite another thing to
work together. The occurrence of such incidents as the "stockade
business" and an emerging feeling of rivalry between tutors (between
and occasionally within departments), further inhibited the development
of interdepartmental and intergroup cooperation.

The Director was aware of the occasional differences of opinion
that occurred between staff members. However, he thought that these
differences were mainly superficial in nature and could be put aside in
the interests of the development of the College. He thus expected the
existing staff to work with the new tutors to develop new types of
programmes and courses. He hoped that as staff from the two teaching
deptments began to work together, the arbitrary distinction between
Vocational and Community Education would begin to break down. The two
deptment organisation was unlikely to completely disappear. However,
the Director hoped that composite work groups might become a feature
of the life of this Community College. He had in mind two ideas with
which to initiate a pattern of cooperative ventures. First, the
Building trades and Welding tutors could work with the Art and Craft
tutor to develop composite trades oriented craft projects and
activities both on campus and in the community. Second, Vocational
Education tutors could work with the Youth Leadership and Work Re-entry
tutors to devise appropriate programmes and projects. They could for
instance, help students acquire practical trades skills, learn how to
set up work cooperatives and learn how to cope with working for
an employer.

As it transpired, there were three factors which militated against
the realisation of the Director's aims. First, the Director assumed
that the staff understood and agreed with his definition of the
situation. He did not explain to the staff what his aims were and how
he expected them to participate in their implementation. Second, the
Director himself was an individualist and tended to keep his own counsel
rather than consult and work with the staff. He encouraged the staff, both by word and example, to enact their roles in an individualistic rather than a cooperative way. Third, the absence of a Community Education Head led the Director to regard each of the Community Education tutors and the Accountancy and Business Studies tutor as

a Head of Department; each opening up and having responsibility for a totally separate and unique area (Interview, October, 1975).

Each Community Education tutor had to establish a role within the College, interact with external agencies, identify a clientele, develop and teach courses, select part-time tutors to teach in specialist areas and arrange and conduct workshops, seminars and meetings both at the College and in the community. The tutors worked alongside but independently of each other in the eastern wing offices of the Community Education Building. Here they settled into Community College life, first assessing and ultimately defining to their own ends their respective situations. They had aims of their own and their definitions of the situation determined how they could fit into and develop the College.

New Tutors' Aims and Definitions of the Situation

This final section of the Chapter describes and comments on the new tutors' definitions of the situation - their attitudes, goals and expectations - and the manner in which they began individually to create an operational domain and a role.

In the two months following her arrival at the College the Human Relations tutor spent the bulk of her time during the day working on campus. The off-campus meetings she did attend occurred mainly in the evening or at weekends. From August onwards she began "to work more with groups in the community on week days." For example she began to conduct Parent Education courses with mothers in a nearby Napier suburb. This community-based activity reflected the tutor's desire to work with:

(i) parents to provide practical knowledge about childrearing,
(ii) illiterate adults to help them learn to read, and at a somewhat different level,
(iii) Play Centre and Kindergarten supervisors to assist them develop their own programmes - with the emphasis being on the education of parents, not taking over the education of the children from the parents.

While the College's Child Care Centre was available to be used by parents, it also served as a training and research centre. The use of the Centre in this way arose out of a concern to establish "the root causes of problems in the community" and to provide programmes and activities that were directed at finding solutions and prevention.

Within the College the Human Relations tutor hoped also to work with Vocational Education tutors to run Human Relations courses for the apprentices and other full-time students. In this way she hoped to overcome the tendency among staff to "divide the College up into Vocational and Community Education with a split down the middle" (Interview, September, 1975). The achievement of this goal required that two obstacles be removed. First the male tutors "had to learn to accept a woman as a colleague." Second, they had to step outside their conventional teacher role definitions and come to regard the students not merely as secondary school pupils who had to be coerced to learn but as adults. She recognised that the removal of these two obstacles was probably a long-term prospect and would involve converting most of the existing staff to new ways of thinking about education.

The Art and Craft tutor shared with the Human Relations tutor a common attitude to adult education. Like her, he believed that adults were capable of deciding what they wanted or ought to learn. His paramount aim was the implementation of an interest-based approach to teaching and learning. He wanted to

arrange a system (of learning and teaching) where people feel free and easy coming and going ... to base the (on-campus) College activity on individual interest. I want to be quite literal about that, so that each person who comes in is attended to personally - wants, needs and requests, all on an individual basis rather than on that class basis. If you set up a course everybody comes to it en-masse. Then you've got a class and I don't want that. I know that's not the right way (Interview, February, 1976).
The implementation of an interest-based Art and Craft programme resulted in the tutor’s setting up a studio in the Community Education Building and conducting activities between 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. on three days a week. For example:

on Mondays there is painting and drawing activity—oil painting, water colour, charcoal drawing, chalk drawing, crayon, pencil depending on individual interest. Some come and say "I don't know, but I want to do something." That's a problem. So we try to iron it out individually (Interview, February, 1976).

By proceeding in this way it was possible to catch people during the day and on the way home from work and then avoid (the students) having to come out to night classes (Interview, February, 1976).

The remaining two days of the week were spent working in the community. Prior to the Art and Craft tutor's arrival, the Director had initiated the He Whare Wananga No Ngate Kahungnu programmes. Stemming from the College's involvement in this distinctly Maori-Education venture, the Art and Craft tutor was invited to assist in the restoration of the local Kohu Patiki Marae. Here the emphasis was on working with people according to their expressed needs - their plan. I think in terms of basing things on community activities, where there's internal organisation. I'm talking about Community Education, but where there is control by that community over their own affairs (Interview, Tutor, February, 1976).

Here then, was an attempt by a College tutor, building on the initiatives of others, to integrate the College with a local community. The tutor hoped that, in time, members of that Maori community might want to come to the College. Subsequent development of the Whare Wananga programme meant that further involvement with the Maori could occur predominately in the community.
Later, in 1976, the additional appointment of a part-time Art and Craft tutor enabled the setting up of an extra Art and Craft workshop. This was located in "the Stables" attached to the old Otatara homestead positioned over the campus boundary. "The Stables" also became an on-campus base for Youth Leadership and Work Re-entry programmes. While the tutors associated with these programmes and the Art and Craft tutors occasionally visited the main Staff Common Room, they became an independent group. It is noteworthy that during the period of the field research, no attempts were made by "the Stables" group to develop programmes with other Community College tutors.

A similar attitude to adult education and a similar pattern of on-and off-campus work was evident amongst other tutors. The English and Creative writing tutor, had two main aims. First, he wanted to spend a lot of time in schools trying to catch people in about the sixth form area who tend at that stage, in terms of creative writing, to say either we hate school or go onto university and have to concentrate on exams, and drop-out from this activity. I wanted them to have the College as a focus point - a drop-in centre, if you like, for creative writing, as much as a course centre (Interview, February, 1976).

Second, he wanted to identify in the community, adults who had writing ability - "people who are not au fait with say 'Yellow Island' or 'Landfall'; but people who these literary magazines are looking for."

To begin with, he took over the coordination of a writer's workshop that had its origins in Seminar '75.

A lot of time was spent with this group outside pure College time, or so-called regular class time conducting a writer's workshop. Our aim was to produce a Hawke's Bay literary publication called "Script" (Interview, February, 1976).

Apart from the workshop, the English and Creative Writing tutor had, (unlike the Art and Craft tutor), no stable community net-work within which he might work. Consequently he devoted his attention
both during office hours, at weekends and in the evenings to conducting meetings, and talking with individuals in the community. He was not totally free, however, to work off-campus. There were 

bread and butter courses, as it were, with secretaries, carpenters, fitters and turners.

That's the easier, more recognised, more useful kind of teaching (Interview, February, 1976).

These courses were a compulsory component in the apprentice and commerce-trainee programmes. They were regarded as "non-essential" by the Vocational Education tutors and had to be taken simply to meet the Trades Certification Board requirements. The English tutor attempted to relate the courses to student occupations and interests and to run them on a co-educational basis. However his attempts at co-education came to nothing when the "secretaries were scheduled to meet in a class of their own at 4.00 p.m. on Friday afternoon."

Scheduling decisions like this served to dampen the English tutor's enthusiasm to work in the Vocational Education Department. He found "the bread and butter courses" unenjoyable and unrewarding. While the compulsory English courses had to be taught, he saw Creative Writing as the most worthwhile aspect of his role and gave most of his ability, time and energy to it.

The Music tutor was an acquaintance of several of the staff before his appointment to the College. However, while he enjoyed amicable relations and "got on well with the staff", the people he worked with as a Community College tutor were people in the Community. They were, for example, teachers of Music in the local schools, musicians in the Hawke's Bay Orchestra, and the Chamber Music Society and teachers who were using music therapy with handicapped children.

The Music tutor had clear conception of his role, namely to:

(i) use the Community College as a base from which to develop the local orchestra around a nucleus of professional musicians,

(ii) provide second-chance music education courses,

(iii) conduct executive diploma level courses leading to the A.T.C.L. and L.T.C.L. qualifications, and,
(iv) raise the general level of community participation in Music by supporting local music groups and organising both orchestral and "pop" music concerts.

While he did not have a specific interest in or liking for "electronic" and "popular contemporary" music, the Music tutor took the view that these forms of music were

a valuable development for other people who see music differently. We're here to serve all sections of the community - For instance a group from the "Down town-Y" come to the College and practice here. Our aim is to encourage that sort of development. In April (1976) we have a programme on electronic music at which people can come along and perhaps compose their own music (Interview, tutor, February, 1976).

Unlike many of the Vocational Education tutors who regarded the Community College as resembling a secondary school, the Music tutor - himself an ex-secondary school teacher - took a somewhat different view. His view of education and students was similar to that held by other Community Education tutors namely that:

We're not trying to build-up Music necessarily within the College itself. We want to get away from teaching Music in the classroom. That's the practice in the schools. Here it's different. We're trying to develop something within the Community - And of course people who come to us want to come. In the schools you have a captive audience - it may not be an interested one. Here, the approach is really quite different - its much more personal and individualised (Interview, February, 1976).

By adopting a personal and individualised approach to teaching and learning, the Music tutor hoped to increase the level of participation in music in the Community. Therefore he worked in the community to achieve this end.
Two of the new tutors were in Vocational Education but, for various reasons, came to have as much in common with the Community Education tutors as they did with their Vocational Education colleagues. Their aims and definitions are therefore included for discussion along with the Community Education tutors' aims and definitions.

The role of the Accountancy and Business Studies tutor was similar to that of other tutors in Vocational Education, namely to train students for occupations in Accountancy, Business Management and the like. His main aim was,

- to get vocational studies in accounting (e.g. courses in A.C.A. subjects, the N.Z. Certificate in Commerce, and the Institute of Management subjects) off the ground with a minimum of fuss and a maximum of acceptance by local people.

However, his attitude to students was different from that of many Vocational Education tutors. The latter tended to view students as inferior to them. The students were in need of "control", "discipline" and "should show respect." The Accountancy and Business Studies tutor believed that the relationship between tutor and student had necessarily to be an hierarchic one. However he also took the view that,

- the customer is right. Students have a right to expect top-class tuition. They must feel, at the end of a course, that they have acquired something of value. The students are adults and as such their views are deserving of respect (Interview, tutor, October, 1975).

Although by definition a Vocational Education tutor, the adoption of this view helped identify the Accountancy and Business Studies tutor as a Community Educator. In this role he aimed to "associate the Community College in a major way with Accounting and Business Management Education in the region" by;

1. doing promotional work in the community with the radio, newspapers and in person at places where people assemble, e.g. in such work places as the hospital, the paper mill and the sporting clubs,
(ii) emphasising a policy of open-entry to Accountancy and Business Studies, and

(iii) helping people to feel at home in the Community College environment.

In order to achieve his main aim, the Accountancy and Business Studies tutor became a member of the executive of the Hawke's Bay Society of Accountants and was appointed as the Schools' liaison officer. In this role he planned to recruit senior school students to his courses and to build up "a reservoir of accounting and management talent in the Hawke's Bay" (Interview, February, 1976). In addition he planned to conduct an array of courses for such people as club secretaries and treasurers, people managing small businesses and people wanting to know about such topics as the operation of banks, the share market through to home management and accounting.

The new Secretarial tutor also defined her role in broad terms as a Community Educator. She had, as a first priority, to train young adults for secretarial and commercial occupations. However, she took the view that,

we've got to be prepared to travel and to take our work out into the community in order to get women involved in education ... Knowing the views of some other (male) Vocational Education tutors, I tend not to discuss with them where I possibly see our role from the community side. I do not see the College, as some do, as a place that students come to, they learn and then they go away again (Interview, tutor, February, 1976).

During 1975 and 1976 the Secretarial tutors were fully preoccupied with the setting-up and conduct of on-campus courses. However, during that time the new tutor discussed with the Human Relations tutor ways in which they might work together to develop community-based courses and programmes for women.

The Community Education Head

As mentioned earlier in the case-study, the Council, the Director and the staff expected the Community Education Head to arrive at the
College during November 1975. In his absence, the Community Education tutors developed separate Community Education domains within the one Department. When the first Community Education Head appointed, resigned (before taking up office), the Music tutor became the Acting Head of Department. However, he was in no position to develop the Community Education Department and attended only to routine administrative matters. Consequently the tutors continued to work independently of each other and as Department Heads in their own right.

When the second appointed Community Head arrived at the College in May 1976, he had to fit into an existing department with clearly defined territories and a complex network of relationships. He realised that before he could exercise any leadership he first had to understand not just the workings of his own department but also the relationship between Community Education and the other organisational units of the College -- including the Vocational Education Department, the Registry and the Management team. Once equipped with knowledge of how the College worked, he hoped to establish his own niche within the organisation.

By the end of his first month the Community Education Head had made a number of specific observations about the College that affected the way he defined the Head of Department role. First, the College was tending to become the centre of tertiary education in the Hawke's Bay. A main consequence for the Community Education Head was that he should counteract this tendency. He planned to do this by encouraging and assisting his staff to develop out-reach programmes and avoid "becoming embroiled in the internal course structure." Second, he observed that the Community College was "being overorganised by the administration." This state of affairs led the Community Education Head to use his position as a member of the management team to alter existing administrative arrangements and devise new ones that could be used flexibly to assist rather than inhibit the development of Community Education.

The development of an appropriate and efficient administrative system was a task that, in the latter months of 1975, had been of concern to the administrative hierarchy of the College. The outcome was that the Registrar had developed an administrative system to manage and control not just the operation of the Vocational Education Department, but the operation of the whole College. This system had
become a central part of the College's overall administrative framework.

The emergence of the administrative framework and its effect on the staff and on the evolution of the College are to be discussed in the next Chapter.
CHAPTER 10 - THE ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The main topic to be discussed in Chapter 10 is the emergence of the administrative framework and the effects of administration on the evolution of the Community College. The focus of attention will be on the way the College administrators sought to control the direction of Community College development through:

(i) the devising and implementation of an administrative system,

(ii) the meeting of Education Department rules and regulations,

(iii) membership in the Technical Institutes' Association, and,

(iv) the formation of Committees.

The relevant functional problem is Integration and in particular its social control aspects.

Administration - The Initial Situation

During the operational stage of the College's evolution the College administrators made no systematic or detailed attempt to apply a principle of efficiency to College operations. That is they made no attempt to devise and apply rational forms of administrative control. To use James D. Thompson's (1967) analogy, the situation at the College was something akin to the state of emergency that occurs when a major disaster strikes a community. There were several reasons. At that time the buildings were in various stages of completion and the roads and parking areas were unsealed. Construction workers were present on the campus along with their cranes, ladders, scaffolding planks of timber and other building and excavation equipment. As the Director had commented at Seminar '75, there was a fine layer of dust over everything and in making their ways around the College, the staff had to dodge workmen's ladders, negotiate their way around scaffolding and open drains and avoid water puddles.

In this physical situation, it was difficult to give attention to coordinating the efforts of staff and organising them to get on with
the job. The administrative headquarters was established in the Activities Centre. In time an organisational pattern emerged and jobs got done - but not always efficiently. Some resources were employed to their capacity, others were not. The principal explanation was that the College had to be organised and become operational simultaneously. The components-personnel and the other available resources - had to be assembled and interrelated. All this had to be done without the benefit of established rules or commonly known channels of communication.

In the interests of controlled and orderly evolution, the Director recognised that this "disaster" situation could not be allowed to continue for any length of time. The Community College required people who were able to organise accounting, administrative, and reporting systems. The Registrar's role was thus seen as a crucial one in setting up such systems, which, when operative, would: (i) enable a measure of internal control to be executed over the allocation of resources and, (ii) constitute an important part of the organisation's defence and procurement functions.

In setting up administrative systems, the Director hoped that senior staff would combine and become an executive team that, because of its nature, would permit horizontal rather hierarchical control and communication. He therefore envisaged that;

the four of us, the Community Education Head, when he's here, the Vocational Studies Head, the Registrar and myself, would work together not in terms of a hierarchy. I see us in terms of four people with complementary roles within the system. I accept that when final crunches come, I have to take responsibility for things and make certain decisions. I know in any sort of issue arising I'm going to have to carry the can; and therefore I expect information and a certain amount of co-operation. Apart from those situations, I see us as being complementary and that we each have our own particular functions to perform. And we each have our own styles of operation (Interview, Director, October, 1975).
If the team approach could be made to work, then executive staff would come to see themselves as partners, would develop a common perspective and ensure that the Director's influence was not limited by an unsympathetic staff. In reality, the achievement of a team approach proved to be more of a problem than the Director initially envisaged. As with other areas of organisational functioning, the achievement of cooperative working relationships in the executive team was something that had to be worked at. The Director tended to leave others to cope with this kind of work. Complicating the matter further, senior staff also had to adopt new roles. This too was a matter that was left to individuals to cope with on their own.

The Director and Registrar were initially at disadvantage in two ways in the creation and learning of their roles. Their previous experience in universities and the business world respectively was quite alien to that required in the administration of a Community College. They had therefore to unlearn some old habits, adapt past experience to a new situation and familiarise themselves with the requirements of the paramount higher authority - the Education Department. Both had to adjust their individual activities to the demands of a new situation. By contrast, the Vocational Education Head had had many years experience in the technical institute system.

The resulting patterns of adjustment reflected both the personality and prior administrative experience of each executive staff member. The Vocational Education Head continued to be totally immersed in the setting up and management of his department. He communicated with his executive colleagues when necessary; for example, when advice was wanted on the format of student registers or when devising a procedure for the allocation of funds to tutors and recording expenditure. As the Registrar subsequently commented

the Vocational Education Department is very smooth running. The Head of Department is very efficient. He's got everything under control, it's orderly and the staff know it's orderly - it just runs like clockwork (Interview, February, 1976).
The Vocational Education Head attached considerable importance
to the
day-to-day operations of ordering materials, attending
to the needs of tutors, working out time-tables, and
planning courses (Interview, July, 1975).

In contrast the Director saw his involvement in day-to-day admin­
istrative and accounting functions as being "totally unproductive
and inefficient" (Interview, July, 1975). He continued to dedicate
his time and energy to what Selznick (1957) calls "the statesman role" —
a concern for the evolution of the organisation as a whole including
its changing aims and capabilities. Nevertheless, the Director had
begun to develop a policy on long-term development and had partially
committed this policy to paper for example in his Seminar '75 address
and various media releases. However, he made little attempt to
translate his policy into an internal organisation doctrine, and then
communicate it in a sustained and systematic way to senior staff members.

In the absence of clear policy guidelines the Registrar drew on
his past experience in accountancy and business management to establish
a niche for himself within the College hierarchy, to define a role and
to meet his own needs for status and influence. "As the business manager
of the College" he saw his role primarily as that of

using my business experience to set up an efficient
administrative system ... to run the place as
a commercial enterprise ... (and thereby) make
a reasonable contribution to the life of the
College (Interview, May, 1976).

Within a few weeks after his arrival, the Registrar set about devising
an administrative system for the whole College.

Setting up an Administrative System

To begin, the Registrar had to acclimatise himself to a new
organisational situation; one quite different from that of "the cut
and thrust of the computer business." In practice this acclimatisation
was assisted by having, as a first task,
going back through all the office records and invoices, examining every one and finding out just what it was for - a special grant, an expense on class materials and so on. There was some difficulty because the original office was (off-campus) - Then it was moved to the College - but we couldn't find all the bits of paper regarding the financial grants that were outstanding so I went to Wellington and got them and then began sorting out the financial chaos we were in (Interview, June, 1975).

While the task of putting the financial affairs of the College in order was "something of a baptism by fire", it provided an opportunity, on the one hand, for him to begin to become familiar with the administrative requirements of the Education Department, and, on the other, to become acquainted with the temporary administrative and financial control procedures that had already been instituted in the College.

By the end of July, 1975, the Registrar had devised the rudiments of an accounting system and an array of administrative procedures that he envisaged should enable senior staff to exercise complete control over, the allocation and spending of funds, the ordering of goods and equipment and the registration and processing of students (Interview, July, 1975).

This system should, at the same time,

allow tutors to know the limits of their financial allocations and exercise individual freedom to spend money within pre-determined limits (Interviews, Registrar, June and August, 1975).

For example, specific procedures included the use of:

(i) time-cards for recording teaching-hours, mileage claims and incidental expenses,

(ii) requisition forms for requesting equipment, goods and services, and,
(iii) an accompanying procedure for costing and approving purchases.

Within the Registry a manual, accounting-cum-information - retrieval system was installed and used to process all items of expenditure and income ranging from the costing of specific courses, payment of salaries, receipt of block grants and the receipt and payment of accounts.

So effective was the system that "no staff member could place an order to purchase an item without a registry authorisation." The Registrar* controls all orders. The staff were told that if they buy any items without an authority, they pay for them (Interview, Registrar, February, 1976).

Once in operation, accounting and administrative procedures were applied uniformly and without discrimination to both the Vocational and Community Education departments. In this way the Registrar sought to limit the organisational dualism that existed and to avoid a competitive division between Community and Vocational Education tutors (Interview, June, 1975).

As the post-operational stage progressed the Registrar sought to formalise other aspects of College operation. The demand for courses, seminars, workshops, meetings and use of College facilities and services had, of course, increased. So had the volume of correspondence in and out of the College and telephone communications. While much of this correspondence and communication was transmitted through the Registry, staff had fallen into the habit of building up and storing information in their own files. Some (particularly the Director) omitted to distribute mail that might have been better dealt with by other staff. In order to "break bad habits" the Registrar set up a centralised filing system. Here, the Registrar's penchant for organisation was expressed by the institution of a system of procedures that were to result in:

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* In addition, the Registrar was responsible for matters relating to the maintenance, cleaning and security of buildings and facilities. Shortly after arriving he also became secretary to the Council and took responsibility for arranging meetings and agendas.
(i) prompt responses to correspondence,

(ii) a clearly-understood routine of sorting and routing letters and circulars performed by someone with overall knowledge of the College's work,

(iii) a clearly agreed pattern as to who should answer particular types of letters and enquiries, with discretion to use initiative or seek higher approval, and

(iv) ways of re-routing enquiries, (and their answers) to several other staff groups for information.

Initially the running of the administrative office had required a small number of clerical staff. However, with the appointment of new tutoring staff, the rapid growth of courses and completion of buildings, there was a corresponding increase in the number of staff required in the Registry. The Registry was becoming an organisational-unit in its own right. By the end of the research it had acquired a full-time staff of ten. Among the three main organisational-units in the College, the Registry most nearly approximated the archtypical bureaucratic-management model. Its positions were hierarchical with the Registrar at the top and in descending order, a senior clerk, two clerks, ancilliary staff and typists and secretaries.

The Registrar was committed to the development of an efficient administration system. He worked out a set of specialist functions and specified accompanying duties and routines. For example, the senior clerk was responsible for the scheduling of classes, meetings, seminars, maintenance of class records and time sheets and the registration of students and the recording of student hours. There was a clerk responsible for the handling and placing of all advertisements and the maintenance of an inventory. There was an accounts clerk, and so on. The Registrar saw this form of administrative organisation as both desirable and necessary. It was his way of "rescuing the College from its state of administrative and financial chaos." In this way he sought to develop the means whereby the executive staff could begin to exercise administrative control over the internal affairs of the College. With the administrative system in place, the College administrators could then also meet the requirements of the Education Department and present to
this higher authority, information that could be used to support the College's claims for increases in resources and personnel.

**Meeting the Requirements of the Education Department**

Throughout 1975 the Registrar's main aim in setting up the administrative system was to "get the College running smoothly internally." In addition, some attention was given by him to the meeting of Education Department requests, for example for returns of student enrolments, reports on the receipt and installation of equipment, estimates of student numbers for the following year and the like. These requests were met on an ad-hoc basis when the figures on which they were based came to hand or when someone found time to retrieve them. All three of the administrators realised that this ad-hoc way of responding to departmental requirements could not go on indefinitely. In the first year of the College's operation they had virtually a free hand to procure resources, and as the Director-General of Education put it

"to make staff appointments that would keep the College turned into the educational needs of its many publics" (Renwick, 1976).

Thereafter the College had to go through "normal Departmental channels" in order to increase its budgetary allocation and staffing entitlement. The Director realised that the continuing growth of the College depended on the senior staff acquiring knowledge of the Education Department's regulations and procedures for deciding staffing entitlements, budget allocations, block grants and special allowances.

Towards the end of 1975 and during early 1976 the Director began to collaborate with the Registrar "to attempt to mesh in with the Education Department's administrative system" (Interview, Director, March, 1976). His purpose was, however, not merely to comply with the Department's tertiary education rules and procedures. Rather he took the view that,

in a new enterprise you've got to try and stretch the system to find where the boundaries are. I'm going to do this on the professional side so to speak and the Registrar is going to do it on the accounting side (Interview, Director, March, 1976).
The key concept that underpinned all Education Department requirements and procedures was the "weighted student hours." In order to justify the appointment of an additional tutor, the College had to show, prior to the commencement of a course, that there were sufficient students to generate 9,880 weighted student hours. In the first year of operation the College had been staffed on the assumption it would generate 200,000 weighted student hours. The appointment of additional personnel and hence the further growth of the College depended on the generation of weighted student hours in excess of this number.

The College administrators came to adopt "growth in student numbers" as a principal goal and directed time and energy to the attainment of this end. They accordingly encouraged tutors in both of the College's departments to initiate and conduct new courses. The Director instructed the professional staff to record systematically the numbers of people in attendance not just at regular ongoing courses but also at meetings, workshops and seminars. The Registrar provided attendance registers that individual tutors were required to complete. A Registry clerk was given the job of recording the College's ongoing out-put of weighted student hours.

**Staff Reactions to Administrative Requirements**

The staff responded in a variety of ways to the administrative requirements that were introduced by the Registrar. Some tutors saw the requirements as the Registrar's bid for power through control over the organisation's resources. Others saw the demand for the meeting of requirements as a slight on their professionalism. This was especially so with Vocational Education tutors who were required to fill in time cards recording their hours on the job. For their part the Community Education tutors disliked having to fill in attendance registers and saw them as an imposition. However a large minority of tutors saw the point and purpose of the procedures and complied willingly with them.

Despite some initial resistance by tutors, administrative procedures and controls came into operation. They were converted from manual to a computer procedure, were modified and streamlined and became an integral part of the College administration. Internally, resistance
diminished, especially when the Registrar informally explained the purpose of various procedures and assisted individual staff members in practical ways, to procure equipment, sort out travel claims and the like.

The Technical Institute Association - Membership and Effects

One major outcome of "meshing in with the Education Department's requirements" was that the Director came to see that departmental officials regarded the Community College as a modified technical institute, rather than as a new kind of tertiary education organisation. This identification of Community College with technical institute was further brought home to him by the College tutorial staff. Most of them elected to join the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes - the A.T.T.I. - rather than form a new association of Community College teachers. This move was later applauded by the Director-General of Education who, at a 1976 administration conference commented that,

it would have been regrettable if the current development of Community Colleges had resulted in a separate career service from the technical education service (Renwick, 1976).

With membership in the A.T.T.I., Community College tutors were assured of comparable working conditions and could maintain salary relativities with other teachers in the tertiary education service.

The appropriate professional association for the Director to join thus became the Technical Institutes' Association - the T.I.A. - whose members were technical institute principals. Shortly after joining in 1976 he was elected to the T.I.A. executive. As a member of the country's technical institute hierarchy he was thus in a position to draw conclusions about how, as an organisation comparable in status and size to other provincial institutes, the Community College fitted into the wider context of tertiary education in New Zealand.

As a result of his association with the principals, the Director not surprisingly discovered that the Community College could be seen to have more in common with technical institutes than he initially thought. On the one hand, both types of organisation came under the
same Departmental rules and regulations - a fact of life of which he
was becoming particularly aware. On the other hand, the Department had
redesignated the technical-vocational education mission of the technical
institute as Continuing Education. The intended outcome was "a blurring
of the boundaries between the work of technical institutes and Community
Colleges" (Renwick, 1976).

The Director was therefore strategically placed to work with the
T.I.A. to promote the growth of both types of organisation and to reap
for the Community College any benefits that might accrue. His earlier
decision to pursue a policy of organisational growth through the gener­
ation of more courses and weighted student hours (the T.I.A. custom) was
reinforced by other Principals and Directors. Within the College he
continued to encourage tutors to develop new courses and programmes.

The increase in the number of courses and programmes was so marked that
in 1976 the Director was confident that the College would in "a year or
two be reclassified from a grade 1 to a grade 2 technical institute."
In other words he expected the College to generate an annual total of
400,000 weighted student hours. The benefits to accrue from such
an achievement included an increased staffing entitlement, reclassification
of the Director, Registrar and Head of Department positions to a higher
salary level and the entitlement to appoint a Deputy Director.

The Formation of Committees

As the Director became immersed in the administration of the College,
he was correspondingly less available for informal and impromptu meetings
with the staff. Yet he realised the importance to organisational growth
of maintaining the staff interest and participation in the affairs of
the College. The Director wanted to maintain the high level of
participation that was evident early in 1975. As a step in this direction,
he had instituted, in August 1975, formal staff meetings. However, the
meetings were not an unqualified success as, in the Director's words,
"they generally turned into an information giving session." They
elicited little response from staff by way of lively discussion and debate;
though they served the purpose of getting people together every two weeks
with specific benefits in terms of social interaction before and after
the meeting. Other arrangements were required to achieve a more direct
and active participation of the staff in the administration of the
College.
With the consent of the Council, the Director formed a network of committees. They included, the Board of Studies, the Staffing Committee, the Buildings and Grounds Committee (both of which existed already as sub-committees of the Council) and the Library Committee. The Board of Studies was pre-eminent. Its main function was to deliberate and make recommendations on the College Curriculum and, to this end, it spawned a number of ad-hoc committees. These ad-hoc committees had specific aims which covered such internal matters as staff training, staff and student amenities through to advising on the content and conduct of specific programmes and activities. For instance, committees were formed to advise on the feasibility of conducting College-based programmes which ranged from Wool Handling to Technician Education.

As a general rule each committee comprised a Council member, a senior staff member, a tutor from either one or both of the College departments, a student representative, and, where appropriate, representatives from relevant community groups. For instance, the Wool Handling Committee had representatives from the N.Z. Wool Board, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the Hawke's Bay Woolbrokers Association, the Agricultural Training Council and Federated Farmers.

The Director was the Chairman of the Board of Studies and an ex-officio member of all other committees. In this ex-officio capacity, he was able to participate directly in the decision process. By playing an apparently subordinate role he sought also to emphasise the importance of the committee members' contribution to the decision making process and to continue to de-emphasise the organisation's in-built hierarchy.

It was the Director who wanted the students to be represented on the Council, the Board of Studies and the committees. However nearly half of the staff (mainly Vocational Education tutors) were opposed to this move and believed that the role of committees was to make decisions for the students. The Registrar and Vocational Education Head shared this latter view, while, in the main, the Community Education tutors sided with the Director. This difference of opinion did not result in conflict or disharmony, and was never debated openly among the staff. However, it tended to act as a barrier to cooperation between the administrators.
Both the Vocational Education Head and the Registrar subscribed to a bureaucratic view of administration and were unsympathetic to the idea of administering the College along participatory lines. One outcome was that in Management Team meetings there was little open discussion. The meetings, even though comprising only the four administrators, were conducted, like the staff meeting as "information giving sessions." Each member of the team told the others of decisions taken and matters in hand. The Director made comments and gave instructions. At other times, the administrative staff continued to work independently and consulted with each other only when necessary. To a large extent this pattern of work was replicated throughout the College with tutors in their own territories committed "to doing their own thing."

With a pattern of individualism established the Registrar was able, without difficulty, to institutionalise administrative procedures to monitor, record and "control the internal workings of the College and run it as a business enterprise." From his standpoint, the Continuing Education mission was best thought of in terms of "particular courses of varying duration." Their effectiveness was best measured in terms of the number of student hours they generated. The Director, when provided with the "relevant facts and figures" was then well placed to "argue a case for the College" to procure additional resources and personnel.

Over the eighteen months of the case study, organisational growth had been rapid and diverse. Vocational Education programmes were put in place. New staff began to expand the task-environment to include youth work, re-entry and leadership training, an adult literacy scheme, Maori education (in the form of the Whare Whananga programme) and neighbourhood work with mothers who were unlikely to come to the College. Firm associations were being made with local primary and secondary schools and various training councils. The Director was contemplating new staff appointments. He defined his administrative task as that of coping with continuing growth but the achievement of a degree of consolidation as well. Permanent buildings were coming near to completion and a degree of formalisation had begun to be established. The Community College was becoming of age and evolving as a variant of existing tertiary education organisations - the small technical institute - elsewhere in New Zealand.
CHAPTER 11 - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this final Chapter is two-fold to:
(i) summarise, interpret and explain the findings of the Case Study, and, (ii) discuss the theoretical and methodological conclusions that can be drawn from the findings.

In order to set the scene appropriately some prior discussion is necessary of the theoretical foundation on which the Study rests and, in particular; (i) the prominent role given to selected aspects of Structure-Functionalism in its design, formulation and conduct, and, (ii) the combination of elements from two ostensibly disparate theories -- Structure-Functionalism and Symbolic Interactionism -- to create a theoretical methodology with which to investigate the evolutionary processes of the Community College.

Theoretical Foundations

According to the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard (1976), "one cannot study anything without a theory about its nature". It used to be said, he comments, that, the social scientist

goed into the field with preconceived ideas ... as if this were a vice not a virtue. (Every researcher does this) but, as Malinowski (has argued), whereas the layman's (pre-conceived ideas) are uninformed, usually prejudiced, the (researcher's) are based on a very considerable body of accumulated and sifted knowledge. If he did not go with preconceptions he would not know what and how to observe ... (Thus) can it be too often said that in science empirical observation to be of value must be guided and inspired by some general view of the nature of the phenomenon being studied. The theoretical conclusions will then be found to be implicit in an exact and detailed description (Evans-Pritchard, 1976).

Even such a critic of the role of theory in social science research as Davies (1973) concedes that, while "there can be no substitute in the study of educational organisations for empirical
work on schools, colleges and educational administrative bodies themselves ... the specification of research problems (rests) on the conceptual framework within which they are conceived."

Parsons, in developing his position on the role of theory and its relationship to the conduct of empirical research, went a step further. He took the view that whether the researcher is aware of it or not, every empirical investigation is conducted in terms of a conceptual scheme. Parsons (1953) argues, not only ought such a scheme be logically consistent and grounded in experience of the real world, the main sanction for employing it is its utility: that is the extent to which it; "works" to facilitate scientific investigation, illuminates the real world and helps in the understanding of empirical problems.

In sympathy with Parsons' position, Chapter One of the present study put forward the argument that, in the absence of theory, research findings will lack point and purpose, and thus provide no guarantee of shedding light in any significant way on the nature of the evolution of an organisation - its processes and problematic features.

The Structure - Functional Framework

There were two main reasons why Structural-Functionalism was chosen as the theoretical framework useful in an attempt to explain the evolutionary processes of the Community College. First, Structure-Functional theory enabled, in a way that other theories did not, the Community College's evolution to be viewed as the product of human interests, purposes and goals -- a position that seems to have a great degree of face validity. Second, it permitted the Community College to be viewed as a whole action system greater than the sum of its parts - a position which also contrasted with other organisational theories which tend to focus on specific aspects, for instance; Decision Making Theory (March and Simon, 1958), Scientific Management Theory (Taylor, 1939), Human Relations Theory (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1970) and Bureaucratic Theory (Weber, 1947). There are two major theoretical positions which do take a wholistic view of organisations - Functional Theory (Merton,
1968 and Blau and Scott, 1971) and Systems Theory (Katz and Kahn, 1966). The former however, confines its attention to conditions that lead to the modification of internal structure. The latter ostensibly focusses on the whole organisation and its environment, but in reality gives a disproportionate weighting to internal processes.

Structure-Functionalism then seemed to have the potential for providing a more comprehensive and perhaps better theoretical basis appropriate for the evolutionary, explanatory purposes of the study. In particular, the Theory's four functional problem scheme seemed especially suited for this purpose, mainly because the scheme provided a means of delineating four specific types of problem -- Adaptation, Goal -Attainment, Integration and Latency -- that Parsons postulated will be encountered and must be resolved if any organisation is to come into existence, survive, grow and prosper. In Chapter One, explicit recognition was given that, while the functional problem scheme is but one part of Parsons' complex and wide ranging General Theory of Action, it is nonetheless and for Parsons* himself (1951, 1956, 1964, 1967) the cornerstone of his whole theoretical framework.** Moreover, in virtually all Parsons' writing on social organisations the functional problems rather than other aspects of the theory (e.g., the pattern variables)

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*The four functional problem scheme evolved from Parsons collaboration with Robert F. Bales (See Parsons, T., Bales, R.F. and Shi ls, E.A. Working Papers in the Theory of Action, 1953. N.Y., The Free Press) in experiments on leadership in small groups. Parsons decided that Bales' categories for analyzing small group interaction and the activities small groups engage in could, if reconceptualized, be expanded to include all systems of action.

feature as the key descriptive and explanatory concepts. Recently, Boyd and Crowson (1981)* have demonstrated the ongoing utility of the functional problems as an appropriate conceptual framework within which to organize and explicate changes in conceptions and the practice of educational administration. As with the present thesis, they conceptualised educational organisations, in Structure-Functional terms, as problematic goal-attainment endeavours.

As Chapter one pointed out, however, there were two main difficulties that had to be overcome if the functional problem scheme was to be used to conduct field research. First the concepts in it were formulated by Parsons, as determinate theoretical constructs. If used in this form to conduct field research, they might determine rather than reflect a particular social model. In other words, research conducted using the functional problems, as Parsons formulated them, meant running the risk of begging the very questions that required an answer -- "what factors affected the creation of the Community College and why did it evolve as it did?" Second, because Parsons formulated Structure-Functional Theory in hypothetico-deductive terms, it is best suited to conduct controlled laboratory experiments (after the fashion of Parsons, Bales and Shils (1953) work on small groups) and not research into existing, real-life organizations which are far less amenable to experimental manipulation and control. To recapitulate, the difficulty that had to be overcome then was how to adapt the functional problems so that they could be used to conduct field research in a natural organisation setting, but without corrupting the theoretical meaning given to them by Parsons. It was in the attempt to find a solution to this difficulty and develop a methodological modus operandi for the Study that Symbolic Interaction Theory was brought into play.

The Study’s Theoretical Methodology

The usefulness of Symbolic Interaction Theory was that it provided what might be called a set of procedural concepts -- the

notions of the sensitizing concept and research as a composite of exploration and inspection activities — that, when amalgamated with the functional problems, would provide (i) a theoretically based methodology for the study, and, (ii) a framework within which to select and use specific research methods in a theoretically systematic way. Following Parsons, methodology was taken to mean the assumptions and concepts used to construct a theory in terms of which decisions regarding specific research methods could be made. As Chapter three sought to demonstrate the research methods thought to be appropriate and, indeed necessary, for the study included:

i. interviews and purposeful conversations — ranging from informal — unstructured to in-depth-structured,
ii. document analysis, and
iii. on the spot semi-participant observation — ranging from systematic to anecdotal and impressionistic.

These methods were appropriate because, in Blumers (1969) terms, they were capable of being employed and in a way that other methods were not to; (i) examine the Community College as a network of relations between individual actors, acting and interacting with each other and sharing in sets of beliefs, standards and symbols, (ii) account for individual actors subjective interpretations of the Community College and their place within it and, thereby, (iii) portray the Community College as an emergent phenomenon, but one which is greater than the sum of its individual actors — a totality. To do this required an amalgamation between what have traditionally been regarded as opposing theoretical positions.

Because of the alleged opposition and historic incompatibility assertions, some discussion is appropriate here of the reasoning that supports the amalgamation of elements from the two theories to form a theoretical — methodology for this thesis. Contrary to traditional belief, the amalgamation was thought to be feasible because of the existence in both theories of common rather than different assumptions about the nature of social life and the role that individuals play in the construction of it.
Common Assumptions

Within sociology, Structure-Functional and Symbolic-Interaction theories are rarely spoken of in the same context, and are generally held to be independent of one another. Some sociologists -- even Blumer (1975); though not Parsons (1967, 1975)* go so far as to conceive the two theories as mutually exclusive -- products of separate intellectual traditions. In this final chapter no attempt will be made to discuss at length or play down the significance of the difference between the two theories. Rather, discussion will centre on the view, adopted in the thesis, that the two theories had sufficient in common to produce a theoretically based methodology suitable to carry out a case study of the Community College's evolutionary processes.

The most common analyses of the difference between the two theories centres on the different ways in which theorists of each persuasion are thought to regard the concepts of structure and process. Blumer, for instance, typically gives priority to process in terms of the active role that individuals play in the construction of social life. It was because he tended to see cultural structure and social structure as constraints or "straight jackets" that he choose to focus on processes in his social analyses. In contrast, Parsons is frequently portrayed as reifying structure and using this concept rather than individuals as the central causitive factor in his explanation of social phenomena. Such renditions, if accepted, would give credence to claims of a prima facie incompatibility between the two theories. However, there is an alternative way of viewing both theories which implies a level of compatibility. Here the concepts of structure and process are also central.

As chapter one pointed out, according to Parsons, "Structure however enduring, exists in terms of process, and process, no matter how slowly or rapidly it operates, always moves through structure. Structure and process are correlative not opposing; aspect of (social) phenomena". The amalgamation of elements from the two theories was closely linked with this notion of the correlative relationship between structure and process. And in Chapter two this relationship was embodied in the view expressed there, that structure is to be found in the way the actions of and interactions between individuals come to constitute a pattern. This view of structure is also expressed by Blumer (1969) when he says;

common definitions (of the situation) serve, above everything else, to account for the regularity, stability, repetitiveness of joint action in vast areas of group life; they are the sources of the established and regulated social behaviour that are envisioned in the concept of culture.

In sharing this view, both Blumer and Parsons recognise that structure is not an ontological reality in itself but refers only to a relative stability of process. To use Blumers (1969) words, in any social situation (and as demonstrated with the Community College) there are, before the fact, "many possibilities of uncertainty" in the career of an enterprise that depends for its existence and growth on both the individual and the joint actions of many individuals. With the adoption of this "dynamic" view of structure, incorporating as it does the notions of individual agency and the problematic nature of social processes as key concepts, a basis was established from which to effect an amalgamation of elements from the two theories.

Consistent with the view of structure outlined, Parsons' "structural" categories came to be used as a pragmatically convenient way of looking at phenomena in process. This usage was consistent with a Symbolic Interaction approach and reflected Parsons acceptance of process as a point of departure for analysis. For him, to speak of structure and function independent of process is a mistaken theoretical move to make. Like Blumer who took his lead from (G.H. Mead)
Parsons is a student of process but, because it is methodologically difficult to make analytic statements about process, he called his form of analysis 'Structure-Functional'. Blumer's more direct preoccupation with symbolic interaction and role-taking and his indirect concern with the social system give his form of analysis a more dynamic quality than that of Parsons, who tends to operate the other way around. This difference between the two theorists in regard to structure and process thus seemed to be a difference of emphasis rather than kind. Accordingly, in the thesis, there seemed to be sufficient grounds for combining elements from the two theories in a specific way, to produce an amalgamated theoretical-methodology with which to conduct a case study of the evolution of the Community College.

Parsons (1951) case study of Modern Medical Practice in the United States, reinforced the proposed amalgamated theoretical methodology of the Community College Study in two ways. First, it was consistent with the decision to use the Functional Problems as sensitising devices. Second, it was especially supportive of the decision to use the functional problems to conduct inspection work. This was a job of work that Blumer's notions of sensitisation and inspection, on their own, could not accomplish, mainly because the latter are procedural concepts and as such they lacked the theoretical substance required for the analysis and interpretation of the study's data.

With the methodology comprising both substantive and procedural concepts constructed and justified for use in the manner outlined, the data gathering for the thesis was able to be carried out as a controlled investigation -- control being exercised in two principal ways:

i. in terms of the functional problem concepts which, when used as sensitizing devices, provided the basis for explicit research questions and gave to the study a sense of overall coherence and direction, and,
ii. in terms of exploration and inspection activity
which, because it occurred over an extended period,
enabled the collection of data from which to
explain the Community Colleges evolution as both
a complex and a problematic process.

Thereafter the incorporation of data into the Case Study (Chapters 4-10) and their interpretation in terms of a four functional problems was intended as the means by which to demonstrate the Study's theoretical-methodology-in-action. Variants of this practice are fairly common elsewhere and are well illustrated for instance in such diverse studies as Evans Pritchard's (1976) anthropological study of Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande; Smith and Keiths (1971), Anatomy of Educational Innovation - An Elementary School; and Selznick's (1949) now classic study of The T.V.A. and the Grass Roots.

Individuals definitions of the situation were yielded in the form of interview responses (protocols); historical individual's accounts of the genesis of the organisation were gleaned from documents, the researchers direct observations yielded observation statements about the emerging Community College. Interview responses, documentary material and observation statements provided, in Part Two of the Thesis, the raw material from which theoretically based descriptions of the organisation and its various parts could be made. These are, in their turn, to provide the basis, in this chapter, for theoretical interpretation, evaluation of the evolutionary condition of the College and an explanation of that condition as it changed.

Given that the Case Study contained an abundance of description, then this description was necessary in order to then proceed to carry out higher level interpretive and explanatory work. The viability of the link between theory and method is to be found in the plausibility of the interpretations and explanations that are to be forthcoming in this Chapter. Here, it should be remembered that while the Study employed elements from two theories, Structure-Functional theory was, from the outset and throughout the Study, the dominant partner. Selected elements from Symbolic-Interaction
theory, though an integral part of the theoretical methodology, were used to provide the means by which Structure Function Theory could be employed. The former thus played a role subordinate to Structure Functionalism.

In the Case Study, the College's evolution was regarded as falling into two separate but interdependent stages;

(i) genesis, which took account of the origins, context and pre-history of the Community College and,

(ii) formation and development, during which the Community College action-system evolved.

The same structure is to be used as a basis for reviewing the main findings below.
Part I - Review of the Case Study's Findings

In the discussion that follows the principal aim is to answer a deceptively simple question - "Why did the Hawke's Bay Community College evolve as it did." In seeking the answer however, it relies on more than a chronicle of historical events and the implicit assumption of linear causal explanation that one event leads to another. Rather it starts from an *a priori* position that recognises the College as having an origin that, of its nature, incorporated a prospect of development along certain identifiable lines. That prospect of development is enshrined in the goals perspectives that is integral to Structure-Functionalism and can be discerned initially in the hopes and intentions of those who were party to its advent. The question then should better be seen as, "given the goals originally held for the College, why did it evolve as it did".

Even this reinterpretation is deceptively simple too. Goals are not disembodied. They inhere in people. And many people were initially and subsequently involved in the making of the College. Predictably their goals differed. There arises then a necessity to confront the issue; "which set of goals should be regarded as paramount, which set should constitute the criterion set against which deviation can be measured". For one thing is clear, the future cannot be known, exigencies cannot be foreseen, and all events cannot be anticipated -- modification of the original goals was therefore inevitable. It becomes a matter of some practical significance then to know about the kinds of circumstances that exert an influence and why responses took the form they did.
Genesis

Throughout the Case Study the concept of the Community College and its goals, as enunciated by the Education Department Administrators responsible for implementing the 1972 Labour Government's policy on Community Colleges, were implicitly taken as the starting point for description and analysis. In this final Chapter explicit recognition is given to them as base-line criteria against which assessments of the extent and condition of the Community College's evolution are to be made. To use Max Weber's (1947) term, the administrator's concept and goals constituted the "ideal-type" Community College. However as both Weber (1947) and Parsons (1951) point out, concepts and goals are seldom realised in the ideal terms in which they are conceived and real-life considerations, such as the attempt by community groups to have their interests represented, can intervene during the implementation process to influence an organisation in directions that were neither envisaged nor intended by the instigators.

Consistent with Structure-Functional theory, the study of the Community College was to be approached with full recognition that the specification of goals is a process that is primarily political. Implicit in this position was a further recognition that the political process entailed bargaining, compromise, conflict and consensus. The campaigns and actions of the various vested interested groups - at both the regional level (the Hawke's Bay University Trust Board, the Polytechnic Promotions' Committee and the Joint High Schools Board's Committee) and at the national level (the Education Department's Technical Directorate and Community College planners) - provided evidence of the political character of the organisation building process. The actions and decisions taken were political in the sense that they were the outcome of attempts by people in positions of authority and power to exercise power and control specifically:

(i) the embodiment of particular interests and purposes in the organisation and,

(ii) the formation of major parameters such as;
   . the goals
   . the physical location
   . the organisational structure
the kinds of buildings and facilities to be provided, and eventually,
the recruitment and selection of personnel.

The principal actors associated with the foundation of the Community College had different, and to a degree, competing views of the kind of educational organisation that was required in the Hawke's Bay. But the extent to which any goals could be realised depended on the relative ability of each group to secure from government a decision to concur with its proposals. Within the Education Department, the actions of the Community College planners - a small but powerful group of senior officials - had brought the Community College (a concept outlined in Labour's 1969 and 1972 election manifestos) to a point where it was ready and, with the 1975 general election looming, had to be implemented. However, a prior decision had already been taken and plans were already in progress for the building of a technical institute - the form of education facility favoured by the Education Department's technical education directorate and the Hawke's Bay commerce and industry coalition. Accordingly there were strong pressures, not the least being political expediency, to design the Community College so as to incorporate conventional vocational education goals. Realistically, the Community College came to be seen by the planners in compromise terms as a "technical institute writ large with a change of name and a new lease of life" (Renwick, 1973).

With the Community College thus reinterpreted the spokesmen for commerce and industry within, (i) the Education Department, (ii) Government, and, (iii) Hawke's Bay were assured that the interests they represented would not only be taken up and met, they would be given priority. In this way, even before it opened for business, the College was directed towards becoming a conventional tertiary education organisation and away from becoming the ideal initially espoused by the planners. This was not to deny, however, the possibility that new directions could be taken. Within the Hawke's Bay community itself there were already signs of pressure groups that wished they would. There were groups whose interests centred both on non-vocational, expressive and social-welfare oriented goals. Although not as forceful and well organised as commerce and industry, they saw in the Community College the prospect of developing "innovative and new-types of
educational programmes". They were to find in the senior administrators of the Department powerful allies both willing and capable of providing the resources necessary to initiate and maintain such programmes.

To the extent that the various groups in the community professed different interests and goals, they provided evidence of a segmented environment for the Community College. Somewhat inevitably then, the Community College was to come into existence reflecting divisions, boundaries and coalitions of interest in the community. These posed for the Community College staff, and more particularly the administrators the problem of how to work co-operatively, reconcile diverse and possibly conflicting goals and co-ordinate effort. For the moment though, the problem in hand came to be the physical formation of the College -- the provision of plant.

Formation of the Community College

With the completion of the planning stage, signalled by the publication of the Feasibility Study, responsibility for the College passed out of the hands of the Education Department and into the hands of the Council; the proviso being that the Council form the College within the framework specified by the Feasibility Study.

The Feasibility Study had given primary emphasis to the attainment of vocational education goals. However the Government, by designating Continuing Education as the official goal, provided a legal mandate to implement goals much wider in scope than those implied by the term vocational education. As the Director General of Education commented, the mandate for "Continuing Education" enabled the Council and staff, to contemplate a range of educational goals "without having to find elaborate forms of argument that would justify certain types of courses on the basis of a somewhat dubious vocational relationship" (Renwick, 1976).

This was the Government's way, somewhat late in the day, of ensuring that a diversity of educational interests and goals -- even competing ones -- could be taken up and accommodated within the one organisation. Beyond this somewhat generalised expectation, Continuing Education, as the official goal, remained largely ambiguous, capable of diverse interpretations and gave rise to the possibility that;
(i) without further specification the direction to take might be unclear, and,

(ii) if not clarified the Community College might go off in all directions and thus become either "all things to all men" or nothing to any man.

There were two particular interpretations that were subsequently to dominate development decisions that were made - egalitarian and liberal reform. Some of the effects that followed were neither anticipated nor intended by Education Department officials, the Council or subsequently, the Director.

The findings germane to the College's official goal are of theoretical interest. As well the Continuing Education goal, because of the way it was used by the Council and the Director to justify development policies and decisions, is worthy of being singled out for special comment. The findings permit the conclusion, notwithstanding disclaimers by such critics of the goal-paradigm as Georgiou (1973) and Davies (1973) that, in attempts at organisational innovation such as that reported in the present study, the official goal can be a key factor influencing the evolutionary process in potent and long lasting ways.

The Official Goal of the Community College

According to Selznick (1943), the creation and running of an organisation can generate problems which may have no necessary (and often an antithetical) relationship to professed or "original" goals. In the Community College once it became operational, the day to day actions of the staff members came to concentrate upon specific problems and proximate goals. The staff members had to conduct programmes and there was little time to engage in discussion and reflection of the relationship of individual actions and events to the overall mission.

By contrast, the Council initially and the Director subsequently both gave attention to the way in which the official goal might feature in the development of the College. Two interpretations presented themselves - egalitarianism and liberalism. Egalitarianism, with its view that education should be directed at meeting the needs of individuals
equally, was the ideology most frequently professed and apparently favoured by Departmental Officials, the Council and the Director. Liberalism, with its view that the needs of the "educationally addicted" and the "educationally deprived", whatever their age, sex, occupation, prior education, ethnic origin and socio-economic status should be met, also featured in the thinking of the planners, the Director and a small but articulate group of Councillors representing minority and dis-advantaged community interests.

As events transpired, the evolutionary pattern of the College reflected the dominance of the Council's and the Director's egalitarian interpretation. However, there are two aspects of the employment of egalitarianism which, because of their potent and long lasting effects, are especially worthy of mention. First, the egalitarian interpretation was used to legitimate virtually any course of study, programme or educational activity for which there was an expressed or perceived need. Second, it was used to avoid distinguishing between the relative potency of specific needs and therefore for deciding which needs should be given priority. The egalitarian interpretation meant that a course say, in needle work would have the same educational significance as a course say, in business management. Notwithstanding, because resources for education are not unlimited, not all educational needs can be met by one organisation. Furthermore, the earlier decision that Vocational Education should be the lynch-pin of the Community College provides ample evidence that people do attribute different values to different kinds of educational activities.

In the beginning, the meeting of the "community's" need for vocational education, because of the demand and cost, required a disproportionately large amount of the College's total resource budget. When Continuing Education was designated the College's official goal no immediate consequences were discernible.

That the Community College did not yet have a sense of balance in its operation was primarily because of:

(i) the lack of a substantive value base that could provide a clear sense of direction

(ii) vagueness and ambiguity of goal definition, thus allowing for opportunism, and,
(iii) the influence of internal vested interest groups
that sought to further their own ends.

The Continuing Education goal then resided elsewhere. It was
introduced in the Feasibility Study, the document that contained the
Education Department's development plan. Ostensibly it reflected the
influence of the dominant community interest groups. The Council,
as representatives of a diversity of community interests, came to be
influenced by the Feasibility Study with its Continuing Education goal
in its determination to have something more than "merely a technical
institute". As it transpired, Council's ability to select and appoint
the staff was an important means for attaining this end. By its choice
of Director and professional staff, the Council sought to keep open
the possibility of developing the College in an open-ended rather than
a closed way. With the initial staff appointments made and the
College's buildings and facilities ready for use, the College came
into existence as an action-system. The Director took over from the
Council the main responsibility for making the Community College
operational and he and the staff became the key actors from then on
in the evolution of the College.

Consistent with Structure-Functional theory's main prediction, the
first functional problems the Director and staff confronted in their
organisation building endeavours were Adaptation and Goal-Attainment.
How the staff members adapted to the demands of outside forces and
developed goal based programmes became the essence of the operation.
Here the Director's role was crucial. He more than any other staff
member came to represent the Community College in the community. In
undertaking this task he did not ignore the College's origins and
history and the way it was influenced by political and socio-economic
circumstances. These circumstances necessitated the formulation of
a plan that could be used to develop the College consistently with the
Education Department planners' initial hopes and intentions -- which
he fortuitously shared. An embryo form of that development plan was
outlined in early media statements. At the same time the College was
made ready for operation.

During this process both Adaptive and Goal-Attainment activities
occurred. The former were reflected for instance in the Director's
oversight of buildings, the appointment of personnel and public relations activity. The latter were reflected in the Director's public statements on organisational mission and the staff members' pre-occupation with setting up and running courses and programmes. However, although Adaptation and Goal-Attainment were the first functional problems to be encountered, the integrative, pattern-maintenance and tension-management aspects were latent in the organisation building process. Once the College became operational, all four of the functional problems were to be encountered by the staff as they set about building the Community College from the ground up. Explanation of the direction that evolution subsequently took is to be found both in the order and the manner in which the four functional problems were faced and resolved. It is to the early development stage that attention now turns.

Development of the Community College

In comparison with such monoliths as the Central Institute of Technology, the Auckland Technical Institute or any one of New Zealand's universities the Hawke's Bay Community College is a small organisation. However, despite its size, the College was an organisation that had the potential to become complex if for no other reason that its growth could be rapid and could occur in a number of directions (Hamilton, 1973). In the discussion that follows, the four functional problem concepts are to be used to explain the complex and problematic nature of the College's evolution.

In February of 1975 when the College opened for business, the task environment that had so far been established included,

(i) a limited range of commercial and trade training programmes,

(ii) a limited population of clients to be served, and

(iii) specific resources in the form of predominantly vocational education tutors and incomplete but vocationally specific facilities and equipment with which to begin operation.

All justifiable (especially in the face of demands for meeting "the community's" education needs) by the argument that, unless the wheels of commerce and industry were kept turning even the minimum conditions
would be absent under which any person could pursue their individual needs and interests. The Community College's output of "trained manpower" was to be an important means to this end - but an end that was based on the view that tertiary education should concern itself with contributing to the conditions under which an economy can function and a community prosper. The Director and a significant minority of Councillors, realising that tertiary education so construed tends to sustain the social, economic (and political) status quo, sought to break this particular instrumentalist view, and give to the Community College "a shape and a purpose" that would distinguish it from other existing tertiary education organisations. As a consequence, competing educational ideologies, evident within the community, came to enter into the goal structure of the College and trigger processes of adaptation and goal-setting that were in marked contrast with the originally pervasive vocational goals.

Mention has already been made of the way in which the Director employed adaptive and goal setting strategies and sought, through the conduct of a public relations campaign and the appointment of community education and reform-oriented tutors, to promote a pattern of development different from that entailed in the Community College's technical institute orientation. The Director expected the staff, beyond the call of vocational educational duty, to conduct courses and programmes to meet the educational needs of people who are typically absent from tertiary education organisations in New Zealand - the Maori, disaffected youth, women and people in the rural community. With such programmes and courses put in place, an important step had been taken towards converting the de facto original technical institute into a Community College.

The conversion was not, however, to be achieved quickly. For one thing, while resources for new-types of programmes were to be made available, they were not to match in extent and abundance the resources provided for vocational education. Thus the Director, and the Department Officials alike realised that the Community College was not likely to revolutionise education nor act as an agent of rapid social change. New courses and programmes such as youth leadership training, the adult literacy scheme, work re-entry and parent education were, nonetheless, a step in the direction of converting the technical institute into a Community College. They could help individuals remedy educational
deficits, accommodate and fit into, and in time, even change the existing community and occupational scheme of things. Through such moves, small though they were, the Community College began, quite early on, to break new ground and expand the scope and meaning of tertiary education in the Hawke's Bay.

The Director's response to the first two functional problems that he personally confronted and had to resolve - Adaptation and Goal Attainment - was consistent with that of the government officials responsible for planning the College. His initial actions accordingly took on a special significance. Up to the Director's appointment, the Community College had in a sense no direction of its own and the dominant vocational education sector of the Education Department determined de facto which way to go. Then came the Director who once delegated the power, was strategically placed to embody within the College the Education Department planners' concepts and goals. The extent to which the planners (official) goals could be implemented depended, however, as much on the staff members as it did on the Director.

The vocationally oriented staff members, appointed before the arrival of the Director, understandably had positive attitudes to the Community College and, in response to encouragement from the Director, they conducted trades-oriented community education programmes and courses. In this way they attempted to adapt their typically vocational-education perspectives to the "community oriented" requirements of the newly conceived "Community" College. They did not, however, appreciate as fully as the Director did, the ideological significance of the College's official goal and the scope it provided for diverse and radically new types of approach to adult education.

These differing perspectives contained the seeds of a division that, despite the Director's desire to overcome it, served to inhibit the development of co-operative arrangements between organisational sub-units. The potentiality for division had been made explicit in the Feasibility Study in the distinctions it drew between Vocational and Community Education. The Vocational Education tutors did come to mount some "community" education programmes, but these were predominantly vocational in nature and were conducted using didactic teaching methods customary in technical institutes. Nonetheless, the bulk of the Vocational Education tutors' work continued to be concerned with the
running of conventional, trades and commercial training programmes. Thus began the division of the Community College staff into sub-units along the lines specified in the Feasibility Study. This division was reinforced by the Director's preoccupation with the development of conspicuously community rather than vocationally oriented programmes; though in both types of programme he encouraged the staff to implement novel and different approaches and attitudes to education.

The subdivision of the College in this way had no immediate deleterious effects because it was seen as a reasonable division of labour. Such effects only emerged later on. Initially the "somewhat less than optimal conditions" under which the Community College was formed had a unifying effect on the staff. This unity was reflected in the way the staff members shared similar experiences and helped each other face and overcome common problems. In the process they formed friendships that cut across hierarchical and department lines.

The explanation may best be made from a social psychological perspective. The College, with its members enjoying interpersonal loyalties and friendships, sharing common, though less than optimal conditions of work and working to capacity to make the College operational, constituted a cohesive primary group. As such the staff became collectively committed to "making the College a success" rather than individually preoccupied with the performance of individual tasks. This commitment by the staff provided a level of action-system integration that created the conditions for the initiation of a new cycle of development. However, it did so at a time when full clarification of and consensus on, the goals of the Community College had yet to be achieved - a matter of some significance in Structure-Functional theory terms.

The achievement of such clarification and consensus was one of the main aims of Seminar '75 to which all the staff members and the Council made contributions. The Director also hoped that the Seminar would reinforce the sense of solidarity already evident among the staff and help promote among them a commitment to work towards the achievement of the more widely defined range of educational goals.

Events in the period following Seminar '75 showed the Director's aims for consensus and cohesion not to have been as fully realised as he initially hoped they might. Differences of opinion reflecting
different educational goals and attitudes began to surface. The work routines established during the operational stage were found to be inappropriate by staff members wanting to conduct programmes in the community rather than in the College. Further, the physical reorganisation of the College into spatially distant sub-units, in the months following Seminar '75, coincided with the emergence of sub-unit identities. These identities, developing along community versus vocational education lines, accentuated differences between the staff members and rendered more problematic than before the attainment of goal consensus and solidarity. With the passage of time the trend towards segmentation increased, co-ordination became a problem adding to rather than diminishing the complexity of the College's operation.

Whereas initially the staff members, in the main, experienced and coped with the four Functional Problems in the predicted order, they began following Seminar '75 to experience not just one functional problem at a time, but combinations of them simultaneously. This was brought about primarily by the persistence of Adaptation as a problem. Adaptive activity did not cease once the Community College was operational but, if anything, actually intensified. This is best exemplified in the Director's constant preoccupation with;

(i) public relations work,
(ii) the procurement and oversight of buildings and facilities,
(iii) the selection of new personnel, and,
(iv) the initiation of new courses and programmes.

Within the College, demands for courses and programmes from the outside and the arrival of new staff members necessitated that the College administrators reassess the changed internal situation of the College. Three specific problems had emerged and required attention if the Community College were to continue to develop in the direction intended by the government planners and espoused by the Director. The College administrators, indeed the College staff as a whole was confronted, following Seminar '75, by the problems of;

(i) the clarification and explanation both of the Director's goals and the goals of the staff members so that staff members could at least understand what others were trying to achieve and why,
(ii) goal reconciliation among a diverse group of men and women with a view to finding ways for staff members to work together co-operatively, and,

(iii) the institutionalisation of norms or, in Parsons' terms, a common value system with which to manage emergent conflicts and tensions.

These were respectively the problems of Goal Attainment, Integration and Latency.

As the Case Study demonstrated, the Director's goals did not become clear to the staff - despite attempts made initially for example at impromptu meetings while the Activities Centre was still in use as the staff common room. Furthermore, the Director's preoccupation mainly with the performance of the adaptive functions cited above meant that there was little opportunity for giving attention to building harmonious working relationships or to helping the staff members explain to each other the nature of and the purposes behind their goals. As Chapter Nine - on the Tutor's Definitions of the Situation - showed, these aspects of organisation building were, as the staff perceived it, left to them.

The effects on Integration of the resulting state of affairs did not become evident until after the College became operational and new tutors began to take up their appointments. Then, in the continued absence of clarification and redefinition of the internal situation and the establishment of a normative order acceptable to all (or most) of the staff, sub-units formed and departmental boundaries developed. They had the effect of precluding co-operation between individuals within the four main sub-units -- the Vocational Education and Community Education Departments, the Registry and the Administration.

This is not to say the Community College failed, in the Structure-Functional sense of the term, to become integrated. There were, as the Case-Study showed, marked differences among the staff in educational attitudes and goals, but these differences never intensified to the point where there was, in Hobbesian terms, "a war of all against all". Rather, differences of opinion and conflict over ways of doing things became, as Baldrige (1971) puts it, "strategic" in nature. In the main the members of sub-units gave first priority to their own interests but differences were never so great that any one group sought to bring down or discredit another. At a time when there were plentiful resources
and most staff were able to gain at least an amount necessary for them to implement their goals, different interest groups were able to co-exist within the same organisational setting and, as it were, "do their own thing".

Peaceful or relatively peaceful coexistence ensued. However, one apparent effect of the staff members confining themselves increasingly within their respective sub-units, was that diverse attitudes and educational ideologies came to be reinforced. Staff members were not in any simple sense captives of their given roles, just as they were not captives of the official purpose or the organisational structure. By creating roles of their own and through their somewhat circumscribed relationships they, in effect, formed and developed their part of the Community College in accord with their own conceptions of its purpose. In this way diversity rather than communality of goals became the central characteristic of the College - in - action, and the evolutionary path became set accordingly.

As events transpired, the Director was able to turn goal diversity to good effect when he wanted the College to break new educational ground; as indeed it did in the form courses and programmes that were based on the educational ideology of liberalism. As Chapter Nine showed, however, other factors came into play to influence the College's evolutionary pattern. In particular, following the Director's election to the executive of the Technical Institute Association, liberal-reform goals were de-emphasised in favour of pursuing the goal of "organisational growth"; that is, how to increase the number of students in attendance to the point where the College could be designated a "grade two Technical institute", with a consequent increased staffing entitlement and reclassification of senior administrative positions into a higher category. In subservience to the newly established administrative "organisational growth" goal, tutors were encouraged to mount courses and programmes in response to popular demand. An element of opportunism came to prevail as the administration used increases in weighted student hours rather than quality and type of programme as an index of organisational effectiveness.

This way of measuring organisational effectiveness helped the administrators overcome the problem of not having any objective measures of having satisfied interests or needs. It might thus be said that
goal attainment occurred but it was attainment of a surrogate goal rather than the satisfaction of students' substantive interests and needs. The administrators argued that in the first few years of operation, the College would lack proof positive that its students' needs and interests had been adequately satisfied. Educational proof is notoriously elusive and perhaps can only be gauged years hence when others have also exerted complementary or countervailing influences. But in the number of students enrolled a quick index is readily available. The teaching performance of a tutor is difficult to judge, but the College Administration could point to the accumulation of teacher-pupil contact hours and increases in student enrolments as evidence of popularity and *ipso facto*, success. In this sense there is little doubt that the College met many of the expectations that were held for it. The policy of "meeting the Community's education needs" thus defined, worked and was seen to be effective. Running courses was recognised by College administrators as a means of generating student hours and satisfying the requirement that the College produce concrete results as a measure of its success. Facts and figures also counted more than subjective judgements and impressions did when arguing a case at government level, for the allocation of funds and staffing entitlements.

The Community College staff therefore became deeply involved in mounting programmes and presenting courses. There was little time for examining why one type of programme should operate rather than another. The question of justification was answered in terms of satisfying felt or expressed needs, but without systematic consideration of the values they presupposed. Such was the outcome of the egalitarian view of Continuing Education espoused in the Feasibility Study, subscribed to by the Director in the interests of organisational growth and contained in the "development" goal.

One unanticipated consequence was that the extent and the longevity of the College's innovative projects became placed in jeopardy. Resting as they did with individuals rather than in established organisational sub-units, they lacked a secure organisational base. The staff running such projects were capable, imbued with a kind of missionary zeal and therefore prepared to make special efforts "over and above the call of duty" to implement the College's various new-types of programme. If, for some reason (perhaps fatigue) missionary zeal were to diminish then, programmes could founder for want of the key human factor required to
maintain them. In other words the persistence of an innovation required more than the efforts of individuals working on their own; it required, as Parsons (1951) points out, an ongoing supply of resources in the form of equipment and facilities, a secure organisational base and a co-operative and supportive team effort -- in other words, an integrated action system.

The future development of the Community College has always depended on the College administrators and the staff working together. And there is little doubt in the Hawke's Bay Community College that virtually any staff member was free to initiate programmes and courses that could eventually turn out to either consolidate or change the evolutionary pattern of the College. However, it was the administrators who, because of their position were in the best position to articulate a clear conception of the educational character of the College and to facilitate co-operative work relationships. They could exercise what Prebble and Stewart (1981) refer to as instructional leadership -- internal leadership which accepts responsibility for exercising control over the direction of an organisation. The exercise of such leadership might in the future produce the means for coping with and resolving more effectively the four functional problems confronted during the course of organisational formation and development. More specifically, with such a leadership pattern in place the College administrators could still attempt, as the Director put it, to work with the staff to stop the Community College "from slipping into the same shape that formal education systems have today."

Part II - Theoretical and Methodological Conclusions

It is the purpose of Part II to discuss theoretical and methodological conclusions that can be drawn from the study under four main headings which include, limitations of the theory, generalisation to similar organisations, practical applications and the relationship between theory and method.

Limitations of the Theory

Comment has already been made earlier in the present Chapter and in Chapter One of the reasons for the choice of Structure-Functionalism as the theoretical framework of the study. Two stood out as being of central importance. First, the theory has the capacity to deal with
the contributions that individuals make in the creation and development of an organisation - the ideographic dimension. Second, it could also deal with the evolution of the Community College as an entity greater than the sum of its individual parts - the nomothetic dimension.

However, while Structure-Functional theory served to yield an explanation of the evolution of the Community College in both wholistic and individual - nomothetic and ideographic terms, it could not account for all aspects of the organisation. In particular, it could not account for underlying social-psychological processes that may also have been at work to influence the College's evolution. For instance co-operative staff relations did not emerge. According to Structure-Functional theory, one of the functions of leadership is to produce co-operation. Thus in the absence of leadership, the likelihood of co-operation is diminished. On this topic the Study showed that no systematic attempt was made by individuals occupying senior positions to exercise leadership by developing, in Parsons' (1951) terms, a "central value system" within which to legitimate both shared and diverse educational attitudes and values, exercise control by conscious consent and facilitate co-operation within the College's social structure. However, the theory precluded the possibility of investigating why, in terms of underlying reasons, leadership was lacking. This was because Structure-Functional theory, with its focus predominantly on system properties and effects, does not contain within it explanatory concepts capable of dealing with such sub-system factors as motivation, personality and attitudes that can directly influence the enactment of leadership roles.

To the extent that underlying social-psychological processes were in reality the root cause of the College's leadership malaise then, perhaps an alternative theoretical perspective such as Human Relations, Exchange or Compliance theory, with its main emphasis on basic social psychological processes might have yielded more insightful explanations than Structure-Function theory was able to provide. In support of this argument, Exchange theory (Blau, 1971) asserts both, the importance of "leadership" as a key variable in the development of an organisation and the capacity to lead as dependent on such basic psychological processes as those underlying the feelings of attraction and aversion between individuals and their desires for various kinds of rewards -- such as status, affect or utility. In Structure-Function theory, such processes
are taken as given, their main significance being that they give rise to the observable actions and interaction among individuals that make up a functioning organisation. It is these emergent properties rather than underlying ones with which Structure-Functional theory is and hence the Case Study was primarily concerned.

Despite the limitations imposed on the Study by the adoption of a Structure-Functional framework, it is worth noting, that other theories are not without limitation in the explanation they can offer of such organisational phenomena as leadership. In this regard Baldridge (1971) points out that after decades of (Exchange, Compliance, Human Relations and various other kinds of theory based) research on leadership in organisations, the literature is confusing and contradictory. Research based on one or other of the available alternative theories of organisation, would no less than Structure-Functional theory, be beset by the requirement at some point of major caveat and qualification.

On the issue of leadership, Structure-Functional theory, while not focussing on so-called "basic processes", at least recognises that the development of an organisation is dependent on the personal skills and qualities of its members. They are a resource that must and in the present instance did feature prominently in the Case Study investigation. Indeed, the Study's Structure-Functionally based findings are insightful in that they confirmed that leadership is a political activity as much perhaps as it is a personality dependent one. As such individuals occupying leadership roles, had to act variously as mediators, negotiators or as individuals jockeying between power blocs, trying to carve out features of the organisation. To enact a leadership role in this way, individuals had to be skilled (though not all were) in the art of political manoeuvre. Here, Robert Dahl's (1961)* portrait of the political manoeuvres of the Mayor of New Haven is apt and has the potential for generalisation:

The Mayor was not at the peak of a pyramid but rather at the centre of intersecting circles. He rarely commanded. He negotiated, cajoled, exhorted, beguiled, charmed, pressured, appealed, reasoned, promised, insisted, demanded,

even threatened, but he most needed support and acquiescence from other leaders who simply could not be commanded. Because the Mayor could not command, he had to bargain.

This political interpretation of leadership is consistent with Structure-Functional theory. It recognises the necessity for the exercise of leadership in the development of an organisation, and conceptualises this phenomenon in sociologically appropriate terms as involving the exercise of power - a power based on the control of information and the manipulation of expertise rather than on the force of personality alone. To the extent that such skills are required and must be learned, then theories other than Structure-Functionalism ought presumably to be brought into play to provide appropriate social-psychological rather than system level explanations and generate principles to guide leadership education and training.

Even though Structure-Functional theory precluded investigation of some specific aspects of the organisational development process, it enabled the Study's main aim to be realised namely, the documentation, analysis and explanation of the creation and evolution of a type of educational organisation new to New Zealand - the Community College. To the extent that the study's main aim was realised there are implications for the creation and development of similar organisations elsewhere. That is, in so far as the study provides confirmation of the theory, its general findings permit a measure of qualified generalisation to organisations similar in kind.

Generalising from the Case Study

Throughout the Study, Structure-Functional theory was used primarily in two ways;

(i) as a framework within which to organise and conduct the research, and,

(ii) as a source of sensitising concepts with which to formulate explicit research questions.

However, in the final analysis a major purpose of research is to go beyond observation, description and interpretation and generate theoretical generalisations; these from time to time taking the logical form of 'if-then' propositions. While theoretical generalisation was not the
main purpose of the Study, two general theoretical propositions were formulated in Chapter One namely, that an organisation will evolve if and only if;

(i) everyone of the four functional problems, as outlined by Parsons, are coped with and resolved, and,

(ii) only if they are resolved in the theoretically specified order of Adaptation, Goal-Attainment, Integration and Latency.

The Case Study generated evidence which serves to confirm rather than falsify, though in a somewhat limited way the Study's two main theoretical propositions. However, such confirmation is not immediately obvious, especially in the case of the second propositions where, at least on the face of it, confirmation could be taken as equivocal. Some clarification of the situation is therefore necessary.

From the Case Study's findings it is clear that all four of the functional problems were encountered and to some extent coped with, but only partially resolved during the period of the field research. With the College's evolution being problematic in this way, negative confirmation of the theory's main proposition was thus obtained. The findings that relate to proposition two admit at least two interpretations because, although initially the four functional problems were encountered in the theoretically specified order, subsequently they were encountered simultaneously.

If taken at face value, the simultaneous occurrence of the four problems, because it appears to run contrary to theoretical prediction, could be taken as a partial falsification of the second proposition, thus limiting the predictive value of the theory. The second interpretation enables a different conclusion to be drawn. During the research, both Adaptation and Goal-Attainment were encountered as problems but definitive solutions were not forthcoming. Then, with ongoing growth and development giving rise to Integration and Latency becoming problematic, all four of the functional problems were encountered simultaneously. On this interpretation the initial order in which the functional problems occurred is the deciding factor. Thereafter, due to lack of success in arriving at an enduring solution to any one problem, all four of them persisted. The effect overall was that while the College grew - with continued existence assured by the ongoing, indeed expanding requirement for vocational
education, the direction of evolution became problematic and was likely to remain so.

Given the correctness of this second interpretation, then the Study's findings can be taken as providing provisional confirmation, though in a negative way, of the theory's second proposition and thus the theory as a whole. Furthermore, because the Study is theory based and because the evidence supports the theory, it is possible to go beyond this specific Case-Study and fore-shadow the generic types of problems that will likely be encountered, and have to be coped with and resolved in the formation and development of similar types of educational organisation. In so far as the initial conditions for any given organisation are different from those of the Hawke's Bay College then, the order in which the functional problems are actually encountered is also likely to differ. The main proviso is that while an organisation can, at its beginning point, be confronted by any one of the four functional problems, its evolution as a particular type of organisation will depend thereafter on each problem being coped with and resolved in turn. To this extent, the findings of the Hawke's Bay Community College Study have an application beyond the specific organisation from which they were derived. In particular, they provide an empirical foundation for a Structure-Functional theory of the evolution of educational organisations and imply a practical use to which it might be put.

Practical Applications

There are two particular aspects of the general research situation that have limited the application of Structure-Function based research to real-life situations. First, as Parsons (1967) points out, the level of both the theory and its derivative research findings has been too general and abstract. Theorists and researchers have neglected to demonstrate how the theory and the research findings can be applied to real-life situations. This is a serious matter for in the final analysis one major justification for theory and research is the way it might be used as a basis for informed decision and action.

From the present study, there are two ways in which Structure-Function theory and the Study's findings might be employed to assist practitioners form and develop a new educational organisation. First, just as the functional problem concepts were used as sensitising devices in the research, they can serve also to sensitise organisation founders and the
developers to the kinds of problems they are likely to encounter and be obliged to cope with and resolve in the course of their endeavours. Second, the theory and its research findings can be expressed as principles of procedure to guide the foundation and development process.

In light of the empirical findings reported here and to the extent that theoretical predictions were confirmed, Structure-Function theory provides one set of criteria against which assessment of organisational growth and development can be made either by independent researchers or the personnel themselves. Such assessment might serve to induce control over an organisation's formation and development, and, further theoretical understanding. Accordingly, this section of the Chapter concludes by discussing in a somewhat programmatic way, empirical-theoretical considerations that might, when taken into account, assist in the creation and development of similar organisations.

Sensitised by Structure-Function theory to the likely political character of the organisation founding process, both the planners and those responsible for the creation of an organisation ought, if their goals are to be realised, establish the limits within which development can occur, by;

(i) identifying conditions and circumstances in the community that might either assist or constrain development,

(ii) identifying community interest groups from whom support can be expected and to whom concessions must be made,

(iii) devising appropriate strategies - with which to negotiate the basis on which a new venture can come into existence, be supported, developed and maintained.

Although in hindsight these points may seem somewhat self-evident, they are nonetheless important for as Selznick (1957) points out, when the founders of an organisation begin to be aware of the dependence of their enterprise on support from outside forces, their conception of the enterprise may change, with consequences for personnel recruitment, policy and administration at many levels. To the extent that the founders can adapt and make appropriate compromises, they are more likely to incorporate community values into their organisation and thereby establish some
"claim on the community to avoid liquidation or transformation on purely economic grounds" (Selznick, 1957). If there is a lesson to be learned from the Hawke's Bay Community College it is that, compromise cannot be just left to happen. If an innovation is to achieve acceptance within a given community then, the compromise process has to be managed. According to Adams and Chen (1981), the initial acceptability of an innovation is a function of:

(i) the relevant power that can be marshalled in support. The greater the relevant power, the greater the likelihood of acceptability.

(ii) the extent to which, as a change, it is seen to threaten the power of existing groups. The less the perceived threat, the greater the acceptability.

(iii) the extent to which the benefits expected to result are thought to be in excess of the costs entailed. The greater the benefits (relative to cost), the greater the likelihood of acceptance (and vice versa).

(iv) negotiation protocol. The greater the violation of protocol, the less the likelihood of acceptance.

(v) the rhetoric used. The more the rhetoric conveys the impression of difference between the innovation and the status quo, the greater the likelihood of rejection.

To the extent that these five propositions are interactive and wholistic in nature, they can be seen to be consistent with Structure-Functional theory and a useful pragmatic complement to it. As Adams and Chen (1981) point out; "Collectively the five propositions cover some of the major issues involved in the initial establishment of an innovation. Necessarily, no one proposition can be regarded as taking precedence over another. Depending on the situation, one may prove more critical than another. More than likely, however, they will interact with each other, thus proving to be mutually supportive or mutually destructive."

There were doubtless many factors that precluded the possibility of each proposition's requirements being fully met during the planning and establishment of the Community College not the least being;
(i) insufficient time,

(ii) lack of the required expertise in the Education Department,

(iii) unawareness of the need to manage the initiation of innovation in the manner outlined, and,

(iv) the pre-empting effects of immediate needs.

Given the proceeding analysis, the founders of an organisation might, by a self-conscious attempt to manage the acceptance process, seek to control the direction of an organisation's evolution.

Perhaps more than other types of organisations, educational organisations are particularly susceptible to external manipulation, at least in New Zealand's centralised system. If, once founded, the new organisation is to evolve and if appropriate adaptations to community interest groups are to be made, then executive personnel will be required who are:

(i) able to adapt and have their adaptations accepted,

(ii) capable of leadership of the political kind earlier outlined,

(iii) capable, as Selznick (1957) puts it, of transforming a diverse group of men and women - the staff - into a committed polity, and,

(iv) able to translate the organisation's mission into policy and a plan for action, and, following this, interpret the mission to others both within and outside the organisation, so as to secure commitment to and support for it.

Consequent on these requirements being met, the direction in which an organisation evolves thereafter depends on both the order and the way in which the four-functional problems are coped with and resolved. From the Study's findings it seems unlikely, even in the best of all possible worlds, that any one functional problem could be resolved once and for all. Unanticipated contingencies, such as the emergence of new educational wants and needs, curtailment of financial support, and interpersonal conflicts internally can arise, thus reactivating a problem that had at a previous time been resolved. Nonetheless, the evidence to hand supports the general principle that in developing a new organisation, if the
organisation is to evolve in an orderly way then, steps must be taken to resolve each of the functional problems in turn. An example from the Case Study serves to illustrate the point. Within a few weeks of the College's opening, initial adaptations to external demands had been made in the form of courses and programmes. Thus, operational goals also were set and the College began to function as an educational organisation. An initial division of labour was worked out, authority was delegated and work patterns established. The staff had in a sense been formed into a "committed polity". They were committed to "making a success of their organisation". However, because of a lack of consensus about what the College stood for - its mission - and lack of understanding about each other's goals, organisational success came to depend on the ability of individuals to meet a diversity of educational needs in the form of both conventional and new-types of courses and programmes. Thus success was relative to circumstances and at the time Goal-Attainment remained problematic.

With the issue of goals remaining unarticulated, the Director's (typically adaptive) activities came to be regarded by the staff as lacking point and purpose. Dissatisfaction began to be expressed over a perceived lack of direction and an element of conflict over attitudes and goals became evident among some of the staff members. In other words, inability and neglect to cope with the issue of goals and organisational direction early on led to the emergence of other problems and a consequent inability to cope with them too. The implication is that had Goal-Attainment been confronted as a problem and a degree of consensus over its solution negotiated at the outset, then;

(i) either other problems may not have arisen at least to the degree that they did, or,

(ii) they could have been dealt with by appealing to decisions to which the staff had previously given their consent.

Of course such comments are somewhat speculative, but they illustrate nonetheless, the way in which Structure-Functional concepts can serve as sensitising devices and assist in both the diagnosis and treatment of recurrent organisational problems. The issue of the relationship between theory and method is the final topic for discussion in this Chapter.
The Relationship between Theory and Method

The Hawke's Bay Community College Case Study, as an intensive investigation of one organisation in a field setting, employed a process of field research that was both taxing and time consuming. It required that the researcher familiarise himself thoroughly with the organisation and its personnel. Only by attaining an intimate involvement with the College, its history, its formative influences, its members and its operation, could the research be carried out using the case study method.

The method appeared to have two major weaknesses. First, concentration on only one case made comparison with others impossible. As Blau (1971) points out, when many organisations are compared the parallels and differences between them often provoke useful insights. This type of contrast, missing from the present case study, thus limited the possibility of systematic, comparative verification of theoretical propositions. The second weakness, and a related one, was the problem of "typicality" or "generalisation", already alluded to earlier in the Chapter. Results to be useful normally need to be applicable beyond the situation under study. The absence of comparative reference and the problem of typicality were also limitations in the present study.

The conduct of the research as a "controlled investigation" represented an attempt to mitigate, if not overcome some of the limits to empirical and theoretical generalisation imposed by the College's presumed "atypicality". To this end, the theoretical four functional problems came to function, in Malinowski's terms, as "foreshadowed problems"; though the study went substantially beyond Malinowski's somewhat atheoretical research position by conceptualising the four functional problems systematically and as an intrinsic part of the research strategy. In a manner of speaking, theory and methodology became opposite sides of the same coin. The theory embodied the methodology in its application and the methodology dictated the limits within which the theory could be applied.

To then ask, "what was the nature of the Case Study as an activity?" the proper response would be, as Kemmis (1977) puts it, "the Case Study (consisted) in the imagination of the case and the invention of the study". As he goes on to add, "such language might seem odd, but it
makes explicit the cognitive and (social character of case study research). It reminds us of the role of the researcher in research: he is not an automaton shorn of human interests and programmed to execute a design devoid of socio-political interests''. Given that research findings have a potential to become interest serving, they cannot therefore be regarded merely as the product of disinterested social inquiry. This point is to be taken up and discussed shortly.

Once sensitised by the theory as to what to look for in the field and armed with an agenda that conceptualised the research as occurring in terms of exploration and inspection activity, the actual research was able to proceed. An hiatus occurred subsequently, when attempting to achieve a level of objectivity from real-life involvement with people in the Community College that would permit theoretical analysis and interpretation. While copious note taking and annotation of interview transcripts resulted in an extensive data file, objective analysis using theoretical concepts, somewhat divorced from the ordinary language categories of the Community College, proved difficult during the research; and this despite frequent withdrawal from the field expressly for the purposes of ordering, processing and analysing data gathered while "in membership".

The difficulty arose from the study's attempt to render compatible a somewhat "positivistic" theory with a "non-positivistic" research method. That is, to attempt to combine in practice apriori, abstract and impersonal theoretical concepts with a method, ethnographic in character and requiring, personal identification with the subject's definitions of the situation. This identification was necessary, both ethnographically speaking and in Structure-Functional terms, in order to construct an image of organisational life that corresponds with reality. Not to have sought identification - to fit into the organisation and become a participant - would have been to run the dual risk of:

(i) being denied access to basic data, and,

(ii) rendering implausible the theoretical interpretations and explanations of organisational evolution that could be given.

In the short term this identification limited the attainment of the objectivity necessary for analysis, and resulted in the research process
becoming much more protracted than initially envisaged. This was because only with the passage of time was it possible to extricate oneself from the everyday world of the Community College, distance oneself from it and achieve a level of detachment necessary for theoretical analysis and interpretation. This process highlighted, in a direct and personal way, a somewhat underestimated cost to be incurred by researchers who undertake an investigation of the kind reported in this thesis. The substantive outcome was, however, not only understanding of the processes which operated, in and outside the College to affect both the direction and pattern of its evolution. It was also a deeper explanation of the evolutionary process and generalisation of a more fundamental kind than might have been possible had another research methodology been employed.

Accordingly and as Baldridge (1971) puts it, the value of the case study cannot be overestimated and anyone who has done field work knows that it is a vital part of the intellectual experience. It is difficult to codify the precise factors that make the field situation such an important experience, but there are thousands of intangible, unnoticed, and almost imperceptible experiences that go to make-up an overall impression of the situation. The case study is perhaps unique in this sense.

It is unique also in the sense that the case study worker cannot create the situation he is to observe, nor can he artificially simplify it by manipulation of its context. He must study the situation as a whole. On this point the interests of Structure-Functionally conceived research and case study method seem to coincide, and carry with them a number of consequences that deserve comment.

The conduct of case study work requires researcher participation in the social life of an organisation. Consequently it is not possible to avoid influencing and being influenced by this social life. This point was understood prior to the research, though it was not fully appreciated until acceptance in the organisation was achieved and until field work was in progress. Then, not only did execution of the research influence both the researcher's and members' conceptions of this social life, it led to evaluations of it being made. For a number of the research subjects, not far from the surface of discussions and interviews was
the question; to what use might the research findings be put and who stands to benefit by them. In the circumstances, three answers were possible, though three were not always forthcoming. First, the researcher's interests were likely to be served by the research and these ranged from the production of scientific knowledge and understanding to the enhancement of an academic career. Second, the research, sponsored by the government, might be; (i) used to evaluate the College's effectiveness in achieving particular goals, or, (ii) be found helpful in planning the development of similar organisations elsewhere. Third, the research might benefit the members by enabling them to judge for themselves the state of their organisation and then plan accordingly steps necessary to reinforce or change that state.

In all three cases evaluation, to the extent that it occurred, also resulted in judgements being made. In the researcher's case, judgement was constantly being exercised over such matters as which questions to ask, how to interpret a remark or analyse a document. In each instance the end result was a reflection of the researcher's best judgement; as indeed is the case study itself. Once the findings of research are published, they become public knowledge and are then available to be used by anyone with an interest in them; and use can range from satisfying curiosity about this particular new kind of phenomenon to attempts to influence it in some way.

There exists the possibility of an external agency using research findings to intervene, either directly or indirectly, in the affairs of an organisation. This is true, especially in a state funded, public, educational organisation like the Community College, in which many groups might claim to have a legitimate vested interest. For instance, the government officials responsible for planning and funding the Community College could, if they chose to do so, use the study's findings to evaluate the extent to which, as it evolved, the Community College deviated from its official goals. From their point of view, deviation could then conceivably be taken (though in reality it was not) as evidence of an unsatisfactory result. This form of evaluation is one of the more common ways in which research findings are, and no doubt will continue to be utilised.

Such a use has elicited from Adams and Chen (1981) the caution to researchers to, "limit themselves to evaluative methods designed to
measure how far objectives have or have not been achieved, and to employ methods designed also to measure an (organisation's) ability to adapt to external change". In this way it might be possible for researchers to; (i) exclude from the research process any particular partisan interest they might have, and, (ii) limit any tendency to give undue weight to one set of goals, for instance official goals, as being a priori, pre-eminent. In the present case, the evolutionary trend was found to be influenced as much, perhaps more by the actions of individuals pursuing their own goals as it was by any press to conform with the official goal. Given this outcome, then indeed might an organisation's capacity to adapt, as much as its capacity to pursue a pre-determined direction be the determining factor in its survival and evolution.

Judgement and manipulation from without is, however, but one evaluative use to which research findings can be put. Equally, the members of an organisation, wanting themselves to evaluate progress and exercise control, may use research findings evaluatively. Going a step further, they could, at least in principle, conduct their own research with a view to using the findings to serve the dual purpose of self evaluation and organisational control from within. It is in terms of this latter suggestion that the study has implications that go beyond the immediate case.

The notion of "in-house" evaluative research, while an implication of the study, is not entirely novel. Researchers in the curriculum field have in recent times given some attention to it and in a way that is supportive of the study's suggestion. According to Kemmis and Hughes (1979), in most educational organisations there is always a low but significant level of evaluative activity underway, even when it is not supported by "formal" evaluation studies. This activity is the more or less systematic, more or less public form of self reflection that goes on hand in glove with the ongoing operation and development of an organisation. It is reflected in the tendency of participants to ask of themselves and of each other such questions as; "Am I or are they doing a good job?" "How well or poorly did that procedure work?" and "How might I or we do the job better?".

To the extent that such questions require systematic answers, there is a corresponding necessity for controlled investigation of an organisation's operation. Here, case study method can be
employed to advantage for it is capable, especially when incorporated into an appropriate theoretical framework, of producing systematic and comprehensive research findings, rather than informal evaluations that tend to lack these qualities. Given the research experience and expertise often to be found accumulated within tertiary education organisations, systematic, "in-house", evaluative, research -feasible in principle -is capable of being carried out by the members of an organisation themselves. In consequence, they would then be strategically placed to understand and control the operation of their own organisation, rather than rely solely on an external agency to carry out the research for them. The main difficulty is, as Kemmis and Hughes (1979) point out, that "an enormous intellectual and analytic task is imposed on any critical community bold enough to embark upon systematic, self-evaluation".

In particular, such a task would require an organisation's members to delve beneath the surface of their workaday world in order to understand it. They would have to identify taken for granted assumptions and make available for reflection and scrutiny by others, their principles of procedure, their attitudes, their plans and their practice. In short, they would have to become exponents of case study method — the case in point being their own organisation. The present study, with its amalgamation of Structure-Functional and Symbolic Interaction theories, contains within it a set of theoretically-based procedures that could, at least in principle, provide a foundation for the development of a systematic approach to self-evaluation in tertiary education organisations.
APPENDIX A:

KEY DOCUMENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

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Hawke's Bay Polytechnic Promotions Committee - Minutes of Meetings, Correspondence and Reports.

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Hawke's Bay Technical Institute Council - Minutes of Meetings.

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Hawke's Bay Community College Council - Minutes of Meetings.

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Hawke's Bay Community College - Official and personal correspondence and internal memoranda and files.

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Napier Ministry of Works and Development files on the Hawke's Bay Community College.
APPENDIX B:

HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE COUNCIL - INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
Topics to Raise and Discuss:

A. Council Formation and Composition

(i) How was the Council formed?
(ii) What is its composition?
(iii) What connection (if any) do Councillors have with any of the early committees - the Polytechnic Promotion Committee, the Joint High Schools Boards' Committee, the Hawke's Bay University Trust?
(iv) What community groups-organisation is being represented?
(v) The nature of the group's/organisation's interest in the Community College.

B. Nature and Purpose of the Community College

(i) What Councillors understand by the term Community College.
(ii) How the Community College differs from a technical institute.
(iii) Councillors' view of the role of the Community College -- their goals for it; the purposes it will serve; its priorities.
(iv) The Hawke's Bay Community College Feasibility Study - its conduct, purpose and effect.

C. Formation of the Community College

(i) What was involved - the process and the problems.
(ii) Councillors' views of the Education Department's role.
(iii) Other agencies that helped or hindered the College's formation.
(iv) Specific tasks that had to be accomplished (buildings, site procurement and personnel selection).
D. The Development of the Community College

(i) The role of the Community College Council - rights and responsibilities and limits to the Council's authority.

(ii) The role of Council Sub-Committees.

(iii) The role of College administrators - especially the Director - the scope and limits of his authority; his rights and responsibilities.

(iv) The nature and extent of individual Councillors' personal involvement with the Community College.
APPENDIX C:

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OBJECTIVES
FOR
THE HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE
"The Education Amendment Bill now introduced in the House will provide the legislative foundation for the Hawke's Bay Community College and others which will follow it," said the Minister of Education, Hon. P.A. Amos, today.

A Community College is defined in the Bill as an institution providing "continuing education". Mr Amos said that it was proposed now to use this term to embrace the whole broad field of education, including vocational education, for people beyond the point of secondary or compulsory education. "It is important that the Bill proposes to eliminate any formal distinction between "vocational" and "non-vocational" education, since this distinction is increasingly difficult to maintain when we are talking about continuing educational opportunities. I hope that the activities and the structure of the Hawke's Bay Community College will build in, from the outset, this broad view of continuing education."

The Minister explained that a Community College would, under the proposed legislation, have broad powers to offer additional educational services designed to meet the particular needs of its community. "In the case of Hawke's Bay," said Mr Amos, "these will be developed for the area from Wairoa to Central Hawke's Bay as the needs arise."

The legislation also gives the Minister broad powers to constitute a controlling body for a Community College. The membership of such a controlling body could be expected to reflect its broad functions and the whole area it serves.

"Community Colleges will not compete either with universities or with secondary schools," said Mr Amos. "I expect, however, that the Hawke's Bay Community College will be seeking very early in its development to use the powers given to it by legislation to cooperate with secondary schools, with university extra-mural studies, with the Technical Correspondence Institute and the Correspondence Schools in supporting studies for their students."
STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES

Hawke's Bay Community College

BACKGROUND (A) LEGAL

1. Legal: A "community college" is defined as an institution established under Part III of the Education Act to provide continuing education and related advisory and guidance services, and other educational services designed to meet the particular circumstances of the local community. (Educ. Amend. Act No.2, 1974).

2. Note (i) that except for the underlined phrase, the definition is as for a technical institute. The implication is that a community college may develop a broader and more flexible range of services in response to local needs, or provide services in a more flexible fashion.

(ii) that Section 90C gives both to TI's and CC's the power to perform prescribed functions and also specifically

"(a) in association with any university, provide studies for students of that university

(b) in association with (any school) provide courses in continuing education ....

(c) in association with any correspondence school, provide courses of study ....

(iii) The definition of continuing education is most relevant to understanding the objectives of the institution. In the past, the Act spoke of "further education" which was in turn subdivided into either technical education (entirely vocational in purpose) or continuation education (anything not entirely educational in purpose). In the newly amended Act, we have only CONTINUING EDUCATION (replacing "further") which is

education, including vocational education, provided for persons who are no longer required to attend school ... and who are not, unless otherwise provided for by this Act, enrolled as pupils in any secondary school or department ...
The definition goes on to exclude university and teacher education.

3. The major point here is that continuing education is almost synonymous with "post school" and that the arbitrary vocational/non-vocational distinction disappears.

As an institution offering continuing education, a community college thus has the objective (under its legal framework) of providing an integrated range of post school education. Though it does not provide university education, it may link with a university to service its students; though it is post-school it may link with a school to provide some services to school students. It is clearly envisaged that a CC will support correspondence school students with supplementary services.

4. In the main definition, a community college is seen specifically as developing services related to its own community, implying that the pattern may vary from one community college to another.

5. Technical institute/community college. A community college is obviously seen as a "technical institute plus", the additional ingredient being such special services as it evolves for its own community. In many respects the difference will be one of degree rather than of kind, since technical institutes are already very flexibly operating institutions pretty firmly linked with their communities ...

6. **BACKGROUND (B) GOVERNMENT POLICY**

The present Government's policy places emphasis on continuing education, on creating open and continuing access to education, and on creating educational opportunities for a wide range of people. Specifically, the establishment of community colleges is an implementation of government policy. These were seen as peculiarly needed in provincial centres. The Government's emphasis on these centres is to be interpreted also in the context of its regional development policy which expresses broad aims for economic and social development linked to new systems of regional and local government, and for greater decentralisation. Another linked element is the emphasis on greater local and national participation in control and decision-making.
7. **BACKGROUND (C) EDUCATIONAL CONCERNS**

Government policy here mirrors general concerns which have been showing up in educational theory and practice in the last decade.

8. **Some issues** of reiterated concern in current educational debate in N.Z. and throughout the world are:

   a. the defects of "end-on" formal education and the lengthened period of compulsory education;
   b. the work/application mix;
   c. the failure of conventional systems to entice the attention of (at least) a sizeable majority of the population;
   d. the need for more flexible systems of delivery, including correspondence;
   e. the need for "retrading" and "refreshing" opportunity;
   f. the need for more involvement in control and management, including more student involvement;
   g. the need for more "active" and individualised learning opportunities;
   h. the need for more flexible entry requirements and the recognition of experience; more flexibility in systems of qualification and less rigidly shaped course structures;
   i. the need for greater diversity of institutions and systems, and for fewer "standardised" solutions;
   j. the need for education to be "relevant" i.e. have a concern for real, current and major social concerns.

9. Many of these themes lie underneath the government's policies, and also under the way in which the law was reshaped in 1974. They are to be found expressed more fully and precisely in the EDC Document "Improving Learning and Teaching;" in the 1972 N.Z. Unesco Report on "Life-long Education" (from which the former report drew); and in the final ACEP Report on EDC "Directions for Educational Change."
10. **BACKGROUND (D) THE FEASIBILITY STUDY**

The feasibility study was undertaken in 1973 as a direct result of Government's policy on community colleges. The aim was essentially to see what a "community college" with a broad post-school mission could become in HB, given the fact that its core work already identifiable, would be that for which a "mini-tech" would have been needed in 1975 and was already in planning.

11. The study did not therefore either start with or finish with any clear set of objectives, and it has been criticised for taking a "what's left over" approach, or constructing a mission out of remnants like a patchwork quilt.

Its background was to some extent that models on the lines of the US community college, or of "senior colleges" (6th or 6th and 7th form colleges) had been suggested. Thus the study examined the functions which might be imported to the N.Z. context from these models. Roughly they are:

   a. *college transfer*; first or second year university teaching with students going on to the university to complete;
   
   b. **technical/vocational**: much as we are familiar with it in technical institutes;
   
   c. **community education**: the broad range of flexible non-credit "adult education" work;
   
   d. **senior college**: decapitating secondary schools and taking 7th, or 6th and 7th form students into a post school institution.

12. The study recommended (a) only in the modified form which the amended Act now accepts. (c) received no general support in HB or from interested national organisations. It is also reflected in the new legislation only in the modified form of 2 (ii) (b) above. This study, however, left somewhat vague a few critical issues e.g. the relationship between the CC and the "evening class" programme of secondary schools.
13. The objectives of the HB Community College, then, have to be derived either directly or indirectly from
   a. the newly created legal framework
   b. government policy
   c. the general current concerns, statements of priority issues, and recommendations expressed in EDC documents
   d. the proposals of the HB feasibility study.
OBJECTIVES FOR THE HAWKE'S BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

The Hawke's Bay Community College is one educational institution among a number in its region. There are many other statutory and voluntary organisations also involved directly or indirectly with education. And the general processes of social and economic development are intricately interwoven with the work and operation of almost every element in a community. A prime task of the Community College will be to set realistic objectives for itself which recognise the scope and the limits of what it may be able to achieve, and where its priorities should lie within a very wide-ranging set of potential developments.

OBJECTIVES:

1. To identify present and emerging needs for continuing education in Hawke's Bay, and to meet effectively and flexibly those which can properly be seen as its tasks; in particular to develop continuing education provision in which vocational, non-vocational and community service elements are integrated rather than discrete purposes.

2. To make its appropriate educational contribution to the social and economic development of the region.

3. To establish and maintain consultative and advisory links with all groups and areas it serves, so that its activities may be appropriately shaped by the community; in particular to evolve a structure through its governing body and its administration which is sensitive to the needs of the region.

4. Within the context of what is provided by other institutions and organisations, to provide for a broad range of continuing education services, with a particular concern for people with special educational needs.

5. To maintain, co-ordinate and promote liaison with other institutions and organisations working in, or related to, continuing education; in particular to maintain liaison, co-operate with, and support the work of secondary schools, correspondence institutions and universities.
6. To establish, develop and promote necessary advisory and guidance services related to its general functions; to maintain liaison with other institutions and organisations involved.

7. To identify the need for other special educational services which may be required to meet the particular circumstances of the Hawke's Bay community, and to make recommendations for the development of such services.

8. To identify the need for such new types or new modes of provision as may be required to carry out its present and future functions, and to make recommendations for the development of such provision.

9. To evaluate its own performance, and to modify its activities consequently in order to perform its general functions most effectively.
APPENDIX D:

THE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA
APPENDIX D

THE ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA

In carrying out this investigation of the Community College, the functional problems were employed as sensitizing devices. When used in this form they provided the basis for the theoretical derivation of explicit research questions. These questions were then available to be used in interviews to investigate the definitions of the situation of individuals associated with the Community College; e.g., the staff members themselves, councillors and officials. As chapter three pointed out, interviews were conducted throughout the full period of the research. They comprised the core of research activity, from which the bulk of the investigation's raw data was obtained. In order to use these data to construct the Case Study reported in chapters 4 - 10, the raw data had to be systematically analyzed and to do this analysis the functional problems were again used, but in a different way from the manner in which they were employed to generate data.

According to Parsons, the functional problems are capable of being used for the purpose of conceptual analysis. In fact they constitute criteria for the identification of data. As pointed out in Chapter One, Structure-Functional concepts - specifically the four functional problems - are "not fictional but adequately grasp aspects of the objective external world". At the analytical level, theoretical concepts can be used, in Parsons (1937) terms "to pick out" different kinds of organisational phenomena. That is to say, they can be used to make sense of social processes in theoretical terms and thereby understand and explain them.

While, according to Parsons, his theoretical categories may not be completely descriptive of any particular action or event, (viz, the creation of the Community College), they are capable of being employed to identify salient elements within any given social process and to "analytically separate them from other elements". Analysis of the Case Study's data involved using the functional problem concepts in the manner envisaged by Parsons. The objective then was to examine the contents of the interviews (and also docu-
ments and other recorded observations) with a view to locating in them evidence of the way in which individuals encountered, coped with and resolved the four functional problems. To this end, and consistent with arguments advanced in Chapters two and three, individuals were regarded as the "units of analysis" and their interview responses (the interview protocols) had to be subjected to systematic conceptual analysis.

In order to proceed with this task, the functional problems had, in their turn, to be converted into an appropriate analytical form. The theoretical content of each concept, which, in the enquiry process provided the substance of research questions, now came to serve as analysis criteria. This was because questions and criteria were, in effect, opposite sides of the same conceptual coin; each being regarded as manifestations of the same theoretical entity.

The functional problems analytically defined

The analytical concepts, identical in content with the sensitizing concepts operationalised in Chapter two, are detailed here using a format similar to the one used in that chapter.

Adaptation

The Adaptation category (A) focusses on activities that refer to the relationship of an organisation with its external situation and the procurement and allocation of resources. These activities can therefore include:

1. the procurement of organisational resources such as; land, buildings, equipment, (including purchase planning for, design, construction, allocation and use) money and information.
2. the recruitment and selection of personnel, including assessments of qualities, experience and abilities required.
3. the establishment of a market for the organisation, including responding to enquiries from individuals/groups about the setting up of and enrolment of students in courses, programmes and activities.
4. the promotion and representation of the organisation in the community, including the dissemination of information and public relations.

5. negotiations, communications and the establishment of relationships with external agencies, e.g. community groups, voluntary agencies, government organisations, professional and other associations and business organisations.

6. the allocation of resources internally and specifically personnel, equipment and other resources to organisational tasks, e.g. professional, (technical) administrative (managerial) and ancillary.

Goal-Attainment

The Goal-Attainment category (G) focusses on activities that refer to individual's concepts of the organisation, the establishment of priorities, the creation of goals (official and real/operational) and the translation of these goals into programmes and activities. These activities can include:-

1. the formulation of, appeals to and implementation of official goal(s) — the mission.

2. the specification and expression of specific (individual/unofficial) goals, aims and priorities for — the organisation.

3. articulation of a concept of the organisation — its meaning and implications — including potential goals and aims the organisation might take up.

4. identification and formulation of personal aims goals and priorities entailed by them.

5. implementation of goals in terms of courses, programmes and activities.

6. the carrying out of tasks, duties, responsibilities and functions from which goals may be inferred.

7. descriptions of and references to the goals, aims, work, and activities of self and others and/or their contributions to the organisation.
Integration

The Integration category (I) focuses on activities and events that serve to differentiate and structure relationships within the organisation (i.e. create a division of labour) and can therefore include:

1. the distribution of tasks, work, roles and jobs to individuals and sub-units.
2. the delegation of authority and responsibility to individuals.
3. the initiation/implementation of regular work patterns,
4. the creation of joint ventures.
5. the setting up and operation of committees.
6. the establishment and operation of organisational procedures e.g. budgetary control systems, student records, resource inventories, a staff promotion policy, coordination activities.
7. the formation of interest groups and sub-units.
8. the establishment/operation of internal communications and information distribution systems.

Latency

The Latency category (L) focuses attention on activities that are directly related to:

i. the experiencing of tensions and conflicts that arise, and,
ii. attempts to maintain patterns and control and manage tensions and conflict,

Accordingly activities to be coded under Latency can include:-

Specific experiences:

1. incidences of conflict and tension between individuals, e.g. disagreements, arguments.
2. assessments (both positive and negative) of one's own or others' work, perspectives and attitudes.
3. difficulty or dissatisfaction (including complaints) with features of the organisation, e.g. information flow, physical conditions of work, availability of facilities and equipment, accessibility of colleagues – superiors etc.

4. (dis)satisfaction with one's work/role situation, the state of the organisation, administrative or teaching practices and organisational arrangements.

5. presence/lack of loyalty to individuals/the organisation.

6. presence/absence of solidarity/cohesion/cooperation.

Attempts at management and control of conflict and tensions by:

7. the creation/invoking of rules of conduct, normative standards, common definitions of the situation.

8. the establishment of social-welfare arrangements e.g. social gatherings, counselling sessions.

9. explaining the basis of policies and decisions to others.

10. the creation of opportunities for individuals/groups to explain to others their work/role and share ideas.

11. the creation/diffusion of myths about what the organisation is like to work in, what it stands for, what it can and ought to do.

12. defusing (by discussion, decree, separation etc) existing/emergent conflicts and devising avoidance strategies.

13. deemphasising features thought to detract from the development of solidarity and cohesion e.g. negative role stereotypes.

14. providing supportive evaluations of the work and contributions of individuals and groups to the organisation.

The Analysis Process

The analysis of the interview protocols, using the functional problems involved a number of steps.

The first step was to place all the interview transcriptions in chronological order. There were two main reasons for organising the
interviews in this way; (i) this procedure would allow inter-
connections between the functional problems which individuals
encountered to be identified, and, (ii) in the construction of the
Case Study narrative, it would assist in the documentation of the
changing circumstances of the Community College as it evolved, i.e.,
help to construct the plot and generate themes in theoretical terms.

The second step was to read all the interviews in order,
preparatory to actually doing the analysis. A minimum of two
but frequently more than two readings were necessary for this. The
first reading served the purpose of gaining an overall familiarity
with the contents of the interviews, from time to time making column
annotations in the form of brief notes and asides. With familiarity
thus gained, the substantive analysis of the interview protocols
could then proceed.

The substantive analysis consisted of the identification of
the interview protocols as belonging to one or other the functional
problem categories and the making of accompanying comments that,
later on, could be used in the construction of the Case Study. This
procedure had to be applied to all the discrete interview responses
or sequences of like responses that made up each specific interview.
The contents of each whole interview were analyzed in this way and
each analysis yielded a set of annotated comments and functional
problem category designations.

It is important to note, however, that the analysis involved
more than the simple recursive procedure of reading the interview
transcripts and mechanically allotting each response a category
designation. While the categories themselves are analytically
distinct, the meaning and significance of a specific interview
protocol depended on the context in which it was made. Consequently
this context could determine, to some extent, the theoretical
category to which a protocol belonged. For example, a subject's
reference to the setting up of organisationally based accounting
procedures to deal with the procurement of resources could, depending
on the context in which it was made, be regarded as belonging to
either the Adaptation or Integration categories. If the reference
was made in the context of dealing with an external agency then,
the appropriate categorisation would be Adaptation. If, on the other
hand, the reference was made in relation to some aspect of the organisation's internal functioning then, the appropriate categorization would be Integration.

In addition, it is also worth noting that organisational actions and events seldom occurred in isolation and usually had consequences for other aspects of the organisation. Thus it was important in categorising a particular action or event; to note either an existing or the possibility of a connection with other problematic organisational characteristics. For instance, the implementation of a procurement procedure (when categorised as belonging to Integration) might lead to tensions and conflict and thus a connection with Latency established. Alternatively, when coded as Adaptation, there could be consequences for Goal-Attainment and this connection too ought to be identified. Accordingly, the analysis of interviews also required that connections between categories be noted in the annotations and comments. The taking of context into account would enable: (i) theoretical sense to be made of the contents of discrete interviews and, (ii) theoretical connections between interviews to be made and evaluated in relation to the Community College as a whole.

With the data analyzed in this way, the interview annotations—comments and category designations could be used subsequently to serve three related purposes:

i. the identification, in theoretical terms, of issues and topics to be taken up and explored further in interviews at a later date,

ii. the conceptual connection of various aspects of the operation of the Community College one with the other, and

iii. the selection of data, in a theoretically systematic way, for incorporation as illustrative material in the Case Study.

The tracing out of connections between concepts is the interpretive-explanatory aspect of the investigation, serving to account both for the complex and problematic nature of the entity being studied.
There is some point in mentioning in passing that, while it would be possible to enumerate and sum instances of each functional problem in interviews, such a procedure here is methodologically inappropriate. This is primarily because all category designations are relative to the specific content of each interview. The significance of any given interview, for the investigation then, is not the number of instances of each category, rather it is the Structure-Functional relationship of the content in one interview with the specific theoretical content in other interviews.

In other words there is no place in a Parsonian Structure-Functional analysis of the kind used in this investigation for the numerical quantification of empirical data. This is because the individual was taken as the unit of analysis and not some numerically measurable or uniform properties of the organisation in point. Admittedly, the various kinds of category designations given in each interview could be recorded and perhaps percentage given of the incidence of each category. However, because responses vary in length and duration, they are not amenable to numerical analysis, summation and comparison. This it seems is one of the consequences of using Structure-Functional concepts analytically.

Instead, the notion of conceptual analysis leads more consistently to Case Study documentation from which theoretically based descriptions, interpretations and explanations can be given.

Three interviews are included in this appendix in order to exemplify the manner in which the conceptual analysis of data was conducted. They include respectively, interviews with the Officer for Continuing Education - one of the principal instigators and planners of the Community College, the Director and the Head of Community Education. These three particular interviews have been chosen for two reasons. First they contain instances of each functional problem, and second, they illustrate sources of continuity and discontinuity in the way three individuals were conceiving the Community College, relating to each other (either physically or temporally) in the process of forming and then developing the Community College and, in each case, the way in which each individuals' contribution was assisted or constrained both by the context in which they worked and the development of their relationships with
others. A brief commentary here serves to illustrate the manner in which, in the Case Study, the results of the conceptual analysis were able to be used to construct the Case Study’s narrative and to provide theoretical explanations.

The concept of the Community College as a Outreach organisation was initially articulated by the Officer for Continuing Education. Both the Director and the Community Education Head also subscribed to this concept and goal of the Community College, and the interviews provide one source of evidence of the way in which each viewed this concept and sought to implement it.

The Outreach goal also carried with it implications for the way in which relationships in the organisation might come to be structured. Though in reality, because the organisation structure given in the Feasibility Study served as the actual Community College 'blue-print', the development of an alternative, and perhaps preferred structure was largely denied, as were the likelihood of developing inter-departmental relationships. The interviews show the three principal actors' views of the Community Colleges social structure and how they were both accommodating to it and attempting to develop it. Another implication of subscription to the Outreach goal, was the necessity for Community College staff members to work at developing the Community College in the community. This aspect of the Community Colleges evolution falls clearly into the Parsonian category of Adaptation, and there are frequent interview references that deal with the articulation of the Community College with the community. These references ranged across such aspects as; the recruitment and selection of personnel e.g., the Community Education Head himself, the establishment of task environments in terms of specific student clientele and community groups that individuals in the Community College wanted to work with, the conduct of public relations work and the establishment of relationships with such external agencies as local high schools and the paramount higher authority - the State Department of Education.

The Adaptation by the Director and Community Education Head to the external environment of the Community College had, in its
turn, implications for the internal running of the Community College. Here the interviews came full circle in that they disclose each individual's perceptions of the internal reality of how the Community College was functioning, what they believed were the effects of their own actions and the actions of others and what they were doing and hoping to do to deal with the Community Colleges internal situation and develop this consistent with their own views of the College as a new-type of educational organisation.

The Case Study draws on the full range of interview data along with data from other sources to explain the Community Colleges evolutionary processes. The three interviews that follow in this appendix illustrate the way in which empirical data were analyzed preparatory to their descriptive, interpretative and explanatory use in Case Study of the thesis.

Examples of the analysis process are presented using a specific format and conventions. The format includes three main headings and three corresponding columns: (i) interview protocols, (ii) annotations and comments, and, (iii) code category. There are four code categories labelled; A, G, I, and L representing each of the functional problems - Adaptation, Goal-Attainment, Integration and Latency - and each letter label is subscripted with numbers e.g. A2 and G6 to indicate specific category criteria. As in Chapter three, the reporting convention adopted with the interview protocols is to use the latter 'R' to indicate the researchers questions and comments and the letter 'S' to denote subjects responses and comments.
INTERVIEW WITH:

Officer for Continuing Education
18th April 1975.
The first query was what is the institution designed to do? Well, we spent a lot of time arguing this one and we felt it was necessary to make an introductory comments. Noting first of all that it's only one institution and that its got to stop being megalomaniac about the fact that it's going to be everything for everybody. And second, in so far as it contributes to the sort of social and economic development and this I suppose has to be seen in the light of our colleagues on Government policy here. Quite clearly introducing the idea of Community Colleges in the '72 manifesto, which it saw specifically as institutions for provincial centres - this was very much part of its thinking on national development. But the C.C. is not going to be the agent of Regional Development, it may be the contributor to - and one would hope that it will be an increasingly significant contributor - but it is still only one contributor. There are other educational agencies, there are other statutory bodies - there are a large host of other voluntary organisations which have a large part to play in it. And then even so you can still summarise for the C.C. a large set of objectives, and I think it's got to begin to sort out for itself the scope and limits of what it can actually do - because it's not going to have unlimited resources and it's never going to get all the resources it wants as fast as it wants them. So its got to sort out its own objectives and sort out its own priorities.

When you talk about resources do you assume the major source of resource will be the Government?

Not necessarily.

Do you anticipate the Community itself might start feeding in substantial amounts of money?

We've got no experience with this yet except of course in the Wairarapa case - which is strictly not a C.C. But as far as we're concerned if the local
community wants resources - and this may be particularly important in facilities like hostel development. If it turns out that it's necessary to have hostels, it is just not going to get money out of the - by sucking the central state teats.

R To what extent is John Harre aware of the way you've just described the situation?

S We sent copies of this to John. It is obvious for instance if you read that comments of Peter McMeen's that one of the things - summarises the ideas insofar as they are ideas which have come out of the feasibility study originally. One of the ideas that's fudged up completely in the feasibility study is the relationship between the C.C. and the programmes - particularly the evening class programmes in the Secondary Schools. And this has got to be worked out - Peter recognises this and we recognise it - We've just said there is no one solution, and this I think is a very important issue. There may be a solution for the Hawkes Bay that will have to be substantially worked out by the College in arguments with its own group of schools. And if they come up with a solution that does not work anywhere else that's their problem. So one of the basic things which underlies the whole concept of the C.C.'s as far as we're concerned is that we don't have any kind of manufacturing system. We're not trying to produce them identical. If they come out different that's fine. Though in virtue of the way of funding and staffing such places may unwittingly impose limits within which distinctive organisational development and identity may emerge.

R So in fact, in so far as we look at the emergence of an organisation here you have no expectations that we'll be able to generalise from what happens here?

S To a substantial extent - yes. There is a commonality of purpose and interest in any kind of continuing education operation.

R Presumably when the College runs into pressures and influences, the nature of these may be highly specific to this community, but nonetheless the way in which pressures manifest themselves ......

S I think that some of the more particular things will emerge out of the same interaction with the same community - This community is quite different. In Napier and Hastings you've got one aggregate, so that you can roughly speaking, clump 100,000 people within a 30 mile radius of the institution. In Rotorua

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<td><strong>Community wants resources</strong></td>
<td>Extent of resources to be provided by the Govt. A1</td>
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<td>R To what extent is John Harre aware of the way you've just described the situation? S We sent copies of this to John. It is obvious for instance if you read that comments of Peter McMeen's that one of the things - summarises the ideas insofar as they are ideas which have come out of the feasibility study originally. One of the ideas that's fudged up completely in the feasibility study is the relationship between the C.C. and the programmes - particularly the evening class programmes in the Secondary Schools. And this has got to be worked out - Peter recognises this and we recognise it - We've just said there is no one solution, and this I think is a very important issue. There may be a solution for the Hawkes Bay that will have to be substantially worked out by the College in arguments with its own group of schools. And if they come up with a solution that does not work anywhere else that's their problem. So one of the basic things which underlies the whole concept of the C.C.'s as far as we're concerned is that we don't have any kind of manufacturing system. We're not trying to produce them identical. If they come out different that's fine. Though in virtue of the way of funding and staffing such places may unwittingly impose limits within which distinctive organisational development and identity may emerge. R So in fact, in so far as we look at the emergence of an organisation here you have no expectations that we'll be able to generalise from what happens here? S To a substantial extent - yes. There is a commonality of purpose and interest in any kind of continuing education operation. R Presumably when the College runs into pressures and influences, the nature of these may be highly specific to this community, but nonetheless the way in which pressures manifest themselves ...... S I think that some of the more particular things will emerge out of the same interaction with the same community - This community is quite different. In Napier and Hastings you've got one aggregate, so that you can roughly speaking, clump 100,000 people within a 30 mile radius of the institution. In Rotorua</td>
<td>External relationships as problematic A3</td>
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<td>An expectation here that the C.C. will relate in its own unique way (whatever that is) to local agencies A5</td>
<td>A planning goal that each C.C. will develop as a unique entity - uniquely adapted to its local environment (See the ministers Seminar '75 speech) (A - GA) G3</td>
<td>Concept of C.C. -- uniqueness G3</td>
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you've got nothing like that at all. In Hawkes Bay a few satellite towns, but Napier and Hastings dominate in a way that is not true in Rotorua.

R Are the primary interests in the Napier and Hastings area?

S I think it's going to have to work itself through a pattern of recognising that there are people who don't live in Napier and Hastings.

R Large number of homesteads throughout the area - will these be neglected?

S We hope not. Reference again to Rotorua - Can't call it this because that's the area as well as the city. If we call it this, then we get into trouble immediately with Whakatane, Taupo - Tokoroa who don't regard it as theirs. They would see it as a Rotorua City operation - So a neutral name "Wairamekei" probably - which is theirs. Quite useful to Department. Immediately a Regional name. 'Community College' unfortunate - Regional College more appropriate.

R A series of communities with a Region.

S A 'Community College' and not a 'Community College'

R Why not change it?

S That's what the Labour Party stuck us with.

R About the meeting tomorrow - John Harré has been soliciting up and down the countryside to get people to come. Problem. What will happen if in fact he finds there are so many people there with such a wide and divergent range of interests that over the next twelve months he can't accommodate to their needs? How will his organisation accommodate?

S Depends on how you think about the structure of it. The first thing he has got to do in the next year is develop a structure of advisory groups and advisory committees and so on - which is quite broad - and probably is divided both by function and geographically. You say he may not be able to satisfy them - the people themselves will have to do a lot of working out - it's not his job.
R We could look at the College as a coordinating body.
S Very much.

R Therefore one of the problems confronting the College is pushing that image out into the Community - so the people in the Community come to see the College in that way themselves.
S If it's not happening the people have to be got to the stage where they blame themselves - for not being organised and not blame the college. The college is them. It's not those people who happen to be paid out there to do it.

R But those people who are paid out there to do it are stuck with the job of being catalysts within the community, generating interests, indicating the ways in which problems may be solved - promoting the activity somewhere or other. Is that right?
S Yes. But I know from my own experience working in this kind of job - it takes about two years to really get to know enough about the community and the pipelines into the system to be able to get things tapped properly. If they want rapid results - the thing to do is to make everybody feel they are going to have something to say about it.

R Which is presumably what this seminar is going to do. The first step.
S It's not the first step. This is the nth step in a series of consultations. The Feasibility Study is a long series of consultations. The release of this study, and the very thick file of comments which flowed back from it is the second step in consultation. There were consultations of all sorts last year when meetings had a large number of things to say about what they expected from the C.C. - partly kicked off by the E.D.C. process - but not entirely.

R Is there a file of responses to the Feasibility study? - in Wellington
S Yes. To which you have access. This is the third stage of consultation - but it is only the introduction of the process of consultation I know of about the permanent way in which the College operates. Maybe we should have one of these every year or maybe John Harré needs to go on talk back regularly so maybe...
that people can tell him that 'his bloody College stinks' - because it is not doing its job very well - because these Maoris -

R So now what is being suggested is some feedback system that gets institutionalised in the College itself.

S Its got to institutionalise its own feedback systems, I don't think there is any question that John accepts this action.

R At the moment he sees us as making a small contribution here I think, given what every Community sampling we do - we'll be able to get information about the way in which the respondents are seeing the state of Affairs.

S He's got two things to do: (1) Feedback on the actual demands of particular sections - sectors of demand - within the community and (2) feedback about the resources in the community - these are not just the resources of the staff or the College.

R Harre has indicated his awareness of this problem. He sees that the resources are out there in the Community, so he shares that perception of the situation (I think).

S He is probably influenced a good deal by the papers that we wrote on that thing on C.C.'s I did one and Bill did the other. These very much parallel in a way with Garry's ideas for the Wairarapa - and I don't see there's all this much difference between the thinking which is enshrined in the whole span of thinking that is operating in the Wairarapa. We still really talking about getting out into the Community. The basic idea is out-reach rather than having people come to you.

R An earlier comment D. made - what would be provided for staff and how they might be able to be coerced to be out rather than in, may turn out to have a poetic ring to it if in fact these buildings here start to coerce the activities of

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<td>Garrett specifies the necessity for feedback - this is an aspect of adaptation.</td>
<td>A4 - 5</td>
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<td>Sources of influence - discuss this with J.H. with a view to establishing the degree of continuity between instigators conceptions of the C.C. and that of C.C. personnel.</td>
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<td>A key aspect of the C.C. mission - out-reach. (Look for development of this idea in Garrett's and Renwick's papers).</td>
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S I think this would be a shame. We have won our first fight, they'll have a car as fast as we can get it for them, they'll need about another 3 cars in another couple of years. One of the things we are doing shortly is convening a working group to try to work out a sensible kind of blueprint for the development of teaching at a distance - We're going to ask Massey, Technical correspondence Institute and the Correspondence school which between them by the way at the moment, have between 1% of the total population of New Zealand students - 30,000 students for a start. Now we've got to get them together with someone like John and with the broadcasting people and begin to talk sensibly about what - a blueprint for what teaching in the distance looks like. Now this entails assumptions for instance such as that the Radio Corporation may not be just broadcasting open air stuff, they may actually be providing to take stuff for use. A lot of stuff probably needs to be thought of as study kit material, tape-slide combination, more flexible ways of breaking out of the assumption that an educational activity is what happens when you get one person in front of 'x' people for 'x' weeks. Now if we break out of that kind of role we have the answer to the problem of the isolated homesteads - which tends to conform to a somewhat different pattern. Once you think about 15 students then of course you're rocked.

R If you're in the business of producing that kind of software, how and what?

S The institutions themselves will generate a lot which gets fed off to other institutions, somebody will develop a good program. It cuts back here to the basic kind of assumption about the thing itself. The C.C. is defined legally just as a place which offers continuing education, first, and that in turn in defined virtually as Education in other words is pretty general. There are then a series of ancillary functions; one is to work in association with secondary schools and provide courses for secondary students, and this could be quite important in a whole lot of areas - in specialist areas which the College would have strengths in - in things which may only do itself virtually, things like child development for instance. If we, as we hope, develop a sort of teaching demonstration in pre-school then one of its major areas of work might for instance be seeing the kids.
The second thing it will do is to work in association with the Correspondence School or technical correspondence institute, or Massey, to provide supports any way it can, and Arthur Consello for the TCI and John Harre have already been discussing this one. That's a pretty important function.

R To what extent then are the people who have been appointed to tutors positions at the College being selected on criteria which will guarantee in some way that they can in fact implement the sort of programmes you're describing?

S The first bunch of people who are there are the people who would have been there if it had been a technical institute. In other words, over the last years of Napier and Hastings there have been developed programmes for apprentices and accountants and secretarial people and so on, based on the secondary schools until they got large enough to hive off to the separate institutions. A number of these have been staffed with full time people. Virtually all of those have now been translated across to Community College as full time staff members so that people are teaching carpentry and so on are there. To what extent these people get involved runs back to a basic thing which has happened in the act itself. In the preceding act there was a thing called 'Further Education' which I suppose was imported from Britain - it's not a term which anyone else ever accepted in New Zealand, and it's not a term New Zealanders use.

Then in the previous Act that was subdivided into Technical Education and virtually everything else - anything which wasn't technical, vocational. In redefining continued education we've provided our definition which sees it including everything, educational and otherwise. This is important because if you have a look at objective one the first thing not stated is to try to develop continuing education in a way which vocational, non-vocalional and other Community Service things are quite integrated, or at least as much integrated as you can get it. And this should run through into the structure itself, instead of having two sort of Head's of Department or whatever you call them, that's the technical term you have to use at the moment. One vocational, one non-vocational. John himself has basically accepted the notion that both of these blokes will have both vocational and non-vocational elements. For example, the Carpentry Building people could quite well move into areas like - providing courses for home builders or how to put up a barn for a farm... In the same way there should be no split down the middle in the institution between its internal and extension functions.
So the integrated thing in this sense is really quite basic. We don't want there to be an 'Extension Department' concept or any split which says this is vocational and that non-vocational.

R So it's going to work both way in fact that just as much as we might expect to see the vocational boys working in non-vocational areas, and people who although I guess you're not going to designate them in this way - whom others might regard as being non-vocational well being working maybe even in trades areas.

S Yes. We think this is a pretty important structural concept. It should run through the organisation. In fact one of the things which concerned us when we first suggested you might look at the organisational aspects of it were to try to see whether this piece of philosophy developed in the way in which relationships inside the actual staff develop. Do the trades people in fact hive off into a separate empire of their own? If they do in a sense the philosophy is being bastardised.

R That introduces another idea. If the aim is to produce some sort of cohesive working unit, that unit could be achieved by having independent development going and so there are many routes to cohesion and what you want to do is define cohesion in those particular - almost ideological terms. Even though you might get an organisation where people get on well with each other, they do their jobs in the sense of coping well with whatever students they've got and being a good working unit. In your frame of reference it may not be succeeding.

S It won't be succeeding if people do that and automatically keep on assuming that some other part is entirely somebody else's job.

R I could even see that some small geographical factors could virtually be the size of it. For example, if the vocational people are characteristically employed on the spot, in the buildings, and it's the other people who go out and travel, then you've got a geographical definition.

S One of the things which will have to be quite important - that is to set up activities for their vocational people which are off-campus. At this point of time, however, they've only got John Harre, (the image), if that, or else articles in newspapers. That's the only basis they can form their judgement of what
this institution is all about. Further along the route, when, as one might hope, they've developed a system of advisory group, or whatever...; the point at which someone might say to you, 'I had a suggestion, and knew that Mrs so and so was on the committe so I told her'. At this point they're beginning to see many other people. It is beginning to be a newtork of interaction - and hopefully vocational as much as community education staff will be involved in this.

R This has implication for you.

S Would you like to have a look at this and go through any specifics you don't understand.

R ... Exact area. How far north does the region extend to?

S It clearly extends to Wairoa. There's no legislative Boundary, but Wairoa, is going to be inside it's catchment area. In the south it's a bit more difficult to define, I don't think it will be serving Dannevirke which doesn't tend to look up this way operationally. Takapo .. into the Takapo plains....

R Manawatu tends to serve Dannevirke in terms of social welfare organisations....

S If you think of it as falling north of Wairoa and to the other end of the Takapo plains you've roughly got the region, - it's fairly neat. You don't have any problems on that side and on this side it defines itself at the other end because there's nothing between Gisborne and Wairoa.

R A statement is made here, (attributed to S ) it's administration which is sensitive to the needs of the region, that seems to me implies a response to some identified need rather in fact than an attempt by the College to create needs.

R I'm probing at you to clarify...

S I think the needs are different than desires.... If you sit in your hutch and decide that the Hawkes Bay community needs something then you're going to do something about it. The good Continuing Education guys always .... It had a very practical bit at Massey within an operative kind of criteria, in that if anything we thought ought to go didn't work the first time we usually left it...
six months to a year and then tried it again. Usually we were right but just too fast.

R We approached Allan earlier and the position he took was that he didn't intend to impose what he thought were ideal solutions in this community. I think it's very difficult for anybody in education not to be working of any set of ideal solutions, and to have some sort of view of a better world. It's almost impossible to take that position. On the other hand it's a delicate knife-edge to deal with, in that there's the distinct risk that you are becoming biased and evangelistic and imposing.

S Sure there is and it's never an easy bit to do. It's partly also a conflict of what you mean by need. People may have a rather inchoate feeling that there is something which they'd like to be done but have no idea about how it might be met. The College in a sense may articulate a need for it, or say, ya, well if that's the thing this is what we'll do for it. And it's obvious enough in the trades area because your own antenna and permanent scanning systems ought to be good enough to say your going to need this number of people in that kind of professional phase or occupation within the next three or four years - if people hadn't come along and told you - you can't wait for that.

R It's tricky in the areas like concern for conservation and quality of life.

S Those sorts of things do tend to come up. The question, is at what point is a quote made unquote, which is identified by some group or person. If you get a letter which says to you - why don't you do something about a course in conservation, - is that just an individual response or does it reflect more than just the opinions of its writer. Is he the kind of guy who is articulating the kind of thing which a lot of people feel....

R But then if you decide it would be good to apply conservation for example, and then you start providing courses ..... 

S I would prefer to think of them as activities....

R Well, you provide them on the grounds that you think this is what they ought to need whether they know it or not.
S Yes. Well I would be perfectly brutal about that and say yes of course you do.

R So in fact you're advocating a prescriptivist sort of position for the College to take with respect to the community.

S Not explicitly.

R But they would do so at risk, on the grounds that, if they misjudge the Community they are not going to get support?

S But this is one of the joys of continuing education. None of these things are going to be compulsory and people don't have to come and they don't have to stay. You've got a built in box office - own popularity - if your ideas are wrong then you've flopped.

R The trick is to be always one jump ahead.

S. But not two jumps ahead. It's the usual leadership game - if you're around the corner, your people are against you. You've got to be far enough ahead of the troops to make them feel you're leading the situation, but not so far ahead that people can't see.

R That seems to be a conscious strategy which is rather different to the sort of strategy which says.....

S 'Tell me what your problem is'. That's laisser faire. I don't think it's completely a kind of laisser faire operation. I know it's simplistic to look at it in the classic autocratic laissez faire interpretation, but somewhere along the line it makes some sense doesn't it.

R It makes sense to me. If you look at community development movement in the States they allowed the pendulum to swing too far when they turned their community developers into catalysts that went and said 'Tell me what your problem is', now let's define the problem, now have you got resources to deal with this - go and find the resources, now deal with it, and goodbye, I'm going.

S That's bad and I've never liked the concept of a catalyst because a catalyst is a chemical agent which is always changed by the process through which it goes.
This is theoretically just not impossible.

R Not if you stay there, but if you're slipping from place to place.

S This is the point about this, is that it isn't slipping from place to place. It's in the community and it's going to be changed by the processes, that as it serves to identify them....

R I get the feeling when you talk you are in fact talking as an experienced campaigner who is saying this is the best strategy to employ and it's the one I've found to work in the past, and I've tried others as well and they haven't worked. In a sense I hope this is the way John Harre is going to play it when he starts operating in his Community College. When I put it like that am I interpreting you as you intend to be interpreted? Is that a fair interpretation of what you're saying? Your approach to the problem?

S I don't see it as fair, but you probably do, so I'm not communicating. I don't see there being a sort of absolute distinction between the College being sensitive in the sense that all it does is sit and wait for ideas to float to it, and make sure that it's got the listening system for it. On the other hand I don't see that it's likely to work at all if it simply sits there and devises activities and says to the Community, here you are, here's your menu, choose eggs. Surely there's some kind of operating - just in terms of pure reality, a reality to the game - and not quite like that.

R I guess my agenda is pretty obvious to you. What I'm trying to get from you and something which I can refer back to make sure that I have got it right, is the sorts of statements of intended outcomes that you have in mind.

S But you also have to intervene between my intended statements of outcome and the opportunities I or anybody else in the department has to influence these outcomes. In a sense I can say these are the kind of things I would expect to do if I were principal, or expect to happen if I were principal, but I'm not principal. Other than the fact that I might talk to John Harre from time to time, and he might read something that I've written, which he has, that's about the end of my ability to influence what happens.
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<td>R That's fine, but what in fact it does do is provide valuable information, baseline information which will allow us to say to you at some point in the future, 'O.K., in terms of the sorts of things, expectations that you had, this is the way to us it looks as though the situation has worked out in reality'.</td>
<td>Check this out with J.H. - what is the extent of S's and Bill's influence (Is it possible to gauge this). To what extent does J.H. see himself under an obligation to develop the C.C. consistent with others (instigators) intentions? How realistic - feasible - open/closed is the official goal. What does it enable the C.C. to do, as J.H. sees it? How do others in the C.C. interpret this goal?</td>
<td>C1-3</td>
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<td>S And here's why. I wouldn't be disconcerted at all if it goes off on some other tangent, provided that this is where - but the thing is being successful in its own way, whatever this is. I suppose you've got some value judgements about what I would hold as successful, but in a sense I am seeing the whole participation thing as basic. I don't like very much then I would say the - it's the people that are shaking it.</td>
<td>Community participation in the C.C. a key aspect of the C.C. concept.</td>
<td>G3</td>
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<td>R To what extent do you think the department will be in a position to intervene?</td>
<td>Control from without - What kind of relationship does the C.C. establish with the Department?</td>
<td>A1 &amp; 5</td>
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<td>S Mainly in purely practical things. The departments role is essentially either legal and regulatory, or it's financial. We can only do one of two things, we can give them or not give them money. And we can give them or not give them the law and regulations under which they can operate.</td>
<td>Just how autonomous is the Council? Whoever pays the piper calls the tune! The Dept. pays. Just how far, in reality, does it call the tune? (despite what S says).</td>
<td>A5</td>
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<td>R Is the council fairly autonomous?</td>
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<td>S The council is autonomous within the operating system. Paying conditions, staffing schedules and all sorts of other things - but the staffing schedules themselves have a lot of built-in flexibility, particularly in the early years. There is a lovely clause which gives the director general the discretion over staff.</td>
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<td>R And what about running costs?</td>
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We've had to pluck figures out of the air. Because there aren't going to be old precedents for this one. We've had to say, first year taking some figures out of the air, we'll figure them out on the back of an envelope, but it might look like this, and if we feel they're running out of dough, there, well they need some more I suppose.

That raises for me another issue, how is the money reallocated within the institution with respect to the different kinds of programmes that are operating. One might envisage for instance that because of the high capital costs of equipment for trades courses of one kind or another, and that's got to do with equipment, and maybe associated costs associated with trade courses will in some peoples minds take greater priority over the way in which available funds are used over other courses, which seem to take less priority.

... but this is the department itself would be intervening I would be, Bill would be, if the thing looked as though it were getting skewed off in the direction of ... and I hope that the emphasis on trades courses will not occur to the extent that other things were suffering.

The sort of thing I have in mind is the situation we appear to have at Massey where there's an assumption that the science boys really need the dough because they're doing all the expensive stuff. You know the situation. Now I wonder, and this is crystal ball gasing in a sense - the extent to which those sorts of attitudes will permeate an institution like this.

There are some operating things here. The T.I.'s and Com. Colleges won't operate on annual allocations which are sort of lump sum blocks of that kind. It's a rather complex, ongoing kind of, they put up a proposal for a new course, I mean a more formal kind of course - supposing they wanted to develop a physiotherapy course which, may God help us they won't - we have to approve it. We have to approve it in the sense we have to be satisfied there is a need for it and that it's not better placed somewhere else. Once they've got it they get the staffing for it. We've got to see that this staffing comes out of national allocations of money and they have to compete with other institutions. This is the point at which we get into the act. But they don't operate other than for general expenses.
R That now makes sense of the comment that John made some time ago, that when needs are recognised and some attempts are made to meet them, the College will be in a position to ask the department for funds.

S If they said, 'next year, or even right now we want to move into the field of teaching physiotherapy', and say we agree, then we would say, there are your staff you may now. There's much more flexibility in this part of the system. The universities in this sense - a lot more autonomy - There is a limit in this part of the system in that the department is necessarily more involved, and in some ways more involved than I feel is desirable, but on the other hand it creates a great deal of flexibility.

R But what kind of courses do they have to ask approval for?

S These are more formal courses, if they want to run a full year course, particularly anything which involves the planning of full-time bursaries for students, then it's got to come through the system in the formal way, they can't just launch out on something of that sort. But they're not going to have to write down every time they want to run a course in Wairoa.

R To what extent do you see participation on the part of individuals as being free?

S That's part of the whole system at the moment which we're arguing through. It'll be national, not just for here. The Colleges at the moment charge tuition fees but they are likely to be released from charging tuition fees, they'll still be freed within some limits to charge class fees and registration fees etc. Relatively small items. These are likely to be token sums. They're not very large at the moment anyway.

R I notice an interesting statement here which says in support for work of the secondary schools etc. that again is a statement of intended outcome. But if secondary schools within a given area don't perceive the College as being an institution which is supportive of them but rather one which is likely to take
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it's better students away from then, i.e. their 7th and 6th form students - particularly their 7th form students...

... in association with the school ... rather carefully chosen... It's tied up in our amendment which is going through at the moment. There is a curious block in our existing act which says that no student who is a secondary student may at the same time be a student of a technical institute or C.C. We've put that first part of the act that was originally in one block ... into two bits ... second going through at the moment. The second bit will enable a student who is still at secondary school to attend a course while he's at secondary school. Our proposals at the moment are that if he's doing it in the evening there will be virtually no obstacles put in his way - his own business. If he's doing it in the day time he has to have his principals approval. We think it's quite possible that the C.C. could get into the act of advanced electronics - a thing which the secondary school can't specialise in.

R ... leave school.....

S Well, if there are courses the C.C. offers. But it's not likely that the C.C. will be offering courses which will directly compete with secondary schools.

R John Harre also said about the idea of going into a school and taking over, well, not one subject area, but some subject within that school. Bringing outsiders into the school.

S There's nothing to stop them doing that. The interaction with secondary schools is one which has got to be solved and this is point again where I could say that I say it's got to be solved. I don't know particularly how they're going to solve it. They may solve it by a rather loose sort of consultative process. But it won't operate by defining the C.C. from what ever secondary school may be holding evening classes - which we're looking at very intensively in any case to give them much greater flexibility. They might even go over to a complete type of block operations here in which the whole thing is operated as one. If that's their solution, I'm not trying to impose a solution. I'm saying they've got to find a solution, and they better find it fast. But it has to be a solution agreeable to both parties.

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The College's task environment will in part be determined by what other institutions are doing or can't do? Implications here for J.H. to talk with other Principals early on? Is this happening and with what effects?

Schools - College relationships - How does the C.C. relate to the schools? From where will its students come (developing a market)

The necessity for establishing (harmonious) working relationships with the schools is again emphasised. - This carries with it the necessity to institutionalize specific boundary roles within
The kind of thing I'm getting at is what happens when the principals of secondary schools see C.C. as a threat to their autonomy in some kind of way. (S in what sort of fields?) Let's imagine a situation where kids are in the 7th form where there is some disaffection in the kids mind for the school so that rather than continuing given that he's got an interest in remaining in some kind of educational programme, where it doesn't matter so much about his entrance to a University, he might see the College as an opportunity to do something interesting in a way that the school doesn't, therefore departs from the school. At the age of 16 or 17 he is at the liberty to do. At the same time if those very same people are valued by the principal of the school as promoting a particular image of his school, then the College may pose a threat.

My assumption is that there will be enough permanent machinery to stop it, in any case the C.C. Council will certainly include one representative of secondary schools who will have large numbers of things to say I would imagine if that sort of situation arising in schools was a direct threat.

I would guess that initially ... namely that when the 6th and 7th formers go to the C.C. and in it's jurisdiction they find life a little more easy, and they're not surrounded by the same rules and regulations and they go back to school and find the difference ....

I think your images of secondary schools don't accord with mine. My feeling of secondary schools at the moment is that they are the jumpingest place in the whole system.

Your statement about our differences of viewpoint might be right. I don't know what facts I hear, we do get some feedback that at least one of the schools is run by a fairly sort of conservative guy.

There are conservative schools. There are likely to be at least as many pressures from secondary schools that are to be precisely opposite. That is to provide particularly pre-vocational courses and those are for the 15 and 16 year old kids who are going to drop out anyway and whom the school regards as a bloody nuisance and frankly happy to pass to the C.C.

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Discussion focusses on possible school - C.C. relationships that might emerge and is speculative in nature. Its use is mainly to suggest possible avenues for investigation.
Interview Protocols

R Mind you, it is at the moment still for us to keep a watch on this.

S I think it's important that you should try to track the image which the senior staff in secondary schools have of it because that's a pretty important key thing. If you've got to focus on groups of any kind, it will be the key groups which may be most directly affected. Image will be rather important. If they think of it in any terms which are competitive, then something is going wrong.

R One of the tasks to be undertaken by the group, but mostly Gary, will be a network analysis to get at, in particular, the people who exert power on the operation at the College, to see where they come from in the Community and to what extent they have a standing within the community, what their network associations are. And consequently, who gets defined into the situation and who gets defined out. My guess is, that would include the role that is played by principals - whether they become part of that or whether they don't.

S I know what I would do if I were Principal. I would want to get a permanent consultative machinery between Principals for Principals. To meet from time to time and discuss these sorts of issues. I think John is likely to do this. It'll come up even if only through the evening class programmes because there are some issues here that have got to be sorted out, and before next year when the schools start.

R I don't want to push this one around too much - I throw it out as a bit of bait to get your reaction in terms of that as another compounding sort of an issue that it might exist in setting up this College.

S There are lots of other groups with which its got to cooperate. There are other statutory agencies - for instance the labour Dept. and Industrial Training Service or the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries for its advisory offices, or social welfare functions, and even more voluntary organisations which it's going to have to interact with and with whom it's got to work out a relationship and some kind of delineation of fellowship. It's got a screaming job with Massey right now partly because of the relationship between John and ....

R He's the guy who is more or less resident....
S One of the only two areas in N.Z. where there is a resident lecturer in University Extension... and particularly because some of the key areas for the development of the C.C. are clearly areas in which Massey and the University Extension Dept happen to be doing bloody well. Two key areas are in the preschool area and the Māori area. Massey has more than enough to do and it's perfectly possible that the delineations between the two in terms of function but they've got to sort it out and at the moment they're not. And partly I think it's John's fault because he's too busy and hasn't got time to and is rushing into it. I know that Dick at the moment feels that his toes are being trodden on.

R How do you think that Barry Williams is seeing the situation?

S I don't know. I haven't had a chance to talk about it with Barry. I don't even know whether he'll be here tomorrow.

R Yes he will. He and Don Bewely are both coming....

S I hope they see there is a situation that needs a solution. The only other area in which it could happen is Invercargill.

R I'm starting to get some picture of the complexity of the situation and the sorts of negotiations that have to go on. I didn't envisage that there would be the sort of network negotiations going on with official bodies like Government Departments....

S The Agriculture and Fisheries is one of the bigger continuing education operations in N.Z. We've had a lot of negotiations in Rotorua about this.

R At the moment I can't see how that's going to feed back into the organisation and affect its functioning, but it will in some way.

S Either that or someone's going to feel that their toes are trodden on.

R They are in the process of appointing tutors right now. I understand there are two decisions, one is they want someone in the Māori area (S. They'll want someone good there) and two, they want someone in the pre-school area. (S don't know what their applications look like on that one). The more I think of the role that's implied in the way you've described things though, the more these tutors

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<td>Other agencies with which the C.C. might relate -- with a view to gaining outside support/sponsorship in setting up programmes i.e. implementing goals?? (A-G.A.). (Explore this matter with the Director and where appropriate staff members.)</td>
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<td>P.R. and External Representation as a potentially demanding aspect of the development of the C.C.</td>
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<td>Staff recruitment - S. forshadow a problem for the C.C. to resolve (Monitor this).</td>
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are really going to have to be liaison people. (S. that's right). So that their competency in these fields may be less important than their ability to manage and confer and collaborate and select.

R To what extent do you see the staff employed as teachers?

S That's a problem for the Institution to solve. You find a University Extension which is comparable, you can find a whole range from people who do almost no teaching at all to people who are doing almost nothing else but. At Massey we felt we wanted to continue the hybrid function in which you are seen as a teacher, because your teaching function is a very important part of the consultative process.

R It does mean I guess to some extent that John must have worked this problem out in his own mind now, specifically with respect to who it is he selects to fill these positions....

S Yes. In a sense you are right. John and I won't see this thing in all the same light. necessary that I see in the light of my own experience. So that was a fair comment.

R I think that what we've got to do is get John Harre in the same way.

S And Peter McMeechan particularly.

R I guess we should try to get him before he shoves off to Fiji again. Which he does on Monday I believe.

S I think most of the other issues are fairly precise. Number 7 is a multiplication of the statement which is actually in the act. It was originally virtually in similar form in the Labour Party policy statement - and so we took it out and put it in the act because it's going to be a useful phrase. The only distinguishing mark between a technical institute and a C.C. is that a tech. institute also provides continuing education but there is an additional phrase in the Act which for a C.C. says, and such other educational services as may be desired and may be designed to meet the particular needs of its community or some such ... It's an open invitation to do all sorts of glorious things. It could be all sorts of
things too. It might get into providing administrative support to other voluntary community continuing education who do their own thing. It could also get into the act of saying ... operating preschool ... possibilities which is being canvassed at the moment.

R What would happen if some kind of activity was initiated which the Dept didn't see as at all desirable to be associated with the C.C.?

S Finally we've got the right not to give them the money to do it.....

R Sort of leading up to what extent should we see the C.C. as an educational institution, and where do we put the line between education and....

S People have been trying since Plato, or before Plato to define education and we haven't succeeded yet and you're not likely to... There's a very large area of grey here and this is very important in our current thinking about training for people ... with continuing education ... the grey area between community work and recreation particularly and some other comparable areas is just not possible to define. Our whole training concept is one which will allow people to move through a common course and then on to specialisation....

R I think that you've got on your mind some moral issues. Seems to me that can be the only one, that if it's illegal they'll just have to forget the stuff. They can't do that. If it was with some moral issue, say sex education, the Dept. might not like it. It might be politically uncomfortable for it. I presume there's nothing they can do about it...

S No it's more likely in fact to be a question of delineation of function, we don't really see this as your reserve. If for example the College said it wanted to get into the act of teaching at School Certificate level, we might say hey this is a secondary school function.

R But at the other extreme, where the college might sponsor a course to do with such way-out things as transcendental meditation or techniques for effecting abortion - a course on that which would be run by a gynaecologist who would be prepared to offer it to people who wanted such a course?
**Interview Protocols**

**The role of the Dept as a "High authority"**

S The answer to that is at the moment, the Department would get into the act, but it relates to what we were going through with the process of thinking about the whole secondary school evening class programme regulations which were included in 1926 and have been played about with ever since in a kind of Heath Robinson system - it's totally archaic - it's lunatic in fact. What we're proposing to do at the moment for secondary schools if we can get it through, it to switch over to a series of block allocations; tell them to operate to a set of criteria, and then go ahead and do it. We want to get out of the act of telling secondary schools what they may or may not do in terms of a particular course. If they like to run a course which is transcendental mediation, that'll be their own concern.

R For secondary schools and Community College?

S We may have to, in fairness, define certain areas of courses which are subsidi­zable by the Department or for which free tuition is permitted or something. But as far as I'm concerned we would definitely want to try to move to a system, which while it may have the constraint that would be a thing that they would have to charge for and couldn't do on free tuition they should be free to do it if they want to - if the local community clearly feels that transcendental mediation is something worthwhile. I wouldn't oppose it in fact I've just had an argument about Yoga, we've just approved a course in Yoga somewhere, I don't know why the hell we got into approving in the first place but we did.

R O.K., so that's a pretty wide mandate that John's got to operate on.

S I hope it'll be wider than it is at the moment, I think there are still con­straints in the existing system which I'm unhappy with and which I certainly hope we can get out of because I think that too many decisions are being made administratively by people who are not as competent or as informed to make them as the people who have to ask them to make it. You know if you shifted decision-making up the ladder you should put it up to a guy who knows more about it - not less about it. At the moment a lot of our administrative decisions are trivial things which are shifted to H.O. when in fact we don't know enough about it to make the decision in the first place. So that's silly. We should only really be concerned with two things; they should be operating within our national level of the finance and they should be operating within the regulations.
Interview Protocols

and rules which we were required to administer. If the regulations don't consistently keep on being met obviously there's a need to change the regulations. At the moment it's too free, unfortunately they change every day to fit the regulations instead of us changing the regulations to fit them.

R Yes, well it's the easy way out.

S Oh, yes well any good pirate just operates and ignores them and a lot of these blokes are sensible enough not to ask us. You know, often if they ask us we've got to say 'no' so the sensible ones don't ask. And we say 'for christ's sake don't tell us'.

R Well it was like that with adults going into secondary schools for a while too, wasn't it?

S Oh, well we were operating through a legal loophole which well we still are till that gets changed. But that actually is quite a good point, you see particularly with the advent of more adults into secondary schools, then this even more clearly requires some sort of delineation of function between the Community College and the Secondary Schools. It's one reason why I gave the instance that if the secondary schools ... if the Community College says we want to start teaching at school certificate level we will probably say at the moment we don't think we should because the secondary schools are already teaching it, we've created now an opportunity for adults to go back to secondary school; in great numbers they are proving that they don't mind doing this in fact I think there is a hell of a lot to be gained from it, so can you please community college keep out of that act. The only area in which we think we are going to have to let them do it is a sort of remedial abridging course for their own students and that's rather different. And that's an act I think you're going to have to get into rather strongly. Certainly four I think is important because if there is anything about the underlying philosophy it is that they should be dealing with people who haven't traditionally been dealt with. If they go on reaching the short of white-collar wasp groups, then they've failed, it's as simple as that.
R For that reason it's going to be very interesting to see who turns up tomorrow...

S It'll be the white-collar wasp groups.

R O.K., we can assume that but say if the advertising for tomorrow had been done a different way to what it has been done...

S It would have worked.

R So to what extent should the community college have someone who is just there for advertising.

S Well, this is an argument which I've been having inside the whole institution and yet I suppose it's my own view, that if you have got captive audiences who have informal parts of the system where people may be compelled to be there, then you don't have to advertise it you don't have to have publicity of any kind. If you're operating in a system where you don't have a captive audience you've got to go and get the bastards you've got to tell them what your'e doing and it's costly and we're going to have to spend more money on the process of enabling people to tell other people what's going on, and not just tell them through the orthodox machinery but find new ways of telling other people who don't normally hear you, which is a point I think radio could come through a bit more.

R Yes, well I guess you know if you have in mind groups of people like 15, 16, 17 year old kids who are drop-outs from the secondary school....

S Well that's why we defined continuing education, we abandoned that term adult education for precisely that reason, that group is an important group.....

R And one of the hardest to get at I guess?

S Yes, well partly it's purely realistic those people have got all sorts of other things on their minds and they don't necessarily want to get involved ... may have to run courses on the local riverbanks. I presume if they make love in the cars.....
**R** Mobile floating courses...

**S** No, I think that's a key group and they've got to get at it and they've got to get a lot of other people in and it's only the point at which I think they can get outside of the educationally charmed circle.

**R** Yes, because there's so many people that are going to come along anyway, in a way you don't need to do any advertising for those people.

**S** No, they'll come and they'll insist on it.

**R** Nonetheless, given that as an ideal, one may only eventually finish up by getting a little deeper into the administrative rather than in fact....

Yes, but to have got anywhere is something isn't it?

**S** Well, this is where you see it as the hub or part of the network which consists very much of the secondary schools, and the secondary schools are much closer to their own local communities. And I see the role of this outfit as enabling the secondary schools to do it, say in some part just by using the secondary schools as the retail outlets for its own staff but more than that I think in getting the secondary schools through to the process.

**R** That way it'd be fairly crucial to get the backing of the secondary schools, say in terms of the fourth form boy who is going to leave as soon as he's 15, to offer him the opportunity of the community college as being something that ....

**S** Yes, well actually what are the key groups, it's very important, it's a point where there's another area of coordination on which we are working on rather hard at the moment is with the Council of Recreation and Sport. One function which I think is pretty important for the community college is going to be training people who have, in the community, a sort of informal teaching role. It might be in Red Cross which has actually a quite large component of teaching, as with Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, but the biggest key group of all is probably sports clubs. Now a lot of people are teaching sports one way or another and they have to, some of them are skilled and some of them are not, it would help them if you actually trained them how to teach. I think this function is at least...
potentially, a very important one and it's important not only in itself but it's important potentially because it reaches in a way which maybe no other single system could reach a whole lot of people that you wouldn't get at otherwise. You know, you can get to work with people who are running, scuba diving or rifle clubs or deer stalking clubs or whatever and you're working with the coaches of those groups you've got a possibility of shifting beyond them through to the others. And there are a hell of a lot of people involved in New Zealand in that kind of ....

R With sometimes quite disastrous results?

S Sure

R My, you know Leslie, she's keen on indoor basketball but her coach is such a stupid man as far as teaching is concerned that she's getting rapidly disenchanted though she loves the game.

S Well at one stage I spent about three minutes with a bloke in the rifle club who was teaching Lynn when he was early in the game, how to shoot, and I asked a few questions and made a couple of comments and this bloke afterwards said 'Oh that was good, you know, that's first time anybody has told me anything about teaching' and he was good, he knew his stuff all right but he just hadn't thought about any checking systems but I think all our community colleges have got a very important roll in this particular respect. Just teaching people how to teach, apart from anything else it's one institution it can't do everything and wherever possible it's going to have to work at the sort of second rank level where it influences the people who influence other people. If I were, speaking for me, I would say one of these priorities is to get the multiplier effect to operate, with the people who operate with the people.

R Yes of course in terms of the study of the kind we're being financed to do, you know ... sorry, you're talking about a long-run effect when you're talking about multiplier effects, it's long-run and to some extent we won't be able to tap that because the effects of programmes that are set up now may not in fact be felt in the community for another two or three or four years - well you know that it's saying the obvious, but it raises a problem in terms then of what kind of feedback is it that you expect as a result of a study in the form of a report

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<tr>
<td>A main priority. (That reflects on the C.C. as a new-type).</td>
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<td>Measuring impact (effectiveness) - gaining feedback.</td>
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fifteen months from now, specifically with respect to the sort of thing that Jenny is going to be looking at. Impact of college on the community.

R No, it'll in effect first be perceptions of the college within the community, no impact yet because in fact the operation isn't relative, it's going to be the follow up studies that will....

S Well I could answer it in some way simply, you know, I've done enough research and been associated with enough research to know that however you state your goals and expectations, in the next phase it always comes out that you're doing less and doing more of what you're doing less - you come up with fewer answers and more intensive answers. So however much I expect now and however much you expect to be able to say now the answer will be that in six months time you'll have cut out a whole lot of crap and you will have said 'oh hell we can't possibly get that in, in the time because it's all much more complex than that'.

R Well it certainly raises the quesation on Jenny's side of the thing, that if in fact there are a 100,000 people out there, with the resources we've got we're only going to be able to map a very small number of the total perceptions of the college that are held by people in the community. Now we think that we've got a research designed that will do some of that for us - what do you expect?

S Well I've tried to say what I expect, I expect that whatever feelings I have right now will be sawn down by 50% or 150% or something in about six months time and by another factor in another six months after that. Every time you try to come out with a research design you always start cutting back ... and I'm not willing to make a statement.

R O.K., well that's happy enough, because it gives us open go then.

S Whatever we do we're going to finish up I think with something more objective than has ever been provided before.

S It almost certainly will tell us a few things, in fair detail.

R It is going to tell us what we need to look at next.
S Well, that always what happens with research too, you come up with 97 answers and a mile of complexities you never thought of in the first place.

R With the need to do more research ...

S That's the aim of research isn't it ... but no, we'll at least have enough research and Bill is pretty sensible on this point too. But the main point is we don't want the answers in 5 years time, we want even your questions, even you wind up with nothing but a whole set of complexities to which you can't find answers, at least we want to know that - not in 5 years time.

R I think this is one service you're doing for Massey, because this time it's got to be prompt and we're going to be able to, for the first time I think in Massey's history, get the idea that you know, you actually work and you work quickly and you take decisions and you do something and you don't talk about it intermittently. Now I like a considered approach to work but sometimes it can become so laboured that you actually get nothing done.

S I'd sooner have an approximate answer in a years time than a beautifully precise answer in five years time, because at that point it is only of historical interest. You know the situations change. We've got to have real time control in this place, and administrators can't wait for all the answers to come in so they're operating on rather precise kind of information, your information is going to be more precise than ....

R I've laboured the point a bit, at least you know, I think we're a bit clearer now about what your expectations are.

R No, I think this has been very valuable, I think that when you go back over it, you'll get a lot of important stuff out of it.

S Well as long as we understanding that I'm quite happy to be disappointed in a years work, about what's come out of it in a sense that we are not getting all the answers we hoped we might get however limited those are.

R .......??
No, well you're always .. no frustrated is perhaps a better term because I've done this myself several times. I always get frustrated with things I have to leave out in order to refine the thing.

R I think we're opting at the moment for doing relatively well what we do rather than doing superficially a lot of other things.

S O.K. well even having started out with that and gone through your initial refining process and pruned it off, you're still going to find that other things should be pruned off.

R I guess in the best of all possible worlds what I would like to be able to do is to live in the college for twelve months and become part of it, but clearly we can't. So you know what's going to happen is that we'll be moving in maybe half a dozen times over the 15 months ahead of us for periods of a week at a time or two weeks at a time probably at the most. Picking up progress or developments in the institution insofar as we can on those occasions when we're in there.

S Yes, but you see it's possible in a couple of years time that what we might way is all right if you're still interested, we've got another institution coming up the hopper and you're still interested in doing something about it, we could probably find a role with you doing what - remedial maths say; well let's set up some remedial maths programmes, enough to give you some kind of internal role; the rest of the time spend your time getting built into the institution for a year.

R That sounds fascinating.

S It's not impossible.

R See your last one - to evaluate its own performance.

S Yes well I deliberately put that one in....

R It's a pity taperecorders can't record smiles - for the record.... But seriously, assuming we perform that sort of function here that may lead to the idea of building in a function at some ....
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S Well I certainly had thought of this before Pat, if not in this case in the future, if it were possible. There's no reason why we couldn't find some kind of short term attachment or secondment thing it would be better if you were doing that to have some actual teaching function in the place, not just be a detached observer. So in this case that's still a possibility.

R You can slice across three fairways and still get back to your green.

S You'd just about shoot off the community college campus on to the nearest fairway couldn't you - with a long bloody drive.

R Just over the river....

S Have to be a hell of a long drive ... right I'll leave you those notes.
INTERVIEW WITH:

The Director
18th June 1975.
S So surely if you were to give us a list of what you want on paper, we could then see if its reasonable. Rather than the salary levels, you would really be interested in knowing whether they gained, or lost in the translation as far as earning capacity was concerned. And the possibilities within this system to match the possibilities within the secondary system. Is that what you want? There are two elements. One is the actual immediate equation of earnings on translation, and the other, of course, is the future projection of possible earnings, because some people that came in at almost the same point, for example, have come into a scale which is going to take them very much further than they would have got in secondary.

R Jack pointed that out this morning. He came in at the bottom of Tutor II, but by the time he gets to the top of Tutor II he will have gone further. He might have ended up in a secondary scale.

S He would never have gone that far probably in the secondary system. So this is what you really want. This is important isn't it? You want these attached to particular names, or just?

R Well, it would be very useful for me to have that information attached to names, so that when I'm talking to people I know what I'm talking about. Now brings us on to the other one which I could see as being demanding on whoever's time it is that gets lumbered into producing it. Namely, the organisation chart I asked you about yesterday is an immediate thing that I would appreciate in terms of finding my way around people here, but the thing I've talked to you about today is more demanding in so far as it requires detailed longitudinal information. What I was going to suggest was that, is it possible, say, if Jennifer, or if I could be here for a day and sit down and try and map that out, or work with someone.

S Well, could I just make a suggestion that as far as what we were talking about yesterday, if you were to give me a list of the information you require, I hope to be able before this afternoon is out, to give you the charts you were talking about and then we could discuss the other relevant points, and then if you gave me a list of the information you wanted, then some of it I would be able to give you off the top of my head and the others we'd have to go to files to get. Now,
would this be a starting point? Because I think its rather involved and we could spend a lot of time that would possibly be wasted if we duplicate anywhere along the line.

R Well, the point is, I don't want to be an unnecessary imposition on your time and thats really why I've asked you here now to talk about it. If it is going to be an imposition then we may have to think of other ideas.

S The charts won't take that long to organise. The organisational chart won't take long.

R No, I realise from what you said yesterday you can probably zap it up pretty quickly.

S Well, I can give you the deposition of staff and what they do. That's no problem at all. The areas of their responsibilities. That can be done quite quickly. Well, if I fill in a sketch of the organisation chart and in a low format, then the other bits and pieces can be added to it. They could be added to it. Yes, and otherwise we are duplicating, but then, where we put a name what you really want then is another list to append to that name that gives you information that you are looking for, because to try and get that alongside the name on the flow chart would be a little bit too bulky. In my opinion, it isn't really until we get a list from you to find out what you want....

R O.K. Well, I can do that pretty quickly.

S I think that as far as the deployment of time, the more comprehensive you can make your list of requests, and the more specific, the shorter time it is going to take. The more general the information you want and the less specific, the greater time it will take.

R O.K. Well, I'll have specificity and comprehensiveness in mind, and simplicity. You see really one of the things that would be very nice to have is a sort of set of overlays which at the end of each month since October last year shows us the input of new people into the place and relevant information about them, which then gets over laid with the information about the input of people at the

Refer back to Secretary to collect this information.
end of the second month, the third and the fourth month, so when I look at the thing at this month in time, I get a picture both of the developmental sequence and the position at that point in time and then we are in a position, if this is kept upright through, when new people come in, Peter, Para, Faye and Peter McMeakin and so on, I'm in a position to precisely locate a picture of people's definitions of the situation, their attitudes, their workload and all that sort of thing. Developmental, as it were, and you can monitor the development in a kind of way, which seems a sensible way of organising the whole business. Does that make sense? So, that's my hidden agenda made explicit.

S ( Interruption) Incidentally, excuse me a minute. With regards to trying to get expenses for Faye Dean, Ray Fargo said would we copy anything to him in A.T.T.I. He said they're doing it all.

R O.K. In one sense I think I've got a pretty good picture of the kind of Harre ideology vis a viz the Community College and unless you want to go over that again in the light of any subsequent developments that have occurred, we can leave it.

S I think that when we get the edited form of the transcript from the seminar that we're working on now, that will just make it that much more specific. You'll have read that anyway and there are no new developments on this, so to speak, at this stage.

R That's coming is it? It will be out in another month, or so?

S I hope in a couple of weeks. I've done an editor on the Minister's trip and thats down with them again now, and then all we've got to do is put it together. I think we now have in all the reports, maybe we might have one missing, but I think we have all the reports from the working groups, so we should be able to get that out.

R That's good. So you'll send us a copy. What I would like to talk about, to begin with, is just precisely the sort of things you were discussing at morning tea with (the head of department) which relate to funding and accounting and so on; for I imagine these matters take up a fair bit of your time? -- and then go on to talk about matters which relate to how you see the College developing -- your perspective.
S Well, increasingly less. My attitude is that anything that is specifically related to the vocational programme, where there are departmental guidelines on allocation of finances to courses and where bodies of new capital equipment get approved through the system down there, I take no part in it at all. That is, as far as I'm concerned, it is totally delegated to (the head of Department) and then the administration of the subsequent financial operation is totally to be taken over by (the Registrar). It would seem to me to be extremely unproductive, in fact even probably counter-unproductive, to poke my nose into that. That's their job and they do that. That is, as far as I'm concerned, totally delegated. Where we have a situation like this, where there is something outside the system, well, ultimately, I'm going to have to carry the can. They would always refer it to me and I would make some sort of decision related to what we can do. I take responsibility for something like that. This would always be, of course, in a case like that, that decision of saying right we spend $150.00 on some tools, that would of necessity be conditional of (the Registrar) saying there is $150.00 of actual cash. Later on, where we distribute this to is something that we work out and if we get into trouble, then I have to talk the department round and that's that.

R O.K. But generally speaking on matters of the running of the trade training courses that are going on at the moment, when the buck stops, it tends on those matters to stop at Greg.

S Right. As far as I can see he has total responsibility for that. Except in so far as certain policy things go. I discuss policy matters in vocation training with the Education Department. But I then refer them immediately back to (the head of department) and try and keep him in touch as much as I can with what events are occurring. Some of the correspondence for the department comes directed to me. In all such cases, I would either refer it to (the Department head) for comment for an answer for me to give, or refer to him for total action; but would not normally take any action solely on my own initiative in relation to a vocational course. As far as possible I would encourage him to undertake the whole operation from then on.

R Does that also mean that when tutors want to know about matters which concern them, the person they contact is the head of Department?
Interview Protocols

Tutors wouldn't come to me on any matters concerned with teaching in the vocational area. Unless it was some sort of policy matter where they felt it was going to have to go to a higher level for solution. Take for example, this course for motor vehicle operators. Now this is being conducted by 'tutor-x', who has been doing all the thinking and leg-work and so on in this. Now he and I have discussed this and an issue came up about his time. He was saying that he's getting a lot of commitments and in what way can he get some time relief. Now, in a case like this, I would make a policy decision. Then the point I made to him is that in organising this he would have to work through (the head of department). That I don't commit this, I make the recommendation that this is an appropriate way for him to be spending his time, conditional upon (the head of department) being able to organise the distribution of the tutor's time in that area according to the needs of the trade training programme, because he is employed to teach fitting and turning in the trade training programme and therefore this is the first call on his time. So, if he is involved with me on a one to one basis in another aspect of the college's development, any reference to this other side, must go through (the head of department), because he is responsible for organising all the training programme. I think that would be a reasonable example of the sort of situation that tutor-x and I are working one to one on the basis of this course, but any way in which it peripherally affects his job in the vocational training course must be referred back to the head of department.

And if he says well look we need the capacity of tutor-x in teaching this, then we've got to look again at it, because I would then accept that, so there would then be two possible decisions. One is to replace him on his teaching programme, with someone part-time to give him the capacity, or bring someone part-time to take over what he is doing on this. So those would be the two decisions. The

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<tr>
<td>Establishing 'proper' channels of communication.</td>
<td>(Is delegation to HOD as 'total' as stated? If delegation is total, then what should communication channels be? - [follow-up].)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>I8</td>
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<tr>
<td>A formulae for creating procedures.</td>
<td>This has implications for distribution of tasks, as in next comment.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>I7</td>
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<td>(To what extent is this just an ad hoc arrangement, and what indication is there of the proposed (reported) procedure being applied to others?)</td>
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<td>12/7</td>
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<td>Specification of a tutors 'official' goals.</td>
<td>(A connection here between goals and an arrangement for their implementation) (G - I).</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gl</td>
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<td>Reiteration of the procedure for implementing new/emergent goals.</td>
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<td>The possibility of constraints on goals and how to deal with these internally (G - I).</td>
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former of those decisions would involve the head of departments approval, because he would have to accept a part-timer coming in. The latter one I would deal with unilaterally, because it wouldn't affect his programme at all. So this would go ahead independently.

R That's pretty straightforward in that case then.

S But also in a case like this, I have totally delegated this to tutor-x. He came forward with the original idea, so he's called all the meetings, he's made all the contacts and everything else, so I haven't interfered at all. He keeps me informed of what he is doing all the time. This is the only thing I request in this sort of case. I don't want to be active in it, but I want to know what's happening, and so he informs me of everything that's happening and if there's letters that he decides are better gone out over my signature, then we put them out over my signature, but he carries it right through until the time of presenting it for official request and then it will switch back to me.

R Did the tutor take the initiative in suggesting this to you?

S Yes. Yes, it was his initiative in the beginning.

R O.K. How often does it work the other way around?

S Well, I don't know. I think the only example we've got so far of the other way around is I had a request from Port Ahuriri School P.T.A. for a course on household maintenance. How to stop doors sticking, windows sticking, change tap

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**Interview Protocol**

Washers, wire a three-pin plug, various things of this sort. Now, what I did in that case is down at morning tea when the builders (tutors) were there and I looked can one of you guys take over organising a course like this because there's interest in it. They all looked interested. But they're flat stick, they've got no spare capacity. So then tutor-y took on the responsibility of running this course, to see if we could locate someone outside to take on the organisational responsibility for setting up a course. To locate a plumber -- we discussed the electrician down there -- to discuss the sort of thing he might put into this and so on. If there had been some slack time in the building for our building tutors here, I would have then handed that over to Jeff to organise.

R Rather than going through the Department Head?

S No. It sort of isn't quite as formally linked as that, because it was done in an informal way. But I would say, look, you do this but we'll have to check it out with (the department head) first, because you can only do this if he agrees in terms of disposition of manpower internally. So I would take it up directly with the guy concerned; but then we wouldn't reach any commitments as to his allocation of time without consulting the (head of department) and having his approval.

R What it seems is happening is that you are operating on an informal basis. The place is small enough to do this. To what extent do you expect that the way the College now runs will have to become more formal, as the place gets bigger?

S I think that the organisation control will tend to change somewhat when the Community education head arrives. You see, at the moment, all requests and so on, on that side are channelled directly through me and I'm the only person whose in a position to be able to do anything about them. But I think when the other (head) comes in we'll probably develop a committee or a working group for considering, the disposition of time and so on in community education programme.

**Annotations**

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<tr>
<td>Involving tutors and distributing the work.</td>
<td>I2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Absence of a formal procedure - reliance on informal relationships at this stage.</td>
<td>I7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reiteration of a procedural intention (Does he do as he says?)</td>
<td>I7</td>
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<td>(Implied here is decision about resource allocation which links A - GA - I).</td>
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<td>A boundary role, linking the Community College with the Community.</td>
<td>A5</td>
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<td>Intention to institute a formal procedures - At this stage J.H. is carrying the plan 'in his head' (How (effectively) does he communicate it to others later) (I9)</td>
<td>I7</td>
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<td>(A means to delegate 'boundary spanning work' to others) (1-A)</td>
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But I don't envisage at all this getting totally outside this sort of informal contact of ideas coming through and talked round informally.

R Do you think that by continuing the way you operate now people will get used to it and will continue this way?

S Well, I hope it will because I would be very uncomfortable operating totally within a formal system; even if the show gets big, I wouldn't see that side of it going. I mean, it's partly a matter of whether when you want to talk to someone you've got three alternatives, you can say, well, we'll wait till there's a meeting of the such and such group and we'll put that on the agenda, or you can find them out and say come round I want to talk about this to him, or you can walk out of your office and go along and see him wherever he is. There's three ways of making contact. I prefer the last - its just a matter of personal style I guess. And I hope that will continue, even when the place is larger. But clearly there will be certain things that have to become more systematised. You see, at the moment, any community education courses were running are just one off things that we're trying to get off the ground one by one. Now towards the end of the year we'll be setting up a programme for next year, we'll have a prospectus and so on, indicating courses running at various stages through the year. Now clearly the organisational necessities for that are very different from saying we're going to have a women's day this week, or we're going to have a ten week course on early childhood, or something, as a try out, because we've got to get to the stage once we actually have our own full time tutors of

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**Annotations**

**(Genesis of basic policy in relation to Adaptation and Goals -- and how ideas about programmes (goals) might be generated through the operation of informal networks -- there being some indication of this in operation from previous comments)**

S preferred method of relating to other internally.

(Is this sufficient basis on which to run the College -- will 'informal contacts' give way to formal arrangements?) (17).

3 alternatives for communicating with each other.

The preferred communication style.

Foreshadowing systematisation.

An ad-hoc procedure for implementing goals.

The implementation of a formal procedure (I) as dependent on the appointment of full-time staff members (A).

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**Note**

1. A perceived requirement to conduct C.E. programmes without first, clarifying objectives (purpose) -- check on effects of this?

2. Goal setting and implementation taking priority over/consequences for Adaptive Strategy e.g., use of part-time tutors. Raises issue of how to utilize/deploy staff to meet demands for courses in short-term.
deploying their time and saying that you're spending so many hours actual teaching, or so many hours organising, better get something of that sort going. But we can't really get that going properly until next year.

R At the moment my guess is you're carrying the can almost totally on the community studies side. I'll come back to that. Do you know this notion of some sort of corporate identity, or corporate community college entity that has been bounced around by people like Bill Renwick, Denny Garrett and to some extent, yourself. Do you see my statement as being reasonably accurate?

S Which statement?

R The statement about a corporate identity.

S I'm not quite sure what you mean by a corporate identity.

R Well, let's get at it another way. The perception that the blokes out there, the tutors and the vocational training side have at the moment of this college to me seems to be specifically related to what they are in fact doing and that's how they define the college. Is this how you see it at the moment and does that matter terribly much?

S It's not quite how I see it at the moment. I know that their actual work commitment is specifically in this area, but at the informal level I think they get involved in quite a bit of discussion outside that. For example, not just from here, but through their wives. At least two of the staff wives were present at the women's day thing, which is a community education programme and I presume there was feedback at home in relation to that. Immediately I suggest a proposition like this household maintenance one, there is considerable enthusiasm expressed by the people for operating this sort of thing. There's always a fair amount of interest shown in say things like the May vocation drama programme. The extent a vocational tutor is interested in community education depends on the extent to which they are concerned with their own specialist work and their position within the decision making structure, which at the moment...
is totally concerned with trade training, or the extent to which one's talking about their informal interest and informal concern, which I thought would have been quite high on the community education side.

R I really can't say anything definitive on that because I haven't seen enough blokes to talk about it.

S I mean their role at the moment is totally on the trade side. That is quite true and that's what they're employed to do.

Some of these cross relationships will build up. When we get the Art and Carft side going these are perhaps trivial levels, but they're indications of a contact and awareness.

R So it's the kind of beginning in an involvement. What then are the appointments

S Peter McMeaking, head of the department, geographer, therefore in association with the environmental studies side and a strong interest in drama. Para Matchett in Arts and Craft, Maori, those two sort of areas. Peter Williams, music and some interest in various other areas that he would like to follow up, particularly in the creative sciences, and Faye Dean, where we see her particularly in relation to the pre-school exercise, which is going to be quite a major concern and also the possibility of pulling inputs and looking at questions of human relations programmes, and in addition to this, I envisage her also possibly making contact with some of the youth organisations, particularly on the girls side and putting us in the position of knowing a little bit more about some of these so-called drop-out routes and what-not.

R Do you envisage that, say, she, for example, will actually run courses, or that she'll be more engaged in setting up courses?
Both. She must run a certain number of courses. We can't afford to have at this stage any tutors who are not concerned with teaching as a major activity. We've made this clear to people. Although they're going to have quite an organisational responsibility in the first year or two, they can't be just organisers. This was the thing with a lot of our applicants for various posts. In a sense, what they all wanted to be was heads of department. Even if they weren't necessarily applying for it there were a lot of people who had a sort of broad background in adult education and interest in community education. Well, you can't staff your whole operation all with people with this broad background, who are going to be good at organising a total layout of an outreach exercise.

You only need one guy in that direction and that's Peter McMeaking, and so once you appointed him, you've got to then look for your other people for something much more specific, so this is why we... incidentally, we have a fifth one that we just got a reference in on this morning as a result of an interview in Vancouver and this is confidential talk, because we haven't recommended an appointment yet, but this will be a man who will teach vocational English and creative writing.

That's interesting. Do these appointments arise exclusively and directly out of Form 75?

No. Not at this stage. This is still our first round, so to speak. The next round are going to arise out of that. This round is arising out of our advertisement delineating about a dozen possible areas and then just looking at a combination of people and areas of work, without saying look we're definitely going to appoint him to different areas, but gradually we work down through it and the appointment this first time round has become a process rather than an

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actual individual decision that work something like this: - you first of all
go for your head of department - right so we decided to appoint Peter McMeakin
so because he's a geographer and therefore would have the capacity to make the
links on the environmental side, we say there is now much less significance in
getting someone on the environmental side .. and so even though some quite good
people are there, you at least preliminary push them aside. O.K. So, then you
start looking at another category and you start off with the maori side and you
see who there is on this side and you find that one of the maori applicants is
clearly the best person also in arts and crafts and so you say right we appoint
him without a second decision. And so, you've now got arts and crafts covered.
You've got a maori on the staff, you've got environmental side study, you also
know that this guy also happens to be interested in drama, so it immediately
starts to anyone who has those as their dominant interests, even though they are
still quite good, tend to become a second consideration. And then you say,
well look there's some areas that we must go on. We must on something on
pre-school. We have no women appointees yet and so I felt it important that
we get at least some balance. I wouldn't have seen our first round of appoint­
ments finishing up with either no maori, or no woman.

R Can I ask why?

S There are a number of both practical and symbolic reasons why. On the maori side
in practical terms, your chances of making effective contact with the maori
people are pretty slim if you don't actually have a maori on the staff. You
can make this on the symbolic side, the fact that we appoint a maori is symbolic
evidence of our desire to recognise ethnic minorities as part of the system,
so it's a combination of both practical and symbolic things. The practical
one is perhaps less significant on the womens side, the symbolic one is
perhaps more important in that given the state of play at the moment, in terms
of womens' organisations, I think that our credibility as a college claiming to
serve the needs of women as a major objective, which is one of the objectives
I've always stated in my four special groups. Our credibility would be very
much less if we went through the round of first appointments and didn't get a

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| (On the face of it this appears to be an ad-hoc approach to recruit­
ment and selection with no developed rationale -- refer back to the F.S.
and discuss further with S). | | | |
| Using teaching-knowledge areas as appointment criteria - thus a
connection with goals | | A2 | |
| (Note: no reference to purposes (interests) that will be served;
This still requires clarification and goals are still being conceptu­
alised in terms of functions i.e. courses to be offered! So what?
Well, this way of proceeding may unwittingly lead the C.C. to develop
every which way, with loss of control over direction? What is S's
conception of the C.C. such that he can develop it in the direction of
acquiring a distinctive character (See Selznick on this) Does the
Continuing Ed. mission help sort this out? How/How not? | | G3 | |
| Identification of a task-environment | | A3 | |
| The implicit goal being that of meeting the educational needs of the
Maori. | | G3 | |
| An aspect of the legitimisation of
C.C. in the Hawkes Bay Community. | | A4 | |
| Again the implicit goal being that of meeting the educational needs of
women (the question remains, however need to do what?) | | G3 | |
woman on the staff. I think that one just needs this. Not at all costs. We would not and we agreed this in the council. We discussed this in council and I put a strong case for a certain representation of minority groups like the Maoris and women on the staff and it was generally agreed that this was appropriate, but only in the context of having a good applicant.

So we wouldn't have just appointed a maori, or just appointed a woman at any cost just to get one on the staff. As I say, if you look at this appointment as a process, it starts to push you in certain directions in considering which application you are going to take most seriously.

R I can see a parallel there with the head of department and the way he considers appointments in terms of ... if I can get a guy whose an electronics man and he's an electrician, but he also has a trade certificate in carpentry, then he's going to get preference, given a level of competence, he's going to get preference over someone else because he can spread across a number of domains. Is that part of your appointment policy early on?

S But, I will continue to give emphasis to getting more woman on the staff and more maoris on the staff. And also the next time round more young people on the staff. One of the problems at the moment, on the Community Ed side, is that we don't really have enough positions to gamble too strongly on getting some young bright person, which I'd like to do next time round. We had one in line here before you came along, who was an applicant. Actually we had a couple who were applicants, but I felt that too much depended upon personal capacity for people to get out into the grass-roots area and typically a young person who is just out of university, or just out of ... or just started teaching, has not had the possibility to do this and to discover whether or not they have this capacity. Next time round, I'd like to take a risk on a couple of young people who look bright. I think it will be important, but I didn't feel we could do it this time round.

R Fair enough. Getting back to the areas of appointment, it seems that you're talking about needs of women in the community, the needs of the maori and other ethnic groups ... and what were the others?
S I have two others that I usually point out. One is the needs of the rural community and the other is the need for coping with the drop-out situation.

R So in fact, we could think of these as statements of priority?

S Yes. But no absolute priority because there are other sorts of priorities. The need to provide for basic vocational training is a sort of supreme priority, so to speak, in the sense that this is part of what we're set up for. There is if you like a sort of paradigm of needs that one has in the back of one's mind that aren't going to totally dominate it, but in thinking this through, one keeps reminding oneself that these things exist and sort of keep a check on yourself that you're not getting to the stage where you're ignoring these.

R O.K. That leads me to another question. It seems that when you're talking about your paradigm of needs here, they are related to considerations of value, or ideology on the one hand. What about operational considerations? Let me give an example and see where it takes us. Were you in fact to make an appointment on the community studies side - community education side - and I guess that distinction over time you would like to see disappear, between the vocational education and community education.

S Well, I want to see it blurred. I don't think it's practical to extinguish it. I think I'd like to see it blurred.

R Were you to make an appointment on the community education side that had clear links with people in the vocational education, would that in fact serve this purpose of making visible to the tutors over there a practical ongoing course that's in some way, or another, allied or related to what they're going?

S I think you've got to distinguish between two things here. One is links between vocational training and community education and the other links between technical trade training and community education, because after all if you take an early
childhood course, this is vocational training. A high proportion of people taking this are going to be people who want to be play centre supervisors. Who are going for their certificate for play centre supervisors, and even though they're not necessarily, well they do get paid, don't they to some extent, that is in my view, a vocational course. Blurring distinction. Now, of course, the guys in the workshop mightn't see it quite in those lines unless it was specifically put to them in this way, but lets make no mistake that it is a vocational course. So those linkages will develop. The ones between the straight trade side and the community side are a little bit more difficult to see again from the other point of view, when they've got the farmers coming in next month on farm welding, they probably think of that as not in fact a community education course, but an extension of vocational course. From my point of view it's a community education course. Well, it's a sort of blurred area which I'm wanting to find and so you may find that the perceptions from their side will reclassify what we're doing so that it doesn't appear that there's a distinction there, if you get what I mean.

That is a course that comes from this side and is really vocational, they will tend to classify as community education. A course from that side which is really an aspect of community education, they will tend to perceive it as a vocational course, and so you may find their perceptions making this distinction, even when bridges are being made. But there are other areas where cross-overs will occur, you see, the accounting area is one. It was stated when we appointed our accounting man, one of the things we expected him to do was develop, and he showed a strong interest in this, courses on budgeting and that sort of thing, low level accounting for various sort of interest groups, such as club treasurers and so on, as well as doing the professional accounting programme, and this will undoubtedly occur.

R This guy's been appointed has he?

S He's taken on the 4th August, at tutor 3. One of our problems on this general community education side at the moment is that you've got to buy everyone in at a high level, and this is one thing that worries me in relation to relation-
ships within the college. We've got virtually all the trade tutors at tutor 1 and all your community education tutors coming in at tutor 2 and tutor 3. It's one of the realities of life I'm afraid, that one can't afford to ignore, partly because each of the community education tutors, I think I said a while ago, is almost the head of a department, in the sense that they've got to take responsibility for opening up a complete field; whereas the trade tutors are in fact working within a closely defined system, and I'm a little unhappy about this differentiation, but we've just got to see it through it we're going to get the good people on the community education side. It will change a bit I think when we get the second round of appointees, when we get some younger people coming in at the tutor 1 level, but this is a pattern with technical institutes. Your accounting people are always at the high level. Motor trade people are at the lower level, because that's just the state of the market. I think that part of it is that we never in the day to day operation, for example, when we put out our prospectus, there was no reference made to whether people were tutor 2 or tutor 3. In the publicity in the paper of a new appointee, we don't specify the level. It's just a tutor in community education and so I think that while disguising, while not attempting to disguise the level, we just don't treat as a relevant thing.

R In the long run, do you see that as a continuing problem?

S I think that the problem will change from both ends in that as the operation gets bigger on the trade side and the structure build up, there will be more positions of responsibility at higher levels and as the community education side develops, it will tend to grow down. In the sense that you'll spread out to more people at the lower levels, and so I think that in terms of a process that the technical side starts on a broad low level and as it expands will create senior positions in a sort of pyramidal form, the community education side because its basic job initially is to organise the programme, starts off with the top of the pyramid and would gradually expand out to produce its base. I suspect the base will never be as wide as the .. will never go as far down as trade side and probably the trade side will narrow off more than the other side. I would expect the two pyramids to become closer to one another. What we've got at the moment on the trade side effectively is the base of a pyramid and a peak. On the other side, what we've got at the moment is a peak. Now gradually, as time goes on,
Interview Protocol

this will tend to get filled in. Although it will probably become a structure, something like that, and also this will tend to fill out, but it won't quite fill out like that, it will probably fill out something like this, and of course a lot of these people lower in the pyramid are going to be part time. This is the community education and this is the vocational education. The pyramids will probably look something like that. Whereas on this side a lot of the part timers will probably tend to come in higher up, because they'll be, say, people in specialised areas of accounting, business studies and so on. The part-timers here will be providing our basic backlog, so therefore, the actual permanent appointments to staff will always tend to be more senior on this side.

R O.K. That gives a picture there. Can we get back onto you at the moment, and what you're doing. Since last time I saw you, what things have you been doing?

S Well, I would say I spend probably the largest proportion of my time in what I would loosely call public relations. That is explaining to people what we're trying to do, and if possible getting feedback, and so I'm speaking to something like four, or five, I think, organisations a week, usually at night, and a lot of the time, substantial chunks of the day are involved with people coming in, sometimes ostensibly to discuss ideas, sometimes trying to feel out what we're doing and so on, and phone calls of this sort.

R So you're playing the sort of front man role?

S Yes. This is by fare the predominant aspect of the role at the moment. It's just hard off-hand to think of the sort of details of what one does.

R What about activities down with the chaps in the shops? Are you taking courses down there, or participating?

S Well, I'm participating a little. Of course, another major aspect is the various sorts of correspondence. This ranges from the level of official circulars and official things that have to be responded to in this way, through to the bulk of it, which ranges from say a specific enquiry about staff position and general enquiries about what we're doing. The other thing, that up until recently I've been spending a substantial amount of time, in rating these early staff appointments, which are not out of the way, of course. It's hard to differentiate from

Outlining the manner in which the hierarchical structure is likely to develop (the A-L relationship is explicitly) and its character.

Boundary spanning and P.R. A5

Routine administrative task I5
from the public relations front man aspect, and the requests that are coming in for particular courses. I have a little heap here which I keep turning over and some of these on the run. For example, this is the pre-school course, which I'm trying to get a part-time man to start before Fay Dean comes here. I just keep on turning over this heap, trying to remind myself of the various commitments some of them rash, that I have made, that we might get something going. We have the August holiday programme at Maranui School, and we've got to have a meeting shortly to discuss this. Then we had a request from ecology action for a symposium on ecological issues and so on. We're setting out a programme for helping adult non-readers to provide the tutoring of the tutors, which Massey has previously done and now they think they can do locally, so we will sponsor them to try it out. The development of community workers course; all these things are again taking up a fair amount of my time and this is one of the aspects that I won't totally relinquish when Peter McMeaking comes, because I think probably I will continue to play an interest in some of the ... I think probably Peter will get more involved in the ongoing formal systems of programmes, whereas I'll probably keep involved in the ad-hocary of the situation.

R And I guess that's something you'll negotiate when he gets here?

S Yes. Well, that's partly a temperamental thing too. I think probably, when I go to ad-hocary ....

R It seems significant that in fact Peter has chosen to come here and in face he told me this and he knows John Harre from way back, and vice versa. Is that a good omen?

S We know what each others strengths are, and weaknesses and this is partly why I was keen to get Peter here as I know what Peter does well. What he does well happens to be what I'm not so good at.

R In a nutshell, what is it that he does well, in your view?

S What he does particularly well is to take a programme, a suggested idea and translate it into a systematic series of objectives and organisations and prepare it in such a way that it can be sold to people and it can be organised and to actually operate. His particular value is to make things operational,
and from my point of view that's his particular strength. He also has ideas as well, but his particular strength is his ability to make things operational and this is what we need.

R He talked to me about the extramural studies programme they operate at U.S.P. and that seemed quite complex and impressive.

S Yes, because that was the aspect of his background that particularly interested us. Of all the applicants that we had for the head of department job, he was, I think the only one that had clear evidence of his capacity to actually run something complex like this. There were lots of people who had lots of interest had lots of enthusiasm and experience in running odd particular courses, but the actual organisational experience, which is going to be important...

R He had demonstrable competence in other words?

S You see when you're starting off a new development, it's very difficult to find people with demonstrable competence. We got one or two applications from university extension departments within New Zealand, but nothing very substantial. This was one of the things that surprised me. I thought we might have attracted someone who already had an assistant director's job, or even possibly a director of extension services, from one of the universities. I thought one of them might be interested in moving over.

R Yes. Most of them have got professional status, I think.

S have they. That's sort of been upgraded somewhat since I was in the system and therefore it obviously wouldn't be attractive for them to move over. So we tended to get a lot of training college head of departments and people with head of department status, or near head of department status in the technical institute field. Our main choice came from teachers colleges, technical institutes, secondary schools. Those were the main areas of applications.

R What strengths have you got that you see as being complimentary to the strengths you have just described Peter as having?
I think I'm better at relating to people sort of informally in a public scene. I think that I can generally in front of a meeting get communication going, I think I can relate to a number of different levels. I'm equally happy talking to, as I did last night, to the St. Augustine Family Fellowship Group, a sort of mother union group, or to, as I did last week, to two rotary clubs. I find it relatively easy to make contact, and I enjoy thinking things through on my feet and I'm prepared to be, I think, reasonably rash in a productive sense, which I don't think Peter is. I think he's more cautious in these things. I think probably that ones got to have a certain amount of rashness at this stage, otherwise the thing doesn't move.

So you see that as being important in the setting up of the place?

Yes. I mean some things are probably going to kick back, but I'm prepared to be a little bit reckless and stick my neck out on some things. Like this bundle of things here, some of these are going to kick back on me, I know, where I've said vaguely to people, yes, we'll probably get something in a couple of months going on this; well, we're not, but, we are in fact going to get a number of things going, and so I think it's going to be worth it. So I think I'm probably prepared to gamble a little more on these things ... I think the other thing is that I have, to be totally immodest, I think I have some standing in the community at large. I mean nationally as well as locally and I think this is accepted by a number of people, and therefore this gives me a certain advantage in getting across.

Yes, I suspect you're right. You TV programmes probably hold you in good standing?

Yes. This, in fact, is quite true, and so I think this does affect the operation quite a bit.

O.K. That sort of defines one part of the setting up operation. What other kind of nitty gritty problems have you had to cope with? For instance, I look around the place and all these buildings are still only partly completed.

We begged the problem on the building somehow, that it was convenient to slow up our appointments because of organisational time to get the processing of so many

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<td>L2</td>
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<td>So you see that as being important in the setting up of the place?</td>
<td>The Directors approach to the establishment of task environments and clientele - somewhat opportunistic. (Adaptive strategy).</td>
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<td>The interaction of building construction and personnel appointment in setting up the C.C.</td>
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applications done and of course, it just matched in with the fact that the buildings were the people were going to go weren't ready anyway, and so it fitted in with the whole dampening down process. Some of this may be rationalisation on my part, but no altogether I don't think, which also fitted in with my feeling that I should become much more integrated into the community and know much more about it before we started taking off in too many directions. The same applies to the other people coming in on the staff from outside. So, in a sense the building was a bit of a problem, but in a sense they've also relieved us of the necessity to go ahead too quickly. If we'd been presented on February 1st, as we were promised, with the whole complex that you now see struggling to completion, because it would have put considerable pressure on us to get everything going. Everyone saying, look it's all there, why aren't you operating, and it would have made this a rather botchy action year, instead of a think, slight action year, on the community education side, which I think ultimately is going to be to our advantage. I think the fact that by one way or another we've had to give more reflection and the pace has been slower, as I say this may be a rationalisation, I don't know, but I think in practice it's been not too bad a thing.

R One or two of the chaps, and again it's only one or two, because that's all I've talked with, have commented about the sorts of difficulties. For instance, in the carpenters shop, they've had in terms of coming into the place when the floor wasn't down ....

S Oh yes. On that side they've had a lot of difficulties. And if this had been a place dominated by an organisation like the P.P.T.A., they probably wouldn't have let us open and we really only got open because of the good will of the tutors we had. Everyone was sufficiently interested and concerned about getting the thing going, that although they had had inconvenience, they got going. Yes. I was talking to Dick about the community education side. On the trade side, there have been intense difficulties related to the development. The whole fitting and turning operation is in some jeopardy because of the slow arrival of major equipment. We were just not ready to open the trade courses when we did. In fact we delayed some of them a week, or a fortnight, but the place was just not equipped to open and it was just because we all thought and everyone was sufficiently excited about the enterprise to feel it worth while going ahead, that they went in and the guys have carried this load without complaining.

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<td>A4</td>
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<td>Delays with completion of buildings providing an opportunity to set C.E. goals.</td>
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<td>Other effects of building delays - difficulties and dissatisfactions.</td>
<td>L2</td>
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<td>The costs of becoming operational - difficulties/frustrations (follow this up in tutor interviews).</td>
<td>L3</td>
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<td>Positive effects.</td>
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R Have there been any tangible disadvantages, apart from the difficulty of actually doing the job, are there any other outcomes that are disadvantageous in some sense. Do you perceive any? Has it for instance, generated any ill feeling, or negative attitude, or that sort of thing?

S I don't think so. Not that's come through to me. Some people are unhappy with some of the things, but I think we have a particularly unique collection of people on the staff, who just don't happen to be the sort who get that way about things. I think that this is totally without exception. We have some people who are particularly responsive like ..., as Maintenance Engineer who digs in on all sorts of things. The way in which they've helped between shops, where the carpenters have put in the underfloor service for the motor mechanics and so on. In my view we have a quite remarkable set of people and this has made this have a minimum effect. I mean I think you could have envisaged a different group of people where this would have made quite a major effect, but I just do believe that we have this..

R Can this be traced back to selection, or appointment policy, or is it a fortuitous event?

S Well, I suppose it's a bit of both. I don't know. I suppose that partly it's fortuitous in that a number of these people came across relatively automatic from the school system. Partly, I think it is the fact that we're going to be a different organisation probably attracted a different sort of person getting interested. All I know, is that's how it is and this applies right through the the ancillary staff, everything. There just isn't an exception to this rule.

R I'm just wondering. There is a question to do with the allocation of funds and equipment and I don't know whether they're important and whether there is any incipient sort of conflict that might come out of this?

S I think there are no conflicts with the allocation of funds at the moment, because the funding system is open ended. On the trade side, it's over entirely to the head of department to organise this and he's done, not so much in terms of distributing a scarce resource amongst conflicting interests, but making cases for particular items and they're not approved in terms of whether, or not the

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<td>Allocation of resources internally - lack of conflict. (A - L).</td>
<td>A6</td>
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electricians should have something, or the motor mechanics should have something, that they each get approval within their own system. So if the motor mechanics side want some particular piece of equipment a justification statement is made and this goes to Wellington to be looked at by Charlie Callaghan and if he recommends, then the sum is laid aside and it in no way affects whether, when the carpenters put in for another draw floor they get that, because the things just aren't lined up in that way at the moment in the state of our organisation and the budgetary heads that refer overall again, we have a general feeling that we're open ended, that we go beyond this, then they're going to look favourably on increasing these, because they're just a stab in the dark that someone took anyway.

R Hence your comment to the head of department this morning about buying tools, or whatever it was, it's a matter.. you in fact go over your allocational order, break some norm, or ruling of the Department?

S I've got a fair chance of getting away with it. It's worth a gamble. I don't know what it means if you don't get away with it, but it's a fait accompli. It's the only way to play it.

R Are there any areas in which you've bashed your head against a brick wall with people in government, the Ministry of Works, or the Education Department over issues that have arisen in the college that need resolution in some way?

S The first big problem we had was on the translation process where this was very difficult, both in terms of the time they took to make the decision and the way in which they made the decision they made. I think in the end the tutors got a reasonable deal. I think most of them, although they pushed fairly hard, some of them beforehand, for a different deal, I think in practice they pretty generally accepted the deal they got, and I think in general look ahead, looking just not at the moment of translation, but looking ahead, I think that will come over now as a fair view. The one possible exception is Joan O'Brian and we have a recommendation tucked away in the back of he-file that we will look at her promotion at the end of the year. We do intend doing this. This has been discussed... Begg and so on. This is obviously totally confidential,
but we have it in mind to promote her again at the end of the year. One of the reasons she has personal difficulties in dealing with staff members, so therefore one, with another sort of personality one might have pushed right at the beginning for this, I think we want to see how it's working out during the year. There have been during the year one or two problems which ...

R Who is this person Begg?

S She's the person at the sort of middle level in the department whose responsible throughout New Zealand for the secretarial courses and ladies hairdressing courses. She's under the Director of Technical Education and I don't know whether they call them inspectors. I think they might call them inspectors, but they don't in fact inspect, but they come round and advise and they .. if we put an application in for a new typewriter for the secretarial course, well it gets referred to her, and she justifies, or not and then goes back to the Director.

R Can I switch from that one over to the business of buildings again and problems of design and construction.

S Well, this is totally out of our hands, of course in the early stages, in that the whole first complex of buildings including this four storey, came before I was involved. One of the first things I did was to get a total reorganisation of the inside of these and the extension of one at the end there to complete the quadrangle. This took an awful long time and we got it. When you say what problems we had, we got it, we got it exactly how we wanted it, including the expansion, so I guess it wasn't a problem. It just took some effort to battle your way through some of the bits and the same thing applied to the four storey. The four storey building is a highly inefficient building, but by various devious means in relation to the Ministry of Works, which is inappropriate to discuss, we will in fact get a building we want. The final outcome is going to be pretty much how we want it, but it's a bit messy in between.

R In a sense, the barn you're stuck with?

S For instance, the matter of the door which slides on the inside and the fact that you can't put a mezzanine up ... one of the chaps was telling me about it...

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<td>(Note This reference to J. O'B connects with G.G.'s comments about interpersonal crisis at Te Awa - follow-up)</td>
<td>L2</td>
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<td>Preoccupation with building construction - negotiations with MOW to redesign internal layout to render compatible with educational functions -- with what effect?</td>
<td>A1</td>
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S Well, you can put a mezzanine up. They’ve got a mezzanine up, but the whole sitting of the thing pushed over to that side, has given very little flexibility in how the barn can be expanded. Part of it is just a cost factor, they might just have put in another door. The education department pays for it.

R So there are no kind of fundamental problems in that sense?

S No. There’s no fundamental problems that can’t be solved. As say the crowding of the buildings over into this corner, seems to me unwise. It’s disappointing that they didn’t conceive a complete architectural entity and design the college ... One thing that the Ministry of Works here was geared to do locally and probably could have done and got it built as soon as this pot-pourri of standard buildings was put up. No – there have been no fundamental blocks. There is total goodwill down in Wellington towards what we’re doing. This is not just at the verbal level either, they’re actually putting their money where their heart is so to speak. They are actually approving things.

R And the sort of people you’re talking about I guess start with Renwick, Garrett and involve others as well.

S Sometimes you get hung up on departmental procedures, but it’s an unreal expectation not to ... to expect not to get hung up on these and we’ve had our hangups at times, but I think it’s true to say that nothing that we’ve thought important have we not got through.

R If you had your way, how would you see the place being built? What sort of steps would it go through and would they be different from the way it has in fact been constructed that would make life easier in setting up the college.

S If instead of having this panic of having to get the thing off the ground, if they’d got some of the people who were actually going to be concerned with the development of the college, the principal and so on appointed sometime beforehand and planned an integrated set of buildings, then this would have made both aesthetically and in a practical term so much more satisfactory complex, but probably that’s a politically unreal thing to expect. That would have made the thing better in organisational terms and I’ve been advising this in relation to the next community colleges, that they should appoint the registrar at least
as soon as the principal, possibly before. Although that gets into a problem of whether you've got a person you can work with, and so on, but I think that when the interim council is set up, rather than having an acting secretary, there is a case for appointing the registrar at that time. I think we'd have been much further ahead in some things if we'd had our registrar three months before we did. We did in fact have authority from the end of the year to appoint it, but by the time we went through the process of trying to argue out the level of the positions, we tried to unsuccessfully, and then sort of going through advertising and everything else, it all came very late, and so my personal capacity was stretched unnecessarily in the early months, because of not having a registrar. These things compound inefficiency, because I was stretched -- was one reason why we were slower in getting the registrar thing done. I feel that either the registrar should be appointed as I say, at the time of the forming of the interim council, or alternatively, and this may be the better way, that they're appointed at the same time. You have your interview for your registrar and your principal on the same day, or two days, with the principal being first -- selected first -- and then him sitting in on the final selection of the registrar and then going from there.

R Of course, had this happened here, you might not have got Jack Marshall at that point in time.

S We obviously, as you now must be aware, are very well served. We're going to have a costing system that as far as I know, no university has got, in terms of finding out what any particular operation costs. I certainly haven't worked in a university which had the capacity to providing information that Jack's system is going to provide.

R If you are asked to say in one sentence what it is, what the value of Jack's contribution will be, what would you say? In the way that you made comment about yourself and Peter McMeakin.

S Well, I think to set up .. well two things .. to set up a general office system, which is efficient and capable of satisfying all our needs, and in particular to set up an accounting system, which will not only make the day to day operation of the financial processes very effective, but will also provide information. This is what I think so few systems do, it will provide information about the
operation, which in terms of our expansion and justifying things will put us in a much, much better position than anyone else. I think that when we start getting to the stage of having to justify expansions in cost terms and this sort of thing, we're going to be so much better at this, and this is because of Jack. And then also on the general office management side we need his ability to set up systems, his ability to set up offices, which is what his skill is. ... student processing and so on. I've no doubt when this becomes more complex he'll have a system there that will cope with these things. We are extremely well served in this respect. We set up a system which is totally hand operated at the moment, but is designed so that it can be converted without altering the system to a computer operation, and there seems a possibility. We have arranged a link in with Massey computer with a console here. I gather the new Massey computer has a lot of capacity, that with the right negotiations, could probably be made available. Then we can very cheaply avail ourselves of the tremendous potential to process ....

R Yes. That's something that you would be directly negotiating - computer link-up with Massey, or wherever you're going to link it up with. Do you see that as something that you would do.

S Oh yes. I would do this. Jack would provide .. would brief me .. well, we'd do it together probably. In so far as it related to correspondence that is something that I think I would sign, in so far as the matter of going to see people, we would go as a team.

R And is that one of your priorities at the moment? How close or distant is it in the scheme of things?

S I think it's sort of middle. It's not a high priority, because we haven't got the scale of operation that makes it crucial, but I think it's not all that far distant, because I think there are certain things already we're seeing that could be done much more effectively. For example, we're trying to get out a basic mailing list, or a classified mailing list with certain types of information to go out. Already at this stage, do we buy an addressograph machine, and start doing all these sorts of things. I think not. I think that because ultimately these will be done on the computer. All this information will be stored and the addresses can be printed out on the computer and that's obviously a much

and student processing procedures and
(ii) management of procurement functions - i.e. dealings with Ed. Dept. Council and other agencies.

Link with Massey computer - an intention. Is it realised?

Instituting a work pattern - S's proposed way of working with the Registrar. -- the formation of an administrative sub-group.

This comment concerns the establishment of administrative procedures that are intended for use in controlling the operation of the College. The implementation process should be monitored in order to evaluate whether it serves the purpose for which it is intended. So follow up with: The Director, Registrar and HOD and
better way of doing it. So my feeling is that we don't do either at the moment. We're printing up stuff and then running them off ... and getting an interim stage going, but not to commit money on something that's going to be short run like an addressograph machine. I would hope that in a year or two, we'll move to computerisation of appropriate services.

I can see only positive results on this. I can't see any imposition to the system of forms that we've got to fit in according to Jack's system to maintain the financial control is at least no more onerous than any other system I've been involved in. It implies a certain amount of work on the secretarial staff. You just employ the people at the capacity to cope with this. It seems to me remarkably simple and effective system.

R O.K. Well, there are probably other matters I could talk about, John, but let's call it a day shall we. What I want to do is go away and .........
INTERVIEW WITH:

Head of Community Education Department.
11th August 1976.
R That was the transcript of what we talked about last time and I thought the two ways I could talk to you now is to recap on points that you raised in there or just to let you take up the cudgel and talk about what you're doing and how things are shaping out over the last couple of months or so - which way would you prefer to do it?

S I think if I ramble on it's likely to be confused, so I would prefer if you were to ask me a direct question on a specific area or want me to elaborate on a point that I've already made in there.

R O.K, well let me start at the back end of this because right at the end you made an interesting comment - you said "I think the danger could be that the community college could see itself as the centre of continuing education in Hawkes Bay whereas it really should see itself as the catalyst of community education" and that seemed to me to be a rather important point. Would you like to comment on that observation in the light of your experience over the last two months.

S Yes, I still think it's true but I'm working very hard at breaking that down and wherever possible when people come to me for suggestions for courses, seminars and so on, my immediate reaction is let's put it where the people are rather than automatically assume that it has got to be here, which comes as something of a surprise to some people. I get two reactions at the opposite ends of the scale. The reaction which says oh what a great idea, yes, let's put it where we are because we thought it had to be at the college; and at the other end of the scale we get the reaction which says oh no we want it at the college because we feel that everyone wants to come and have a loot at the college. Generally speaking people are happier with putting the course where either their home base is or where they think their friends are and so on rather than have them go to college. Difficult to generalize because I've made a point of going away from Taradale as much as possible in the last couple of months, so consequently we have a series of activities going on in Waipukurau instead of the Hawkes Bay college for example, apart from Peter Williams' valuable contribution as a conducted area as far as community education is concerned. Takapau is another area I visited and I think we've got things moving there, a slow start but things are moving. Dannevirke is another area I visited and there are some exciting possibilities there, I already have a group that's investigating certain courses, I'm hoping they'll feedback to me the results - that's the Rotary Club. We've
made a positive step forward in Wairoa with the establishment of a community education council which will investigate Wairoa needs and I hope act on those themselves with our support rather than expect us just to constantly feed tutors up which I think was the original conception of what the community college would be doing. A central Hawkes Bay group of ladies is currently investigating a learning exchange for central Hawkes Bay, so my emphasis has been cut away from the college although inevitably a lot has been going on here too.

R The point that sort of brings me to is the question of priorities in your own mind which in fact then provides a rationale for determining which courses you will mount and proceed with and which courses you'll shelve. Is that a problematic sort of an area?

S No it isn't really. I think the rationale is very simple and that is that the areas for a variety of reasons that have not received from the college in the past are the areas that should now get some support from the college.

R I see the point, have you worked out any way in which you can specify what those priorities might be? As a set of goals.

S No I haven't, I haven't got that far yet.

R But do you see that as something that ...

S Yes, as something that needs doing.

R Yes, O.K. you've only been here a couple of months?

S Enough time, but goals haven't yet sort of focussed themselves clearly in my mind, I'm not quite sure how you would establish priorities, do you establish priorities on the basis of geographical location, I think to an extent one should and that is the area - one of the areas I have been looking at, or do we establish them on the basis of those who in our opinion are the members of our community with the greatest need and that's a difficult one to sort out because again we can be very presumptuous and therefore incorrect in our presumption. Or do we establish them in terms of the order in which the requests come. Now I think that has been in the past, the way that things have been done, but in order to

A general priority.  
G2

Uncertainty as to what goals should be set and how? - Initiating or responding (Denny Garretts dilemma).  
G2
establish ourselves as a community college probably it was necessary to do that.
If a request comes in for a course or a seminar or for some sort of involvement
we've taken them in the order in which they've arrived, and I think that we've
got to look at another way of doing it because we're getting so many requests
that we can't possibly take them all as they come, it's just impossible.

R Yes, I guess the sort of idea that I've got going through the back of my head
if in fact the community college is to achieve some sort of distinctive character
in terms of what it does and the sort of institution that it is, then in a sense
you can't let it drift as it were, that's the point I'm making....

S I would like to see the focus on the training at a trainers level I think, I think
this is where we perform our most valuable function you know. If our effect is to
be felt over a very wide area then instead of hitting people right at the ground
level, for example with a craft course or something of that nature then we're
not achieving as much as we would if we offered a course for tutors so that they
themselves could go out and do the tutoring. I think that is where our
principal function lies. In terms of recreation which is my particular discipline
I would see us performing a far more important function in the community, if we
were to take the coaches and improve the level of the coaching at various levels
rather than take the player and coach him ourselves and that sort of rationale I
think should go through a lot of what we do. Now if we're going to reach the
non-joiner then perhaps we've got to go right down and involve that person first
in order to make them aware that the community college exists and that we're
for them rather than against them.

R What intrigues me in the way you put it then, you used the ford 'function' and
that implies to me ways of doing things and that's fair enough. If, and can I
just harp back on to the goals thing again or the objectives operational sorts
of objectives, to what extent do you see recreation the proliferation of
recreational opportunity as being an important sort of objective, is that some­
things that you would judge to be important?

S Yes, I do judge it to be important for a variety of reasons. Many people look
upon recreation or let's put it another way, look upon their spare time as the
time that perhaps needs filling. In other words, they've analysed their spare
time whereas they may not have analysed what they want to learn and so they look
at their spare time - and I think it's a common denominator throughout the

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<td>Comments on the inappropriateness of the 'first come first served' principle as a basis for deciding goals -- a possible implication being that the C.C. should begin to set-goals.</td>
<td>G3</td>
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<td>A main priority which connects with D. Garretts notion of 'training the trainers' - and a change of emphasis</td>
<td>G2</td>
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<tr>
<td>A substantive goal - Recreation Ed. (expressing goals as functions - things to do rather than as end states/qualities of living. To what extent does this help or hinder</td>
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whole community - it's much easier to persuade people if that is what we have
to do to become involved in continuing their education in a recreational area
than it is in an academic area. If we can get them involved in a recreational
area I think we get a tremendous feedback as far as the college is concerned and
this is why I would like to see some sort of recreational function in the college
so that we draw people in and then we get feedback I'm quite sure into other
classes and other activities, and I don't mean to say that all recreation has to
take place here I don't think it does. Structure some programme for coaches, it
maybe coaches or it may in fact be a badminton class, but if we could locate that
in a place where other classes are going on so that they could see other classes
then the person who came initially for a casual recreation experience may in fact
become involved in other things. And this has been shown to be the case in
Manchester for example where they structure the whole community school around an
indoor swimming pool and made the walk-ways around the outside see through glass
windows of the swimming pool, people are invited to swim as families as a
community generally, and the school saw the community swimming and the swimmers
saw the school working and an interaction grew from that, I think probably that's
one area that's well worth investigating.

R That sort of relates to this idea of making education visible.

S Yes.

R In fact these comments you're making bring to mind a whole range of points. What
I want to come back to is the question of your concern about being tied to
your desk, what you're now doing and the job you used to do in the past, but
I'll come back to those in a minute. Can I just plug in on something else, namely
the question of the way in which the community college has been designed; your
feelings about the design of this institution, the set of buildings that you've
got, the sort of facilities that are available and how these might affect the
implementation of your goals?

S I only have feelings about it at the moment, no concrete evidence. My feelings
are this, that we're very much the conventional institution. I think that our
buildings visibly reflect what the community expects an educational institution
to be like and therefore when they drive past us on the main road they see what
they expected to see in terms of a tertiary institution which is large buildings,
labelled driveways and so on and so forth. I think, in fact I know because I've
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spoken to many people that their immediate reaction is that that is a place where we're expected to go if we want to accede from it. Now how I'm going to break this down I don't know and how you could do it in redesigning a community college, I'm not quite sure. The location of a community college is important. I think I think the community college would function more successfully as a community college if we had less or fewer classrooms and were forced to look out into the community for our classrooms so that our classes, seminars and other activities were taking place in the community where people could see it operating.

R I sense there's quite a lot of pressure on to have a community college which is a visible sort of structure which people can point to and say with some sort of pride 'that's our community college'. There's a bit of a compromise there on the one hand that some people see that as being important but that gets juxtaposed against the point you've just made about the college providing a service which takes the locus of interest away from the institution itself - got any comment there? How can you marry those two sorts of aspects?

S I don't know, I think you've hit the nail right on the head - I don't know the answer to it, on how to marry them somehow. Change of attitudes in people. Change of attitudes in people, that's how you're going to get out of it. We have to persuade the people that okay, we do have an institution here but it's an open doors, continuing education institution, it's not a desk and straight lines institution, chalk and talk ... and that's why I think we've got to get at the level that they probably understand which is the informal social recreational area.

R And of course the idea of chalk and talk and blackboards tends to be the very word 'education' tends to turn a lot of people of automatically almost.

S A lot of people have had a very bad experience, in fact if we believe statistics about 50% of a failure rate of most of our community in terms of high school and for them a return to education is a return to the high school environment. Establishing a new concept, a new level of understanding about what education can be in its continuing sense is a very difficult to put over, even talking to groups directly they still won't believe you in terms of what the community college is trying to do. There's still a great deal of misunderstanding about what the college is even very locally which is where you'd expect

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<td>The effect of central buildings as one kind of constraint on the development of a 'Community' College</td>
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<td>(Note this in some counsellors attitudes)</td>
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<td>How can out-reach and on-campus approaches (goals) be rendered compatible? (L7-G3).</td>
<td>A3</td>
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<td>No well formulated solutions to this question. (A - G).</td>
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<td>Promotion of the C.C. in the community identified as a problem to be resolved - reference here to initial attempts to do this.</td>
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the highest level of understanding. I think we've made some valuable steps in this direction with the appointment of Wally and his operation at Marae and the Downtown Y and Fay's operation, and I'm hoping that Mike Collins' youth re-entry will be seen as a 'going out' rather than expecting people to come in.

R So those three people are operating predominantly out in the field?

S Yes they are, and they've got to retain that sort of role and it's important that they don't become embroiled in the internal class structure in here and I shall see that they don't, that's important.

R I was going to ask what are the implications of that for you, but we'll come back to that in a minute. I want to ask you about the design of buildings and the enhancing or inhibiting effect it has on a community education function - telephone interruption, - have you ever really given much thought to that in terms of what community education should involve?

S Yes, it's necessary to have some sort of home base to start with and a home base has got to contain the administrative element because there is one, it's a fairly weighty one. I would site it as close to the centre of population as possible, so there was little travel as possible for most people. I would assume right from the word go that that was an administrative centre only and that it wasn't a teaching centre although it may be necessary for some teaching to go on there, particularly in terms of vocational where you do need a home base if we're envisaging a community college, as we've got here, where there is a strong element of training apprentices then you need a home base, but the actual community studies and the community involvement aspect of community education I would implant in the community a number of education centres and they could be houses, church halls it doesn't matter, and these would be placed where people could enrol people could take classes on a neighbourhood basis. I'd use them as the base for my programme. I'd have them administered largely by local people so that I had local people taking enrolments, use local tutors as far as possible on a neighbourhood basis. So that instead of trying to meet the needs of the whole community I think I'd head for meeting the needs of the neighbourhood. Now there'd be some common needs. A good example of that would be our community workers course where we're training volunteer community workers where there may not be enough customers in any single neighbourhood, in which case that might be - that course might require a home base which meets the whole community. But I

Emphasising and reinforcing the outreach work pattern - potentially, at least, this could emerge as a characteristic feature of the Community Ed. Dept? (This is in support of existing C.E. tutors attitudes and aims to work in the community, e.g. F.D. P.M. R.V. and P.W.)

How things ought to be in the planning and procurement of buildings and facilities - the need for a home base.

A concept of how to attract students and work with them in the community in neighbourhoods. (Bases in the community as a way focussing of taking the C.C. to the Community - emphasis on the communities(?)) College).
think courses should meet the needs of perhaps the local thousand people who live in a neighbourhood rather than expect us to - as we're doing here - to mount a course and hope enough people come from Havelock North, Napier, Hastings and so on to get the course off the ground. I'd rather work on a much closer more intimate, homely base and I'm quite sure then that we wouldn't be getting people as we are from a particular level of the community to join in a lot of what we're offering which would be of great value to them. I think if their own people are involved in the structure of classes and in the tutoring then we'd get a higher level of involvement.

R Yes, I've often wondered about this too in terms of location of the college here at Taradale. While in some sense it is equally distant from all the other areas around and some more or less than others, it's also - well it's equally distant, it's distant....

S Yes, it has from that point of view certain advantages and it tends to negate the parochialism between Napier and Hastings. I think people do see it as neutral ground, on the other hand it does present a travelling problem and although I've not done an in depth study of our students, you only have to look through the enrolment cards to see where most of them are coming from, and that's from Taradale/Napier. We're getting very few from Hastings, even though it's a comparatively short bus ride.

R Certainly that makes your point about setting up neighbourhood centres ...

S Mmm, I think - we already have a network you see of bases in the high schools, or if you like in any school, and I think we've got to utilize that and I think that we have to if you like, brainwash local Principals first of all to the use of their school by the community, and secondly in the philosophy of community and continued education, and with the new regulations which I now hear are not coming into effect till 1977 for extension programmes in high schools which will give school principals a great deal of flexibility and will enable them to mount community education programmes which meet the needs of their own community, rather than satisfy the corridors of power in Wellington which is the present situation. If we can plug into that system and offer our support to local community education programmes based upon schools then I think that we will achieve a process throughout Hawkes Bay, because we do have expertise here, we do have professional
**Interview Protocols**

leadership here, we do have such things as the ability to produce brochures, cheaply and easily and these are the sort of things I think we'll be able to offer schools. They'll do their own ascertaining needs, their own surveys if they need to. They'll be able to offer the craft course for a minimum number of people, that's a function I don't think we should be offering.

R Well that raises the point of I guess there's a lot of work to be done in terms of setting up a network of relationships with the secondary schools.....

S Very much so.

R ... which hitherto hasn't been really touched very much.

S Although there are one or two already like Havelock High for example Port Ahuriri, Tamatea Intermediate, there are one or two schools that are now becoming involved and actually just before you cam Trevor Campbell from Port Ahuriri phoned me and said you know, I've got two courses I'd like to run because there was a localised need because of our situation to his.

R Yes I have in mind a comment by Frank Krist - have you met Frank Krist? (S Yes). And he was saying in an interview I had with him some time ago that they had something like 30% of all the eligible adults at one point enrolled in night courses in the high school. That is adults from Hastings, I guess, but what that does raise, of course, is the question of what then does the college set out to do as distinctly a college function rather than activities which can be mounted as it were in schools and which become identified with the school, with the neighbourhood, with the local area.

S I would be most reluctant to place arbitrary divisions between what is the school function in terms of community education and what is the community college's function. The college, just because of its acceptability in high places if you like, is able to invite important people to an area whereas a school would find it difficult to do that and we wouldn't hesitate to bring up the person we thought was the right person for a class, say from Wellington or down from Auckland and I think that's where a school could benefit from the sort of ability we have to do that. But if the school wished to do that, if Frank wished to do that then I think he should feel perfectly free to be able to run his operation in whatever way meets his own particular needs and if there is

**Annotations**

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<td>Three instances of relationships being established with schools.</td>
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<td>As Selznick puts it, What is the distinctive competence of the C.C.?</td>
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<td>Distinctive competence is that; the C.C. can attract important people! Apart from this he avoids the issue. (Is this a case of experimenter effect i.e. raising an issue not previously considered by J.W. Note the Yes, Yes response).</td>
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enough custom for Frank to run a class down there and us to run it up here then there's no reason why we shouldn't both be running the same class, no I wouldn't put any arbitrary lines on this one.

R Mmm, so it's a matter of the college diffusing itself as it were into the community?

S Yes, yes.

R You see I think some people have an idea that it's important for the college to acquire kudos, now what you're suggesting may in fact result in the very long run of the college of acquiring kudos through its activities in a community, but as a short run thing.....

S Kudos is not important as far as I'm concerned, it's not an important element. I think that it has been done and it probably was important in the initial stages I'm quite sure although I disagreed with John very strongly on the sort of already high academic success of many of our customers and this was the group that he was aiming his classes at, it was clear from his appointment of the original community education tutors, Peter, Roley and so on, that their field would only appeal to a very limited number of people, John's reply to that was that it was important to get the support of those people before you move down or up.

R That's right, in fact the page I've got open here you made the comment - my impression an institution with - again an impression - a culturally oriented programme which at the moment seems to be catering for a very limited clientele - that was your observation about a month ago.

S But with the new appointments now I think that - if you'll excuse the expression - we can look at downers in our community, a wider social base. (nothing here...)

R What I'd be interested to hear from you on is this business of the division of labour now that you're here and John's in a position to start handing over stuff to you presumably, I may presume too much of course but....

S You don't.

Annotions

Comments

Kudos not important -- i.e. recognition from without as a prestigious institution. (A - G.A.)

Reference here to J.H's strategy of satisfying a 'middle class' clientele to establish the C.C. - a secure social base (Sclznick).

The recruitment of new tutors to extend the College's social base - Follow this up with J.H. re youth work, Maori Ed. programmes.
R To get you to comment on the relationships that actually exist with other people in the 'hierarchy' and then to make some comments of how you see a non-hierarchal organization - a non-hierarchically organized place developing and whether that's possible, and if not why not.

S Can I take you last point first. A non-hierarchically organized institution. There's a very genuine effort being made to create a plateau of seniority rather than a pyramid. John's working very hard on creating a sort of platform of executive of myself, Greg, himself of course, and Jack, where there's a sharing of decision making once a week at that level and I think that's been very successful and I'm trying to operate in the same way within the Dept in that I'm not creating a hierarchical structure within a department. Now I don't know what Greg's doing.

There's a hierarchy in the office administration, very definitely and I think that's self-created people recognize seniority there and perhaps that is the nature of commerce I don't know they're used to that type of structure, and that's unfortunate because that's creating all sorts of undercurrents and whatever. Relationships on that executive level are very harmonious and I think they are harmonious because there is a sharing of ideas and then we each return to our own special areas and perform or carry out the decision making within the idea at our own speed without consultation any further. At this early stage I feel I need to consult on a number of things. The ideas that are promulgated at that level are shared at my own departmental level and we discuss them there so I don't in fact see a step down from the executive plateau if you like of decision making and sharing down to a departmental level which means an extension across the board at least that's what I'm trying to create, each member of the community studies department is as important when it comes to making a decision, as either myself or John or Jack or Greg. Some people find it's very hard to accept it's a new concept to a lot of people, particularly those like myself who came up through a hierarchical system in the secondary school. I've forgotten your next question, what was it?

R Well the question related to the sorts of things that you are now taking over from John at a time when he was the only person running the community education, but can I just backtrack a wee bit before we get on to that, and it's not so much a matter of prying but a concern for the way in which you see the administrative office function working itself through.
Interview Protocols

S: Mmmm, well I'm not backing off on this one but at the moment I can't understand the administrative office, and by that I mean Registrar's operation. It seems to me to be grossly top heavy in terms of man power and machines for the level of work I assume goes into it and certainly the level of output from it. I'm not aware of the output from it or the degree of output I would expect from that number of staff and machines. That in fact may be a good thing, it may mean it's working efficiently but on the other hand there seemed to be a lot of gaps, a lot of unnecessary paper flying around. There is a growing tendency and perhaps it's the nature of administration, of sharing, sharing decisions sharing common rooms and so on for office staff to become involved in affairs which should be the I think the domain of the community education department. Decision making and solving of problems...

R: What sort of things would they be?

S: Whether or not for example a seminar is at the basic level a good idea and whether they think that in fact I'm going to get the custom for it, and quite frankly I'm not interested in what the office staff think in that regard, I consider myself to be the professional at that level and I'll make those decisions. As to, for example, where the chop off point is on enrolments and so on. Now, there's got to be a buffer I think between the community query of a course or whatever and myself and the office staff should be that buffer. Where a decision has to be made that should be referred directly to me rather than a decision being made by an office staff member on the telephone.

R: Can I pry just a wee bit further, does Jack tend to be the one who intrudes as it were in this decision making process?

S: To some degree, yes. Yes, he does, I must be honest. I feel that - and I'm being very frank which is what you want ...? (R Yes). That he perhaps feels his position extends beyond that of Registrar and I don't think that it should. - telephone interruption - I think that the Registrar's position, even in an experimental college like this should remain an administrative function, he should be responsible for the taking of enrolments, registrations, the financial side and so on and he shouldn't become involved in the planning of the community education programme. Surely if we as the decision makers in this area can make life easier for his office staff, the suggestion should come from...
him, and in this regard he has. He put out some extremely good planning guides for example which help his administrative structure now I think it shouldn't go beyond that. I see a growing inclination in fact for Jack to become involved in the general administration of the college, tutor functions and so on and whether or not they're performing efficiently, whether they're filling in their registers and if they're not then I object to Jack telling me that my community education tutors are not filling in their registers adequately and so on. I would prefer that to come through my Director. Now perhaps this has grown out of the college being small and in the early formative stages and it was necessary perhaps through the division of labour in the early stages for that to happen, in this stage I don't think it is I think that there is so much of importance to be done in the office that that is where Jack's function is and he should be there in an advisory capacity - decision making capacity.

R Yes, well... you've made the comments and I guess I would be predisposed to think of the administration serving the professional side of the college, rather than having some other, the obverse of that being the case.

S Yes, that's right. What I've said may sound derogatory in fact it's not. I've got great admiration for Jack and his operation. I think he's a very efficient person and he's a professional in his own right and that's where I like to see his skills focussed.

R Rather than stepping outside the scope?

S (couldn't pick up comment)

R Well the reason again that I ask you that question is that I would like to talk about your function now and John's function given the apportionment of jobs to you that he used to be responsible for.

S This hasn't clarified itself as yet because I'm still working really through a backlog of work which John had stockpiled for my appointment - pending my appointment. I think what is extremely gratifying is that at no stage do I feel that John and I have clearly defined functions between ourselves and this is tremendous. Where a problem arises and he has the skills to solve that problem he automatically takes it on, we both assume that that will be the case. And

Wanting a clearer respecification of jurisdiction and chain of authority - specifying limits to Registrars authority.

Lack of clear role definition as a preferred work arrangement - also might be seen as an attempt to establish a niche in the organisation (hierarchy?) (Is this a strategy adopted to cope with J.H's...
if I have the skills in that particular area then I take that particular project on.

R Can you instance cases where that has happened. What would be illustrations of that?

S Well an illustration of this would be ... quite a large undertaking at the moment is the course Volunteer Community Workers and we're offering ultimately a certificate for volunteer community workers. Now the housekeeping arrangements of locating tutors, drawing up brochures, timetabling tutors and so on and so forth, that's the function that I'm taking on, that's the level of the administration as far as that course goes that I've got, but when it comes to advice on course content which is John's particular field then I go back to John and say look is this what you had in mind, yes or no, and he'll make suggestions, perhaps an alternative tutor for that particular module. So we're working very closely on this one. At the moment I've handed one section of that work totally over to him and that is the decision on what modules should become core modules for this and what level of practical involvement we expect from a candidate before the issuing of a proper certificate. In certain instances with this particular course problems have arisen where neither of us have the knowledge or the skills to supply an answer and so we've gone to the community to a professional social worker and said what do you think about this. So it's been very much a team effort and I think this is applying to a number of things that are happening at the moment. John's particular skills - one of John's particular skills - is in the ideas area, he's a great ideas man and he can trot ideas off the top of his head related to a particular problem he's a great lateral thinker. He'll shoot those ideas to me for consideration and perhaps further exploration and I can go back to him and say this will work and that one won't.

R How does he do that, does he jot it down on a bit of paper and whiz it through or do you get over the table and have a yarn about it?

S Yes, usually over a table and we have a yarn about it, or I can take a problem to him. I might have come up against a brick wall on a particular project and he'll present alternatives which I haven't even thought about and I'll go back and explore those. So without that sort of intellect a lot of what I'm doing, in fact, wouldn't operate and it's great to have that liaison. In other words it's not a situation where he says this is your baby John, you go and solve...
that and you see it through from beginning to end. I don't feel I'm in that situation at all. Things become a team effort although probably the bulk of the work is being done from this office on any particular course that's being mounted. A lot of the vital thinking is being done by John, he's feeding that in all the time. Now I don't feel in any way subservient because of that, I don't feel I'm a lackey just going away and looking to the house-keeping arrangements, it's an extremely good team that's operating at the moment.

R Well can I just relate that back to this policy. I've got a bit of a bug about policy that I'm trying to work out in my own head at the moment. You know, in fact when I've looked at the documents of the institution so far, very little is written down in any way whatsoever. Now is this strategy quite deliberate on John's part?

S Yes, I think so.

R But at the same time what we have emerging is a kind of policy which is unwritten, and the policy gets made in the process that you've just described a dialogue between you and John and the way you work it out, resulting in courses being set up without any formal statement as it were of objectives, would you see - is that a fair characterisation of the way it tends to happen?

S It is yes, it is.

R Do you think at any point in time the college is going to have a formal document which articulates policy in some way - I'm not thinking of policy here as an inflexible statement of direction and where we're going but rather statements of guidelines of priorities over periods of time that sort of thing.

S Yes I think so, I think that that will have to be coordinated. Yes, the feedback I get back from tutors in particular would indicate that it's necessary, I don't think we're ready for that yet, I think we're too much at the exploratory stage I don't think we would even attempt to put down any sort of priorities in terms of community education functions anyway.

R So at the moment you're still as it were being sensitive to the social base of the community?
Very much so, yes. You see part of the emphasis of operation is right down at the lower social base if you like and we're flexible enough at this level to say that it's happening and let it happen, let those people on the tutorial staff who are working at that level work out their own priorities and solve their own problems and they come to us and tell us that they've been doing and everything they come and tell us we accept and we may offer suggestions, but it's largely a package deal that they're operating on their own and providing we're kept informed about what's happening then we can make suggestions and marry it in with something else that's going on that they've not been aware of. No I think we're at much too early a stage to start committing anything to paper at all and I think this is what is attracting staff to the college to a great extent. I think it's why we're getting the Wally Hunts and we're getting the Mike McCullums who are independent operators and like to feel a degree of autonomy and don't need to be motivated by any sort of job specification or order of priority.

And predominantly those two people are working out in the community?

Increasingly Fay is working out in the community too. I think this is a good example of what can happen as a result of tutor flexibility whereas I think she was employed initially to cover the area of child development, parent education and so on in terms of tutor contact hours within the institution. If she was staying next year and I don't think she is, she probably would only want to commit herself to one 2-hour session per week within the college. Whether she realises that the most good can be done in the community in sort of unscheduled, unstructured situations and let classes grow out of those which may take another 2-3 years ... very difficult to evaluate that sort of operation but I'm satisfied that she indicates that in her heart she knows that she's doing a tremendous amount of work with a group of mothers who will never come to college, and so therefore she has to work in a very flexible way and play things by ear the whole time, very valid class contact hours and she doesn't need to be committed to so many classes in the college programme.

Yes. Would you see Fay's involvement in that kind of activity pretty much a direct outcome of your influence?

I think so. I think she wanted the support from somebody - I'm not saying that John hasn't given her the support, I think there was a slight difference in philosophies as far as John and I are concerned here and we both recognise this
this and I think it's to his credit that he's - he'll allow this degree of flexibility, that whereas he would prefer to see programmes and have tangible evidence of tutor contact which can be clearly illustrated to the Department and also to the community, I'm quite happy to know that these things are happening and herald it because I think that in the long term we'll get the sort of feedback that we want from the community. A sort of process that I'd like to see built up.

R Yes, in a sense I suspect John's in a bit of a double bind here because he recognises you've got to crank out student hours to warrant staff and yet he has this other mission in mind as well of getting out into the community. Is there any way whereby say Fay's activities ....

(End of tape)

S We're now having to think of ways and means to credit that type of exercise - a student contact figure, and that's fairly hard to do and there's nothing in the regulations which takes account of that informal situation. The crunch is going to come of course when the Department asks us to - for some return which wants us to furnish them with contact student hours for the community education tutors and I think we're going to have to state very clearly that this casual meeting of half a dozen mums down at Marae and a dozen kids for a couple of hours is in fact a student contact situation even though it's not structured as a formal course and doesn't appear on a programme as a formal course. Now I don't think we'll have any problem convincing the Dept of that - justifying Fay's existence in terms of student contact hours, not with the support we've got from the Dept.

R Yes. Well taking that thinking one step further, is it the sort of intended plan that out of this contact that Fay's getting she will establish - to use your expression - cells of people who can then take over running the show themselves while she moves on as it were to initiate others?

S Yes, that's exactly what we plan to do and we have discussed this very recently. Fay's opinion in this particular case is that the group isn't ready to do that, and that's a matter of personal - it's objective judgement isn't it you know this group is now ready to start making decisions on their own and she thinks it may generate W.S.H's in contrast with J.W's view that it's a better L-R strategy to establish the social base (task environment) (A - C.A. Connection).

(Discuss this with J.H. in light of the D-C's comment that the C.C. has been given a special staff allocation initially - prior to the generation of load - in order to avoid "playing the numbers game") (There being a clear (intended) link here between A and G.A.).

Ill defined procedures for relating with the Dept of Ed. (I - A).

Implementation, in specific terms, of the Out-Reach goal in the context of a particular C.C. - community relationships strategy.
be another 6-7 months before it happens which will be sad because if she leaves she won't see it. On the other hand, being optimistic Fay leaving might be just what that group needs.

R Could be, yes.

S They just might need that little bit of push to go out on their own. Now there's creating a cell in the most difficult possible circumstances and I think that we could run a similar operation say with youth and make them self-sufficient and having them running their own operation or we could do the same with a nice little group of middle class mums looking after themselves and running their community education programme with out support and us supporting them with a tutor perhaps once a fortnight or three weeks, that sort of thing, and from that cell they might want to run their own learning exchange or mothers circle or invite their own speakers in and pay them their own travelling expenses and that sort of thing and we'll support them. In terms of the Maraenui mums that is exactly what we have in mind that they will become a self-supporting group and we don't opt out we continue to extend their range of experiences.

R That leads on to another pain with respect to Fay, at one point she was planning to get involved in the exercise of training pre-school centre supervisors, now I don't know whether that's still on but whether or not it's on raises another issue. The distinction between vocational studies as typified by what's going on in the trade courses and community education studies. Now it seems to me that under the guise of community education studies you can legitimately have in fact vocational programmes and the youth leadership training programme is a case in point I would think, which leads me to ask you how is it that you see your function being - as HOD community education studies being rationalized with Greg Gear's function as HOD on the 'vocational training side'?

S There's a very woolly area here in fact, as you know, what is a vocational course and what is not a vocational course in terms of organization within the college.

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<td>(Follow up the effects of this strategy internally in terms of the differences/similarities emerging between V.E. and C.E. tutor roles. To what extent do staff members perceive both kinds of role as having a legitimate place in the C.C. (I-L). Tie in with Selznick's notions of building the institutional core and common purpose. How is J.H. managing this aspect of C.C. development (L)).</td>
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<td>Making contacts in the community (extending the task environment) closely linked with setting and implementation of C.E. goals.</td>
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<td>The college especially suited to play a supportive role.</td>
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| (F ollow up the eff ects of thi s st rategy internall y in terms of the differences/si milariti es emerging between V.E. and C.E. tutor roles. To what extent do staff members percei ve both ki nds of role as having a legitimate place in the C.C. (I-L). Tie in with Selznick's notions of building the institutional core and common purpose. How is J.H. managing this aspect of C.C. development (L)). |
| Making contacts in the community (extending the task environment) closely linked with setting and implementation of C.E. goals. |
| The college especially suited to play a supportive role. |
| What is the connection between V.E. and C.E. Departments? |
An upgrading course, the one we've just run for retail pharmacy assistants for example, is a vocational course in the true sense of the word although it was organized by John under a community education programme. I think this sort of thing is something that will be apportioned out internally and probably is exactly what we need to break down the barriers and particularly where we can use the so-called "vocational" tutorial staff and bring them in a tutorial role on one of these woollen areas and this will help them break down their self-imposed areas, they think we are vocational tutors, period ... and I think a lot of them do still think that way. And I quite expect that that will be the case for along time.

Well the reason I raised that question is that I've thought for a long time that the way in which the Education Department decided to make appointments at the level of HOD pre-empted whether or not alternative modes of development could occur -- other than community studies and trade training - tech institute ...

No, I think we'll be running a large number of these undefinable courses in terms vocational/non-vocational and I think it will just be a matter of an internal decision round a table, you know, here a course request it's clearly an upgrading course therefore it's vocational - who's going to handle it and if I haven't got a lot on my desk I'll say I'll do it or I might say to Greg I think that you've got the tutors in fact who will slot into this already in your Department, how about you handling this. Now that's the way it's being done at the moment and I don't see any reason why we shouldn't continue in this way.

How do you propose - given that - to work out the problem then of the chain of command that other people, subordinates to you and Greg in the organization regard as being their legitimate superordinate - their boss or however you want to put it. For instance the blokes down in the trade shops I imagine see Greg as officially their HOD.

Sure, sure, I think that that will continue to be the case so that they will see Greg as their HOD and the community education tutors will see me as their HOD. I'm not quite sure how that attitude should be changed or if in fact it should be, perhaps it's as well that tutors look towards one person to whom they can go with their problems and so on, it might be to their advantage that it's clearly defined in their own mind, even though in my mind and in Greg's you know, we're part of the organization and we know we've got our own areas of
responsibility and we were discussing this actually when you came in. That there are clearly some ways in which the vocational element and the non-vocational community studies element can be brought closely together otherwise, projecting ourselves forward 20 years, we may in fact have a technical institute operation entirely separate from the community studies operation and we're looking at some solid ways of being able to bring these together and one of the ones we've come up with is a liberal studies programme for next year.

R Which bridges the two?

S Which bridges the gap; in other words, all students and all tutors for that one hour per week will just be community college tutors and there'll be a big cross-over of tutors to students who will be teaching within their area or outside it. In other words the metal work guy, the engineering guy might be teaching guitar or something like that to a group of typing students, a general sort of pot-pourri of skills. But it's very hard to come up with some positive ideas you can philosophise on it, ways of doing are not easy.

R People like Garrett and Renwick were saying 18 months ago we want the distinction between community and vocational studies to be blended somehow or other, we want some sort of integration to occur and yet they really didn't have terribly many good ideas about how you would do that.

S No, that's right, I don't think we can. I think on the social side it's been accomplished with the common staff room and I think when the new building goes up because that will be a common teaching ground for a lot of us instead of the vocational one side of the drive and community the other - we've even got two signposts coming through the drive - 'workshops' and 'community education' so it divides us straight away in the drive. The common building, common teaching administration area must make a lot of difference. John has deliberately in his planning - He'll tell you about this no doubt - planning of offices mixed people up so there'll be a sharing of ideas you can achieve a lot over a cup of tea or a 5 minute chat between paper work, but beyond that I've got no positive suggestions for bringing the two together.

R Yes, well....
**Interview Protocols**

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<th>S</th>
<th>Graham Allport of course, some of the tutors are being used for community education programmes. I think one of the motor engineers is doing a vehicle appreciation for women and we're hoping to operate a women's studies class on a regular basis throughout next year and would anticipate that we could bring some tutors in on what to do with a sticking drawer, door and that sort of thing, so they are becoming more involved in a wider field of community education than they would if they were teaching in a technical institute.</th>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Yes, well that's fair enough. That's probably as much as you can say at the moment.</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>I think so.</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>I suspect I may have pretty well covered all the sort of stuff I wanted to talk about at the moment....</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Will you be up again? (R I may not be, so .. why do you ask?)</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Because it would be interesting - I'm not clear in my own mind what the function of a community education advisory committee is. I'm Chairman of that committee and it's made up of a Council member - sorry two council members, a non-council member but a tutor, part-time tutor I should say Dick Spence, and any of the community education staff that happen to be free at the time of the meeting which is normally around about 3-4. Now I've sat in on two which were chaired by John and I've chaired two and I'm not clear on its function, I know what I'd like it to be and I'm just wondering if you come up again I may be able to tell you what in fact it's supposed to do.</td>
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<td>R</td>
<td>What do you call it again?</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>The community education advisory committee, it meets once a month prior to the council meeting and we report to council on matters pertaining to community education programmes and so on. My feeling is that most people feel it's a waste of time and that's my feeling at the moment and the meeting really is a presentation of facts and data you know, the programme to date - our problems at the present time suggestions for courses, this sort of thing, which could be done just as well by sticking it on a bit of paper and showing it to everyone on the committee rather than bringing them in once a month for 1½ hours.....</td>
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**Annotatons**

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<tr>
<td>Some specific instance of limited lateral boundary crossing in terms (only?) of courses and programmes.</td>
<td>I2-4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reference to a specific committee being set up. Lack of clarity about its purpose/function.</td>
<td>I6, L3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative assessment of the C.E. advisory committee.</td>
<td>L3</td>
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R: What would you see it doing - you know what's that idea you mentioned?

S: Yes, I'd like to see it define its function first of all, which is what we're going to do this week and I will just ask each one of the committee what they think the function of the committee is because I don't really know myself. I'd like to see it as a trouble-shooting almost think tank situation, say here's where we're at where do you think we should be going, perhaps this is a group which should start thinking in terms of priorities and guidelines, perhaps they shouldn't be advising me or the tutorial staff on what they should be doing at any single time but they should be saying that's a good idea, have you thought about doing such and such or combining you know, the music and art for a particular project or something of that sort. This is the sort of information the sort of ideas that we sort of thrive on. So more often than not the tutors and myself are the ones that come up with these sorts of ideas and not the part-time tutor or the council member. In other words, I think we could operate very well without the part-time tutor and council member, I don't really know why they're there.

R: I suspect for that reason they may not either.

S: I'm pretty sure that's the case, yes.

R: Well, if I am up next time I'll ask you that.

S: Perhaps I'll drop you a line after this meeting and let you know what's happened.

R: Well yes, I'd appreciate that. How does that relate to the Board of Studies - that a different sort of deal ...

S: Different sort of thing altogether.

R: Are you on that?

S: Yes.

R: And does it have a constructive sort of positive sort of ...
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<td>S Yes the Board of Studies is broken up into a number of small working groups. One looking at student amenities for example, another one which is looking specifically at the liberal studies programme, and there are about four of them and we meet prior to the Board of Studies meeting where there is a representative from each of these groups which makes up the Board of Studies and we report back to John our findings or recommendations so that he can bring them up at Council meetings so if any major decision is to be made in terms of policy relating to student amenities then that structure works very nicely. It's clear cut.</td>
<td>The Board of Studies - its purpose/role.</td>
<td>I6</td>
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<td>R And they're essentially professionals on that - staff members?</td>
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<td>S Yes. Oh no, student amenities we have a couple of ancillary staff on this, Gordon McDermott is one, Maryanne the typist is on the buildings.</td>
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<td>R While you're mentioning staff, I detect a little bit of tension.</td>
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<td>S There is tension. Don't ask me to define it, I can't, it's there and I don't know why. I haven't really investigated it, I'm one of these people that prefers to keep out of that sort of thing unless it concerns people that I'm directly with, if I feel that they're getting upset over something then I'll get to the bottom of it and try and sort things out. There's tension in the office, why there is I don't know. I think I'd need to work in there for a while to find out what's going on. It manifests itself in the occasional bit of back-biting here, an odd word is dropped about so 'n so not pulling their weight that sort of thing, I don't know what it is but it's there all right. Perhaps you get it in any institution.</td>
<td>Tensions in the Registry.</td>
<td>L1</td>
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<tr>
<td>R Yes, I've been trying to make up my mind on that, you do get tension in any institution and I don't know whether the tension that exists in the office is more than what you would expect to get in any institution.</td>
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<td>S I don't know. It just might be an unfortunate group of people in that you've got two older, fairly experienced people and one very young one who, I think, appears to be doing less work than they're doing. Now this just might be petty jealousy, I don't know what it is, if that's the case at all. There's certainly a P.R. breakdown I think somewhere in the office I don't know why it is - I'm just aware of it, I know Greg's aware of it too, and we actually discussed that too to see if there's anything we could do about it but we can't do.</td>
<td>Possible cause of tensions.</td>
<td>L1</td>
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anything about it I don't think.

R No, it's a very tricky one. I recognise that maybe Jack's the one who ought to be approached, who ought to be doing something but then maybe Jack's the very person who's unable because of the sort of person he is to sort out that kind of problem I don't know.

S It could be that the office is becoming a machine place rather than a people place, the people there might feel personally threatened as an individual by proliferation.

R Well the Burroughs thing sitting there in the corner....

S Oh yes, they're all over the place. You see there's a new receiving machine which virtually takes away the personal contact which Adele had with the student - you know that's not a nice thing to be going on. I hate to feel that the students come in and feel as if they're being processed.

R Which they may well do. Jack's got a bit of a fetish about machines.

S Sure, which is OK provided they ... 

R ... don't subvert other functions.

S Mmm, and create disharmony in any way.

R Anyway, I won't push too hard on that one.

S Well it's just as well because I've got no firmly held opinions on it any way, I just know it's there, to what extent I don't know.

R O.K., well we'll leave that one aside. I'm just wondering what else I've got here that I wanted to pick up on, we've sort of jumped around a bit but I think I've covered - oh, the learning exchange, how's that shaping up?

S We got nowhere on this one except that I have located ... I floated the idea in two areas, one was with the senior citizens in Taradale because I think this is
going to have to be a community function I don't think it's something the college would take on whole-some for two reasons. One, I think people would be more ready to plug into a learning exchange if it wasn't at the college and secondly I think there's a great deal of benefit to be gained by the people who are operating it, they in fact are gaining some sort of community education themselves through operating it. Now the senior citizens group would seem to be an ideal group to do that, they would have the time and be able to operate it successfully. I floated the idea with Central Hawkes Bay where it was snapped up and I've no doubt that that will be the first one that becomes operative.

R Where in Central Hawkes Bay?

S This will be down at Waipawa. (R oh yes) And there's a group there that I've worked with towards the organization of a seminar and I mentioned the idea very casually although it was a deliberate sown seed and they indicated they'd like to set up a learning exchange. Ideal rural situation, because they're very homely they probably know everyone. Quite a good illustration - I mentioned the idea to Jack you see and his first reaction was put it through the computer - no the computer's not big enough but we can plug into - which has some fantastic machine and he saw that as an ideal function for the computer, to plug in requests and get feedback straight away. Now that makes it clear-cut, easy, fast, but I don't think ... in fact that would negate part of the community learning exchange function which is a human, person to person contact.

R Yes, I can see how one might use the computer if you had a link up to the homes of all the people who were involved so they could get quick access through the computer to information, but if it replaces people, contacting other people then...

S Well there's - without going into it in depth - there's one important phase of the operation and that is the follow up of teacher and learner, to the teacher - how are things going, did you get a contact from Mrs so 'n so because we gave you her telephone number, and to the learner is the teacher satisfactory as far as you're concerned, would you like us to put you on to something else. Just in general how are things going, we're supporting you if it's not working out you can come back to us we'll have a look at something else, so it's very much personal contact.

R Yes.
**Interview Protocols**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Yes. Well ideally I think you know, some of the big learning exchanges in New Zealand, the Christchurch one has gone out of all proportion it's too big, I think there's a lesson to be learned from that and also from learning in Auckland which if floundering a little bit because of its size, they're trying to cover a major metropolitan area just with one centre. Both organizations are now of the same opinion that learning exchanges should be very much localized thing, perhaps one to every 2000 people in a neighbourhood, probably that's the right sort of size, it doesn't overload the volunteer who's manning it and their resource people are within an easy travelling distance with the people who are plugging into the learning exchange.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Yes, fair enough. So you want to decentralise it? (S Yes). O.K., well Wally Hunt and Mike McCallum, is there anything else to add on them. They're simply at the moment mounting their programmes are they?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>That's what they're doing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Where is Wally working in order to do that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>He works all over. He operates from here as a base of course but he also has a floating office at the YMCA and he works with Fay and Maranui and the YMCA operation and Fay's Maranui operation are very much tied in one with the other. I'm trying to extend his programme and leading him towards leadership training at the youth level. Now he's thought in terms of leadership training at the Y, I'm now wanting him to think in terms of mounting a leadership programme into which anyone of that age group can come, using the Y's resources and whatever other resources we can lay our hands on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>So what's his contact at the moment, who's he working with?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>He's working with the Y.M.C.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>And is that youth leadership training that he's doing specifically?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>That's what he's doing, yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>What about Mike?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Annotations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Category Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref. to off-campus programmes - in action.</td>
<td>G7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking in with the Y.M.C.A.</td>
<td>A5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Interview Protocols**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Can you just tell me in a sentence what youth re-entry means?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Yes. Youth re-entry is really a third opportunity for young people probably who will be between the ages of 17 - 19 or somewhere in that age group, boys and girls - men and women I should say, who have had failing experience at school or dropped out early in the piece, have had a similar experience at work. So we're looking for people who left school early and who probably have had two or three jobs in a year and we're bringing them back and giving them a general re-education if you like for life over 16 weeks, and including in that a variety of work, opportunities and experiences. We're saying to them okay let's start again - catch your breath, perhaps you were wrongly placed in your first job or your second job, this is what else is available for this area of Hawkes Bay. We'd make the contacts for them, give them experience and variety of work, we'd use our own workshops here, we'd give them the general liberal studies programme with some recreation, perhaps an outdoor education - literacy, socialization work experience etc worked into a 16 week, hopefully if they're successful they'll go back to a job.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>And what sort of numbers are you thinking of at the moment?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>A maximum of 20, I think for our first course we'll start with 14 and build up to a maximum perhaps in the third 16 week session.</td>
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<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>And do trial runs on it and de-bug it and so on?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>That's right.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| R | Are there any things that pertain to the job which in your mind are important that I've missed out on, haven't discussed? |

**Annotations**

- Establishing the social base first - A3-5/65
- Clarifying the meaning of a Youth Re-entry programme - G3
Interview Protocols

S Yes, I think so. I'm concerned with my own function at the moment. I feel that I'm getting a disproportionate amount of administrative paper work which could well be done by a good secretary or somebody who was trained to skills at a slightly lower level than the ones that I possess, so that let's say for example mounting a seminar from go to know is quite a major operation in some cases and my skills are at the early stages of liaison between the community and the colleges of locating the right people to speak at a seminar and so on and so forth. It comes to a chop-off point where it could then be handed over to an efficient secretary and say now go through the process of arranging travel, brochure, advertising, press release and all that sort of thing which at the moment is being done in this office, not just with one but perhaps a dozen or more at the same time. And I can't see an end to this at the moment because as soon as one gets completed they're always coming in at the bottom. New courses are coming in at the bottom which require a similar sort of operation now I don't think that I should be being paid $13,000 a year to do a secretarial job, not when I've got the skills that I have got (and I'm not being conceited) and I should be using those skills for perhaps 80% - 90% of my time instead of 30% of my time and 70% on routine administration. And this type of operation I've got at the moment on my desk stops me liaising with my tutors, both full time and part time, stops me getting out into the community and talking to people. I'm becoming desk bound and I'm looking for a way to break this down at the moment, there must be a way and it's probably my fault in that I'm not apportioning my time or I'm not planning far enough ahead or something of that sort. I think what we've got to do is to say here's a block of time, within that time we'll accept a limited number of new courses for preparation and mounting, or a limited number of seminars or whatever and at that point we chop off, and if you haven't got to a certain stage by that time then that course or that seminar skips ten weeks and goes into the third one, so that you've always got a minimum of ten weeks, or as it is 8 weeks in our session at the moment between an initial enquiry or suggestion through to the possible mounting of a course or some other activity.

R Do you have a full-time secretary?

S I share Mary-Anne with John and she is first class.

R But probably overloaded?

S Very much overloaded. I'm very aware of that.
Interview Protocols

R Is John aware of that?
S John's aware of that.
R So really it may turn about that you end up getting a secretary?
S I think I will yes. I'm making overtures in that direction. You see what John needs and what I need is a little bit more than a secretary, every administrator needs somebody who can make some decisions, who is also their secretary. Somebody I think who should share in the planning of the year's work or the session's work. Someone who will take over at that level that I discussed of a particular project and see that thing through. Now whether that's possible, whether you could find a person with those skills or not I don't know. I think we could train somebody to have those skills and I'm quite sure Mary-Anne if she was full-time with me or full-time with John we could legitimately expect her, because she's an intelligent girl and I mean intelligent in the overall sense, so that she can see forward to be able to plan and she can make a rational decision about something without consulting us. Perhaps there is a need for an organizing tutor to take over that function and that would be full-time, a full-time job for somebody to organize seminars, we don't get one request a week, we get - I get 4-5 a week and I'm just saying no, hold it.
R Yes, maybe there is someone to be found. I know one of the practices we adopt at Massey is sometimes - we have done it - is to take say a retired headmaster, retired teacher or someone like that, bring them into the Dept and appoint them as a temporary administrative assistant and they could do all that admin. routine work.
S Yes, you see a lot of it is routine. Once the pattern is established and once a person understands that then your retired headmaster, your retired teacher, somebody who's used to working with people and with paper and organizing could do it quite happily. And it doesn't need somebody of - like senior status to do that sort of thing, I think it's just a waste of our time.
R Well, next time I see you, I might have someone like that.
J Well with the present allocation of staff to tertiary institutions I don't think its very likely.
R: Well one of the points you raised in here a couple of months ago was your fear that that's - what you're now describing - would happen to you.

S: Yes, well it's happened all right, it's happened. I think we've got to be honest with ourselves and say look we're not here to mount as much as possible in the shortest possible time but we've got other important functions as well and the fact that we got a month without mounting a new course doesn't matter. We don't have to be evaluated on the number of courses.

R: Well that of course - going to may old hobby horse, that's what policy is all about I believe, it gives you a way of providing a rationale for deciding.

S: Well, no, I haven't got to that stage yet, but I think that probably in another 6 months...

R: Yes, it'll come. And it's sort of implicit in what you're saying.

S: It is, that's right. I've fallen into this trap before, I'm probably a little bit impetuous when it comes to policy making decisions. I try and rationalise before I make a decision but I've been caught out on more than one occasion by making the decision too soon because it seems to be important to make it or because people think that because I'm in a position to make decisions that I should make decisions but I'm becoming increasingly insulated I think, that's an impression. I think it's an ideal situation to be insulated against it, in fact it insulates you against pressure from anybody for decisions to be made. Perhaps there was an over-consciousness to prove ourselves in those days, I think we've got beyond that.
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