THE NEW ZEALAND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL PRINCIPALSHIP: AN INTERACTION ANALYSIS USING TALCOTT PARSONS' THEORY OF SOCIAL ACTION

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A B S T R A C T

This study attempted an intensive interaction analysis of two New Zealand intermediate school principals, using Talcott Parsons' theory of social action as the framework. Parsons believes that within all social systems each functional problem dealt with has one and only one appropriate set of pattern variables that lead to system stability. This prescribed relationship was tested and subject to a number of limitations, was found to be well supported. Through this testing, data of a survey nature was compiled as to who with and about what the principals interacted. This data indicated that principals have a number of similar interaction patterns, but also maintain a high degree of individuality. Various factors within their schools, communities, and themselves were found to affect their interaction patterns. Through this application of Parsons' theory to a school setting, some worthwhile insights into the school's organisation and structure were obtained.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM/THESIS

Background of Thesis

The purpose of this study was to learn more about the role and behaviour of the New Zealand intermediate school principal. It was hoped that through an intensive observational analysis of a number of such principals it would be possible to make some generalised statements about the nature of the role and their performance.

Of early interest was the question of a research method. It was noted that some studies in schools simply collect raw data without basing their collection on a theoretical frame of reference, believing thereby to minimise researcher bias and to allow the data to create their own categories for analysis. This study was not interested in developing a new framework for educational research, but wanted to attempt an application of an existing theory, thereby testing that theory and in the process gaining additional insights into the principal's position.

With that in mind, the search for a theoretical framework was based on the following considerations. The researcher had to find a model which would handle the complexity of a modern school; which would explain the structures and processes of the organisation as well as the behaviour of the actors; and which would apply equally well to other social institutions.

By reviewing the literature on organisational theory, it was found that the study of schools as organisations had, in the past, suffered from the same problem as had the study of organisations in general. Hills (1968) when commenting on the general study of organisations and Bidwell (1965) when commenting on the organisational study of schools agreed that, at least by that time, little systematic organisational study had been accomplished. Tyler (1973) pointed up numerous studies of schools that were said to be of an organisational nature, but suggested that some tended to be dominated by administrative issues, others completely ignored the element of structure in schools, and still others relied on teachers' perceptions of their organisational environment for their data.

Corwin (1967) pointed out two reasons for the past lack of study of complex educational organisations: an over-emphasis of the teaching function itself and an undying concern with the values that schools teach. Tyler (1973) added that although the school's organisational patterns were influencial, they were not as easily apprehended or studied as, for example, the school's physical layout or the principal's personality.

As a result of the above lack of research, educationalists have had to rely on empirical work usually narrow in focus which was directed at some process or activity in the school and which lacked a conceptual framework that was sufficient to coordinate their efforts. This fragmentation and discontinuity of past research pointed up the need for some unifying, systematic, and coherent frame of reference in order to coordinate existing research and to act as a guide for further research in schools.

Lane, Corwin, and Monahan (1968) suggested one approach to a more systematic view of educational organisations, one in which administrators "must be cognitively capable of conceiving the organisation as a total entity" (p.335). These authors believed that Talcott Parsons' theory of social action, when used as a model for the above purpose, was useful and appropriate for the study of schools as organisations.

Parsons, although well into the construction of his theory by 1937, did not turn to the study of complex organisations until 1956, when he used them as a testing ground for his general theory. Since then, he has published a number of works on organisational theory, but as yet had not extensively or systematically applied his general theory to the study of complex organisations.

This in itself turned out to be the main reason why Parsons' theory was selected as the framework for this research. Williams pointed out in 1961 a lack of empirical research testing Parsons' theory. He contended that thus far Parsons' theory had only been applied piece-meal to interpret data, to develop hypotheses, and to descriptively order information. By the 1950's, a few observational and experimental studies had begun to test the usefulness of his theory in a variety of fields, but even fewer attempted to do so in the field of education. Although Ashley, Cohan, and Slatter (1969) and Hills (1968) theoretically applied the Parsonian framework to education, the only experimental study that Lane et al. (1968) found was that of Curtis (1965) and he

only applied parts of the theory. This lack of empirical application of the Parsonian framework in the school setting convinced this study that the testing of its application had to take preference over the original hopes of providing more generalised conclusions as to the position of the principal.

Certainly, the lack of empirical testing of the theory was not in itself sufficient grounds to have selected it for this research purpose. It was found to more than fulfil the other considerations outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Parsons' theory was found to be not only a complete, general theoretical system able to jump disciplinary boarders, but also to provide a comprehensiveness that few other theories could have boasted of.

Statement of Problem/Thesis

The focus of this study was on the position of the New Zealand intermediate school principal, how and with whom he spent his school-related time. Parsons' theory of social action was used as the general framework, but due to the lack of empirical research based on this theory, especially Parsons' linkage between his schemes, it was decided that the primary emphasis of this study should be shifted from attempting generalised conclusions about the principal to a critical analysis of the application of Parsons' theory in both general and school settings.

For this reason, only a limited number of schools and their principals were studied in order to provide a more intensive analysis. Although realising that by limiting the number of situations any generalised conclusions about the position of the principal could not be considered as representative of all principals, it was felt that tentative conclusions could still be put forth in order to lead the way for others doing more generalised and comprehensive research.

It was hoped that this study would provide tentative conclusions in three areas; firstly, generalised descriptions of the principal's position through the people he interacted with and the problems he dealt with; secondly, an initial testing of Parsons' linkage between his schemes; and thirdly, through the insights gained in attempting the above, a critical analysis of Parsons' theory as applied to both general and school settings.

To accomplish this, two schools were chosen where intensive interaction observation analysis of the principals was carried out. During the research periods, each principal was "shadowed" by the researcher recording all of his interactions on a portable tape recorder for later analysis. In addition, back-up interviews were also recorded to fill-in any data gaps, to provide additional cases for study, and to check for errors in the observational data.

By classifying every interaction recorded as to who was involved and what problems were discussed, data of a generalised survey nature were compiled which later led to the formulation of a number of tentative generalised conclusions about the position of the principal. As mentioned above, these conclusions were not presented as representative of all principals, but as a guide for subsequent more generalised and comprehensive research.

In order to test Parsons' linkage between his schemes, to be explained in the next chapter, a sample of the interactions at each school were chosen for analysis in three ways; firstly, each was classified as a type of functional problem according to Parsons' functional problem scheme; secondly,the orientations of principal involved in each interaction were classified according to Parsons' pattern variable scheme; and lastly, the probability of each interaction having led to either functional or dysfunctional relationships was assessed. Again, the limited sample used in this testing disallowed the possibility that the conclusion offered could be considered as representative, but it was felt that this initial testing required such intensive analysis that the sample had to be kept very limited. The conclusion offered therefore could not be considered as representative, but only as a guide for further research.

Lastly, in order to critically analyse the application of Parsons' theory, all the limitations, problems, and difficulties encountered in the above application were organised and discussed in two categories, general applicational difficulties and more specific school-related difficulties.

Review of Organisation

Chapter 1 introduced the problem and the thesis. Chapter 2 was concerned with the theoretical concepts of Parsons' theory of social action. Chapter 3 applied one of the theoretical schemes to the educational setting, specifically to New Zealand

intermediate schools. Chapter 4 described the general methodological procedures employed in the research model considered appropriate for this investigation. Chapter 5 presented and analysed the findings. Chapter 6 drew conclusions from the analysed data and critically analysed Parsons' theory as applied to both general and school settings.

CHAPTER 2

PARSONS' THEORY OF SOCIAL ACTION

The primary emphasis of this study was to attempt an application of Parsons' theory of social action to a school setting, specifically to the interactions of the principal in New Zealand intermediate schools. Through this application, various tentative conclusions about the principal's position and Parsons' linkage between his two theoretical schemes were able to be made. In addition, through all of the insights gained in this application, a critical analysis of Parsons' theory as applied to both general and school setting was put forth.

This chapter focuses on the explanation of Parsons' theory of social action. Firstly, an explanation of his general frame of reference sets the stage for later outlining of the two specific schemes that were used in this study: the functional problem scheme served to categorise the problems dealt with by the principal and the pattern variable scheme served to categorise the orientations to each problem. /A good deal of the material in this chapter was synthesised from the many works of Parsons./

Parsons' General Frame of Reference

Prior to Parsons' development of his theory of social action, he spent nearly ten years critiquing the theoretical systems of some of his predecessors, writing fifteen papers and one book-length monograph between the years of 1928 to 1937. With the publication of The Structure of Social Action with Special Reference a Group of Recent European Writers in 1937 and his subsequent books, he began to organise his concepts into a conceptual whole. This section begins by defining a number of concepts considered by Parsons as basic to his theory.

In general, his frame of reference is relational, relating the orientations of one or a plurality of actors to a situation. Through the relations of such actors to their situations, various structures and processes are developed, which this theory serves to analyse. Parsons bases his general theory on two concepts: action and action systems.

Action

An actor, when striving toward his goals, organises his orientations to his situation. The situation consists of whatever is meaningfully organised in the actor's orientation, including objects, both social and non-social. The subjective process of orientation occurs when an actor constructs a "cognitive map" of the situation and then appraises it in terms of its relevance to his various goals, interests,and normative standards. In the cognitive mode, the actor discriminates any particular objects from others by assessing their properties, not in the nature of the objects themselves, but as defined by the value of the objects to the actor. In the cathectic mode, the actor reacts positively or negatively to objects due to their significance for his gratification. A set of orientations (both cognitive and cathectic) is involved in each unit act.

But, action develops a recurrent character; as relationships between an actor and recurrent aspects of his situation become stabilised, there develops action systems.

Action Systems

The concrete action of actors of interest to sociologists does not occur in solitary, individual actions but takes place in society and has other persons as significant objects in the situation of the actor. Therefore, action systems must include more than an actor's biological system and his personality. The social and cultural contexts of the situation must too be included. Human action can be classified into four sub-systems which together form a human action system: the biological, the personality, the cultural, and the social.

The biological sub-system, the organism itself, its physicochemical interchanges with the environment, is considered to be the most basic. Parsons feels that it is too basic, as action in his theory's sense is relational, peculiar to organisms as units, not the internal equilibrating processes of an organism. The behaviourally organised aspects of the organism when placed in interaction with others creates the second sub-system, the personality.

Parsons and Shils (1959) define the personality as: "the organized system of orientation and motivation of action of one individual actor" (p.7).

These two basic sub-systems, the biological and the personality, when placed in interaction with others constitute the cultural and social sub-systems.

The cultural sub-system comes about when interactions become stablised and recurrent in nature, developing structured and shared cultural symbols. As interactions between a plurality of actors in a common situation become differentiated and integrated, a social system is formed.

A social system is not just a plurality of personalities centring around the problems of each individual actor, but it results from the numerous selections of actors centred around the problems inherent in or arising from their interaction. These selections become stablised and reinforced by the actors' institutionalisation of the dominant value patterns.

Each sub-system is viewed by Parsons as a separate order of system, partly independent, but partly interlocking and inter-penetrating the others. All of the sub-systems participate in the determination of action within a social system. Action to Parsons is therefore partly voluntaristic, in that an actor's goals and standards are in part his free creations, but action is also constrained by the actor's biological and psychological needs and the norms of his socio-cultural environment.

Summary of Parsons' General Frame of Reference

The frame of reference for Parsons' theory of social action is a relational one, where an actor attempts to relate to his situation by means of two orientational modes, cognitive and cathectic. When situations become recurrent, actors develop stable interaction patterns, defined as action systems, each composed of four composite sub-systems; biological, personality, cultural, and social; all of which jointly determine the action taken by actors in a social system in respect to a situation.

Parsons seems to view his theory as one might view a child's egg toy. This toy (theory) consists of numerous splitable eggs (systems) each when opened (delineated) leads to another smaller egg (sub-system) implanted in the larger. All of Parsons' assumptions apply to social systems of all levels of complexity, up to and including the total society, as well as to individuals in small groups.

Pattern Variable Scheme

An integral part of this study was to examine the orientations of the principal when he was discussing different types of problems within the context of his school. As stated earlier in this chapter, the process of orientation takes place when the actor defines his situation by constructing a "cognitive map" of the situation and appraises it in terms of its relevance to his various goals, interests, and normative standards. Parsons devised a set of five dichotomous variables confronting any actor in a social situation. These variables have provided a framework or categorisation system with which to view the orientations of the principal.

Development of the Pattern Variable Dichotomies

Parsons, when studying the distinction between professional and business roles, realised that there were regularities and patterns in the normative form which gave each role its distinctive social character. He devised a set of five dichotomous variables conceived as constituting universal and basic dilemmas confronting any actor in a social situation. Each variable represented a fundamental problem of orientation which the actor must resolve one way or the other.

Parsons, in The Social System, schematically outlined the five concept-pairs, which he called the "pattern variables of role definition".

1. The Gratification-Discipline Dilemma
   Affectivity vs. Affective Neutrality
2. The Private vs. Collective Interest Dilemma
   Self-Orientation vs. Collectivity-Orientation
3. The Choice Between Types of Value-Orientation
   Standard, Universalism vs. Particularism
4. The Choice between "Modalities" of the Social Object, Achievement vs. Ascription
5. The Definition of Scope of Interest in the Object, Specificity vs. Diffuseness

(1970, p.67)

Their Placement within the Orientation Dimensions

After their conception, a determinate order among the categories of pattern variables emerged. Categories 3 and 4 were found to concern the criteria for categorisation of objects, referred to as the cognitive mode. Categories 1 and 5 were found to concern the definition of attitude toward objects, referred to as the cathectic mode. Category 2 could not be paired with any other, seemingly not belonging either to the cognitive side or the cathectic side. Parsons found that this category did not relate to one specific system of action, but to the relations between two systems placed in a hierarchical order. For this reason neither Parsons nor this thesis used this pattern variable in the analysis of social systems.

Within the cognitive mode. The alternative pair of universalism versus particularism allows the actor to judge social objects in terms of some formal, impersonal, objectified, rationalised, and universal frame of reference or in terms of some particular, personal frame of reference. The second alternative pair in this mode, quality versus performance, allows the actor to judge social objects in terms of their qualities or attributes as distinguished from their performances.

Within the cathectic mode. The alternative pair of affectivity versus affective neutrality allows the actor to judge social objects in terms of the expression of affect, emotion, or feelings; or in terms of the repression of affect, requiring emotional discipline and stressing self-control. Whereas, specificity versus diffuseness, allows the actor to judge social objects in terms of the scope or inclusiveness of the relationship. This category would distinguish between situations which call for interaction which is formally limited in its degree, type, or kind, such as a doctor-patient relationship, or in the other case, situations in which normative regulation and definition leave much of the interaction to the personal interpretation of the actor, such as a father-son relationship.

Problem of Primacy

One problem of interpretation needs to be cleared up prior to concluding this section. One could well be confused about

the pattern variables if they questioned the dichotomies by suggesting that every actor must both have immediate gratification and accept discipline, pursue private interests and protect the interests of the group, judge people for what they are and for what they do, and son on. How then can actors' orientations be described, classified, and compared using these pattern variables? The answer lies in the primacy of the role expectations. Within a certain role, one alternative within each pattern variable dichotomy will be the primary one, subordinating the other alternative. Which pattern variable choice attains primacy will be decided according to the specific context of the situation.

Summary of the Pattern Variable Scheme

Through Parsons' work on role analysis, he has devised a set of five dichotomous variables, the pattern variables, which are a "set of ... [categories] for the classification of the dilemmas of choice in action" (Parsons, Bales, and Shils, 1953, pp. 63-64), as seen from the point of view of the actor. The actor, when cognitively defining the situation (cognitive mode), must choose between the alternatives within two of the pattern variable dichotomies; universalism versus particularism and quality versus performance. In the first case, his choice is between a universal and a personal frame of reference; and in the second case, between the objects attributes and its achievements. When appraising the situation in terms of its relevance to his goals, interests, and standards (cathectic mode), the actor must choose between alternatives within two other pattern variable dichotomies: affectivity versus affective neutrality and specificity versus diffuseness. In the first case, his choice is between the expression of affect and the withholding of its expression through demonstrating emotional discipline; and in the other case, between a narrow and a wide scope of interaction. One choice in each pattern variable dichotomy will attain primacy relative to the specific situation in which the dilemma arises.

Functional Problem Scheme

In the previous section of this chapter a set of categories for the classification of the principal's dilemmas of choice of action from his perspective was developed. In this section then, another set of categories is discussed and examined to classify the

interactions of the principal as seen from the perspective of the social system. This set, developed by Parsons, is called the functional problem scheme. This next section sketches the development of this scheme (a more elaborate discussion can be found in Appendix 1), examines its dimensionalisation from its two major axes, defines each functional problem, and summarises the main concepts of the scheme, relating them to this research model.

Development of the Scheme

Parsons realised during the writing of The Social System (1970) in 1951 that actors could not randomly demonstrate pattern variables and maintain a functioning social system. Within a social system, he felt that the institutionalisation of patterns of value orientations in roles would form a more structured system. In order to provide a setting for the analysis of the structure of social systems, Parsons began to examine what he called "the functional prerequisites of social systems". Although in his discussion of these prerequisites, Parsons placed the main emphasis on the integrative and pattern maintenance functions, one could say that this functional delineation was the forerunner of his functional problem scheme.

Dimensionalisation of the Functional Problems

In accordance with Parsons' hypothesis, all social systems are structurally differentiated about two major axes. The first axis represents the relationship between the social system (sub-system, organisation, et cetera) and its external environment. It can be viewed as a differentiation between external and internal references. The external reference would define problems concerning the system's relation to its environment, whereas the internal reference would define problems concerning intersystem stability and relations between sub-systems. The second axis can be viewed as a differentiation between means and ends references. The means or "instrumental" reference would concern problems related to the methods or vehicles to be used in the accomplishment of system functions, whereas the ends or "consummatory" reference would concern problems related to defining and selecting of the ends or goals.

When these two axes are combined and then dichotomised, they define four major "functional problems", with respect to which they differentiate.

> (1) the external-consummatory reference which I have called "goal-attainment"; (2) the external-instrumental reference which I have elsewhere called "adaptation"; (3) the internal-consummatory reference which I have called "integration"; and, finally, (4) the internal-instrumental reference which I called "pattern-maintenance and tension management".
> (Parsons and Shils, 1959 p.6)

These four problems can be schematically represented in the form of a tabular cross-classification as in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Tabular Cross-Classification of the Functional Problem Scheme

	Instrumental	Consummatory
External	A Adaptive Function	G Goal Attainment Function
Internal	L Pattern Maintenance Tension Management Function	I Integrative Function

Adapted from (Parsons and Shils, 1959, p.7)

These functional problems can be considered analogous to the essential variables in biology. The biological variables (pulse rate, respiration rate, temperature, et cetera) must remain within limits in order for the bilogical organism to stay alive. Likewise, the functional imperatives can be seen as essential variables which must be met (remain within limits) if the structure of the social system is to be maintained.

Functional Problems Defined

Goal attainment. The external-consummatory reference, defined as goal attainment, refers to problems in which consummatory interests for the system as such in relation to the situation external to it constitute the primary reference. Actors within social systems, although seeking their unique personal goals, blend their concerted efforts toward the group's or system's collective goals. Through its roles, where actors occupy status positions, the social system moves towards the goals it has established. As the situations are usually complex, a multiplicity of goals are common usually arranged in some scale of relative urgency, but flexible enough to allow for situational variations. Goals can be seen as directional changes that tend to reduce the gap between the needs of the system and the conditions of the external environment that impinge upon the system.

In the most general sense then, the problem of goal attainment could be considered to be the solution of technical problems relevant to goal achievement and the coordination of activities to enable the system to maintain movement toward whatever goal(s) it has set for itself or have been established for it by the larger structural unit of reference.

Adaptation. The external-instrumental reference, defined as adaptation, refers to problems in which instrumental considerations for the system as a whole relative to the external situation constitute the primary reference. Adaptation involves not merely coming to terms with the environment in whatever posture permits survival, but also as the active manipulation of its environment and possibly the system itself, by acquiring facilities having generalised value as the means for the goals of the system.

In the most general sense then, the problem of adaptation could be considered to be a problem of properly perceiving and rationally manipulating the means, as defined in relation to the system's external environment, for the attainment of system ends.

Integration. The internal-consummatory reference, defined as integration, refers to problems in which the consummatory interests of the units in their relation to one another (internal) constitute the primary reference. The social structures of men are not biologically sustained like those of social animals but must be continually re-integrated, resustained,and refurbished by their

human agents. This is the problem of integration, the maintenance of mutually supportive relations among the system's units, despite the emotional strains involved in the processes of goal attainment and adaptation.

In the most general sense then, the problem of integration is that of establishing and maintaining a level of solidarity or cohesion among system units sufficient to provide for effective coordination, thereby permitting the system to function.

Pattern maintenance and tension management. The internal-instrumental reference, defined as pattern maintenance and tension management, refers to problems in which the instrumentally significant "recources" of the units in their internal functional reference constitute the primary reference. It serves to maintain the pattern of the units, that is, the structure of the system. Without a stable structure, there would be no system. As this structure consists of patterns of institutionalised, normative culture, one part of this reference would attempt to stabilise this culture by reconciling actors' norms and the demands imposed by the referent social system with those of other systems in which the actors also participates, or with the more general norms of the broader culture. The second part of this reference stems from the fact that institutionalisation involves motivational commitment on the part of the member units (actors) to act in accordance with cultural patterns. Tension management then, is the problem of maintaining within the units a level of commitment sufficient for required role performance.

In the most general sense then, the problem of pattern maintenance and tension management (to be termed as pattern maintenance from this point) is twofold: achieving a more complete cognitive integration of actors to the system's values and norms, and controlling and managing their emotional tensions so as to not disturb the normal functioning of the system.

Summary of the Functional Problem Scheme

Parsons realised that actors interacting within social systems must conform to their respective roles, thus forming a structured system, structured that is around four functional problems that every social system has to meet to maintain stability. These four problems are dimensionalised about two major axes: the

internal/external axis and the instrumental/consummatory axis. The problems are: goal attainment, adaptation, integration, and pattern maintenance and tension management.

Relationship between the two Schemes

As mentioned in the last section, Parsons believed that action in a social system was more than just characterised by the pattern variables in relation to the actor's cognitive and cathectic orientations, in that the institutionalisation of patterns of value orientations in roles would form a more structured system. In such a structured system, actors, within certain roles and relevant to the specific situational context, are prescribed to demonstrate certain, non-random selections within the pattern variable dichotomies. These selections would be across the cognitive-cathectic dimensions and allow for the functional operation of the social system.

By analysing the relations of the pattern variables to symbolic generalisation and patterning, Parsons did establish this non-random relationship. From this connection across the object-attitude line emerged the following matching of the functionally corresponding categories on each side - universalism with specificity, particularism with diffuseness, performance with affectivity, and quality with neutrality. [For a more detailed explanation of this cross-system link see Parsons et al. Working Papers in the Theory of Action (1953), pp. 81-85.]

In collaboration with Bales, Parsons established the cross-system link's connection to the functional problems of social systems. [For a detailed discussion of Bales' research in this area and its eventual consolidation with the motivational paradigm developed by Parsons see Appendix 1.] Parsons' connection across the object-attitude line was found to define the categories of norms governing the interaction of units in a social system. These categories of norms or "integrative standards" were conceived as differentiated in order to organise relationships among actors in each of the four functional problem areas.

Each integrative standard is considered appropiate for one of a system's functional problems: universalism/specificity is prescribed for adaptive problems; particularism/diffuseness is prescribed for integration problems; performance/affectivity is

prescribed for goal attainment problems; and quality/neutrality is prescribed for pattern maintenance problems.

Robert Dubin sums up Parsons' prescribed connection between the pattern variables and the functional problems by saying that:

> for each type of system problem there is one and only one appropriate orientation posture and only one way of categorizing objects involved in solving the system problem. (In Parsons, 1967, p.532)

In summary, Parsons realised that social systems require for their continued maintenance that actors demonstrate certain cross-system linking pattern variables for each type of functional problem. Through his collaboration with Bales, this link, termed "integrative standards", was found to fulfil that requirement: universalism/specificity - adaptive problems; particularism/diffuseness - integration problems; performance/affectivity - goal attainment problems; and quality/neutrality - pattern maintenance problems.

Chapter Summary

In order to attempt an application of Parsons' theory of social action to a school situation, in this case to the interactions of the principal in New Zealand intermediate schools, a review and explanation of his general theory and his specific schemes that were applied had to be accomplished.

Parsons' general frame of reference has served to set the scene for the application of his more specific schemes. It was found to be relational, where actors attempt to relate to their situations through two orientational modes, cognitive and cathectic. Within social systems, situations were said to become recurrent, leading actors to develop stable interaction patterns determined jointly by four factors: the actor's biological orientations, his personality, and the cultural and social contexts of the situation.

Parsons' pattern variable scheme has served to classify the orientations of the principal when in interaction on specific problems. In theory, this scheme provides a set of five dichotomous variables, four of which are used by Parsons' and in

this thesis to classify the primacy of orientations of actors in interaction. Two of the categories: universalism vs. particularism and quality vs. performance serve to classify actor's orientations within the cognitive mode; whereas, two other categories: affectivity vs. affective-neutrality and specificity vs. diffuseness serve to classify actor's orientations within the cathectic mode.

Parsons' functional problem scheme has served to classify the problems dealt with in the interactions of the principal. In theory, this scheme provides a set of four independent categories with which to classify the problems dealt with by all social systems. The categories are dimensionalised by two major axes: internal/external and means/ends. The four problem types are: goal attainment (an external/ends problem), adaptation (an external/means problem), integration (an internal/ends problem), and pattern maintenance (an internal/means problem).

Parsons later suggested that there was a prescribed linkage between his above two schemes. The testing of this linkage was one of the major purposes of this study. It came about when Parsons realised, after developing his pattern variable scheme, that within social systems actors' orientations do occur from random combinations of the pattern variables; he therefore developed a theoretical linkage across the object-attitude line, which later became tied to his functional problem scheme. These "integrative standards" define the predominant prescribed pattern variable combination, prescribed for system stability, for each type of functional problem. The linkage is as follows: adaptive problems are functionally linked to the primacy of orientations of specificity and universalism; goal attainment problems are functionally linked to the primacy of orientations of affectivity and performance; integration problems are functionally linked to the primacy of orientations of diffuseness and particularism; and pattern maintenance problems are functionally linked to the primacy orientations of neutrality and quality.

In this study, Parsons' theory of social action, in general, and his functional problem and pattern variable schemes, for specific categorisations, has provided the framework for investigating the position of the New Zealand intermediate school principal.

CHAPTER 3

PARSONS' THEORY IN A SCHOOL SETTING

This study, through applying Parsons' theory to the interactions of the principal in New Zealand intermediate schools, has set out to not only test and critically analyse the application of his theory, but also to develop some tentative conclusions about the position of the principal. Chapters 1 and 2 have served to specify the problem/thesis and to review and explain the various theoretical schemes that were used in this study. In order to justifiably use Parsons' theory as the framework for this analysis in the school, it has to be first established that the school and its member actors fit into the Parsonian model. Parsons talks of social systems and the action of actors; whereas, this study has analysed schools and the interactions of their principals.

Parsons and Shils (1959) proposed a scheme of four levels of structural organisation, that of: primary, managerial, institutional, and societal. All of Parsons' theories, including his pattern variable and functional problem schemes are considered to be applicable to all four of these levels. Schools, Lane el al. (1968) believes, form a combination of the first two levels, the primary level being the teachers and pupils and the management level being the school administrators. As this study considered that the interactions of the intermediate school principal were part of the management level of structural organisation, all of Parsons' theories were able to be used in its analysis.

The question of whether schools can be considered as organisations needs not be answered here, as various authors, such as: Bates, 1976a; Corwin, 1967; Fraser, 1967; Miles, 1968; and Parsons, 1959b himself have defined them as such and although in some cases these authors have not used the exact Parsonian terminology, they basically relied on Parsons' theories in their research within schools.

This chapter attempts to relate Parsons' theory of social action to the school as an organisation and to its principal as a member of that organisation. To question whether the principal fits Parsons' criteria of an actor, or whether he, as an actor, relates to his situations in the same modes put forward by Parsons was considered to be a waste of time. It was agreed that an actor's selection of orientations was situationally relevant, but each

orientation itself remained unchanged no matter in what context it occurred. For example, the pattern variable of universalism specifies a formal, impersonal frame of reference no matter if it was demonstrated in the school or in the family. For that reason, this chapter does not attempt to relate the concepts of actor or situation or the pattern variable scheme to the school context.

Parsons' functional problem scheme, however, was thought to be justifiably related to the school context in that each functional category can be examined through the literature on the school in order to better describe the types of school problems faced in schools today. By becoming familiar with the types of problems and the various theorists' classification of these problems into functional categories, the later analysis of the interactions of the principal has been simplified.

Each of the four functional problems are related to the school setting through a number of theoretical and research sources and through literature on New Zealand intermediate schools and their specific problems. Each problem is analysed in four ways: how it is most often manifest in schools, the difficulties associated with each problem, the sources of those difficulties, and the attempts made by schools to cope with these problems.

Goal Attainment

Goal attainment, as discussed in the last chapter, was seen as the determination, specification and coordination of directional changes that tend to reduce the conflict between the needs of the organisation and the impinging conditions of its environment.

In schools, the problem of goal attainment is said to be frought with difficulties, in part due to the school's vulnerability and its role as either a leader or reflector of the attitudes and values of society. These and other causes will be examined later, but due to these difficulties, goal analysis should be of the utmost importance within the school. Bennett (1974) believes that much of the school's activity is explained and justified by the administration and the staff, by referring to the goals of the school. Therefore, by knowing what goals are being sought, one can achieve a better understanding of what is actually happening in the school.

Educationalists, such as Bennett (1974) and Miles (1968) in England and Bates (1976a) and Fraser (1967) in New Zealand, were quick to point out the problems of goal attainment in schools, but offered few solutions. This section examines some of the difficulties indicated by these authors, attempts to gain insight as to their causes and reviews some of the possible results of these difficulties.

Difficulties

Schools are faced with a multiplicity of vaguely stated goals, some of which may be mutually interfering, but all of which must be ordered in some way and turned into specific school strategies.

In general. Certainly long-term goals must be of a general nature, allowing many areas of specificity to come from them and allowing different schools to interpret them in different ways according to their own philosophy of education, but these goals should not be so general and vague as to be meaningless and therefore impossible to evaluate or perform effectively.

Miles (1968) examines the problem of goal multiplicity in schools by looking at the varied tasks that schools are supposed to perform. Not only are schools traditionally expected to cause pupils to "achieve" mastery of academic subject matter, but today they must also attempt to develop and maintain physical and emotional health in their pupils and in the process socialise them into our society.

Fraser (1967) feels that there are circumstances under which these goals may prove to be mutually interfering. Some parents have socialisation goals, which they feel the school should attain, that are inconsistent with each other, for example: not fighting versus being aggressive; being cooperative but not conforming; being disciplined versus being creative. In many cases also, the rigid academic goals prove incompatible with emotional health goals.

Bennett (1974) indicates that schools are faced with a difficulty in that not all goals are of the same order (some short-term, others long-term). In addition, some short-term goals may form stepping stones toward long-term goals. Not only must schools convert these goals into a usable and detailed sequence of

learning tasks, but they must also develop some priority criteria in their attempt to order their goals in terms of importance.

In a New Zealand context. In order to view these difficulties in a New Zealand perspective, a brief review of some of the goals put forth for New Zealand intermediate schools since their conception is undertaken.

Beeby in his survey of 1938 saw the goal of intermediate schools:"to provide ... a period of expansive, realistic, and socially integrative education "(p.210). Watson (1964) concluded after his survey that these children should be taught the fundamental skills and knowledge of our cultural and material environment, while shaping their character. The Advisory Council on Educational Planning (1972a) set out seven diverse goals for the education of children from the age of 10 to 13 or 14 including the development of rational moral attitudes and some instruction in social aspects of sex. Most recently, the New Zealand Committee on Health and Social Education (1977) reported that goals such as human development and good social relationships will displace part of the traditional academic disciplines.

After reviewing these four bodies' recommendations as to the goals of New Zealand intermediate schools, one can see that their goal statements are: vaguely stated, multiple in nature and incompatible.

The difficulty that schools have in converting their long-term goals into specific strategies did not seem important in New Zealand until the Advisory Council on Educational Planning in 1972 took a major step, converting their defined long-term goals into detailed learning tasks. During that same year, they published Priorities in Education which spoke out on this problem.

> Up to the present, there has been a wide gap between general aims ... and specific curriculum objectives.... What is now needed is that increased attention be given to deriving intermediate objectives from the general aims.
> (Advisory Council on Educational Planning, 1972b, p.3)

These difficulties in the goal attainment process, specially in goal specification, are caused by a number of structural and

philosophical constraints within the field of education and within society itself.

Causes of these Difficulties

Structure of education. The structure of education generally and schools specifically cause some of these difficulties described above. With pupils grouped by age-grades regardless of their specific performances (imput variability), teachers with a minimum of pre-entry and little to no in-service training (teacher variability), and the inherent financial emphasis of educational programmes, it is not hard to see why goals have been vague, allowing schools to adjust them to their own situations.

Both Bidwell (1965) and Fraser (1967) point out this input and teacher variability. The review carried out by Milburn, Magee, and McKay in 1976 discuss "the pressures of a more mixed and volatile set of pupils" (1977, p.96) and recommends increased pre-entry and in-service training of teacher to lessen teacher variability.

Miles (1968) contends that schools with their overall financial emphasis spend considerable energy on money-raising efforts rather than goal directed activities, and justify their educational programs by primarily financial criteria rather than goal directed criteria.

Society's constraints. Schools must not only contend with the above structural constraints, but they are also confronted with a number of constraints imposed by society. Campbell, Corbally, and Ramseyer (1960) point out that goal specifications are emotionally-loaded in that parents become emotionally involved in the workings of the school and in their goals. Miles (1968) believes that teachers tend to shun research, "doing things by the seat of their pants", basing their decisions of ideological, judgemental or moralistic stances. Corwin (1967) blames goal displacement, the social change produced dilemma, for the difficulties of goal attainment. Schools steadfastly sticking to their defined goals in changing circumstances would be likely to be judged ineffective, whereas schools adapting their goals to these circumstances would be possibly violating prior commitment.

Results of these Difficulties

With this diversity, confusion and incompatibility of goals,

Campbell et al. (1960) believes that schools are hardly ready to do much about their evaluation. Miles (1968) contends that measures of socialisation outcomes are practically non-existent and Campbell et al. (1960) adds that it may be ten years or more before evidence about behavioural change can be ascertained. Even the evaluation of intellectual mastery of subject fields, Miles (1968) argues, is limited to factual recall rather than the internalisation of relevant methods of inquiry. Corwin (1967) points out that schools are unable to fulfil all their goals effectively. He blames that on the goals' multiplicity, their unequal difficulty to measure and their unequal rewards by the community.

Summary of Goal Attainment Problem

Goal attainment is a very complex function in the school involving not only the coordination and solution of problems in the school's movement toward its goals, but also their goals' determination, specification and articulation.

Various authors have pointed out a multitude of difficulties associated with this problem including: their multiplicity, their being vaguely stated, some being mutually interfering and the difficulty of developing definite school strategies from long and short-term goals.

The structure of the school seems to cause some of these difficulties, through input and teacher variability and financial emphasis. Other factors causing these difficulties include the emotional attachments of parents to their children, teachers' moralistic base for decision-making, and the need for society relevant goals.

As a result of these difficulties schools find it difficult to adequately evaluate their goals and impossible to fulfil all their goals effectively.

Adaptation

> The predicaments and dilemmas of modern society have a way of intruding into the apparently sheltered confines of the classroom. They cannot be stopped at the school gate nor left behind in an empty classroom.
>
> (Basil Bernstein in Eggleston, 1967, p.XI)

The problem of adaptation, as defined in the last chapter was that of properly perceiving and rationally manipulating the means, as defined in relation to the system's external environment, for the attainment of system ends. This section examines firstly the school's environment and then the methods by which the school attempts to cope with its influence. The environment of a school, from a sociological point of view not only involves the physical environments of home, school, neighbourhood and community, but also the attitudes and values of the adults and children who live in them.

Several authors have attempted to conceptualise the school's environment by creating typological classifications delineating the sub-parts within the environment. Bates (1976b) developed one conceptualisation by suggesting that schools are located between three sets of competing communities: historical, structural and cultural. Eggleston (1967), who will be followed in this discussion, and Bennett (1974) developed like conceptualisations dividing the school's environment into the school's clientele, its administrative context and its local community.

Eggleston's Categories of the School's Environment

The school's clientele. Bates (1976a) in his article in the Journal of Educational Administration saw the changes in client membership, "fluctations in the size, age, sex, social class and cultural composition (p.19)," as the school's main internal threat. Milburn, et al. in their survey of New Zealand intermediate schools, came to a similar conclusion, especially in urban and metropolitan schools.

> The widening pupil range, (p.24) The impact of the changes in city living styles on the pupils and their schools. (p.27) The range of ... pupils in achievement levels and social and cultural differences had widened greatly and become accentuated over recent years. (1977, p.28)*

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* Note: The absence of references to these types of adaptation problems in a New Zealand context in prior intermediate school surveys, Beeby (1938) and Watson (1964), point out the accentuation of these problems over time.

The school's administrative context. When writing of New Zealand intermediate schools, this administrative context would be composed of three major bodies: the school committee, the local Education Board and the central Department.

As New Zealand schools have long been under the direct control of the central Department, the schools have come to accept this level of control as the norm and the only way to run the system. The intermediate schools surveyed by Milburn et al. (1977) felt that no undue constraint was being applied by the central Department, but did suggest problems were encountered in the lower levels of administration.

No matter which party was in power over the last ten years, their Education Department have continually praised themselves for their encouragement and strengthening of the next level of administration in education, the local education board. This attitude has been reported in National Education a number of times. ("Local Administration," 1974 and "Minister asks", 1977)

Although governments continually speak of strengthening local administration, the school committee, has its power and prestige continually whittled away. Watson in 1964 suggested that although school committees were set up "for the management of each intermediate school" (p.384), their function is mainly limited to one of housekeeping. Along with the limiting of their powers went parental interest.

The school's local community. The local community of a school impinges on the school not only through the active participation of its parents and others in the area, but the community itself, its values, attitudes, prevalent social class, et cetera works in subtle ways affecting the school. Eggleston (1967) quotes Douglas' survey (1964) concluding that the community context of the school not only influences pupils' responses to the school, but also influences the behaviour of teachers.

At the conception of New Zealand intermediate schools their relationship with their local community was not really an issue. Beeby in 1938 found only one of sixteen intermediate schools surveyed related its school's functions to that of their local community. Little change seems to have taken place in community involvement in New Zealand intermediate schools since Beeby's survey. Watson, in his survey of 1964, found meagre opportunities

available for schools to participate in the adult community and; Milburn, et al. in their survey published in 1977, found parent involvement in the school's day-to-day working very limited.

Both the government and parents continually voice the claim that they want local community involvement in education. Mr. Amos in 1974, then Minister of Education, stated that he was:

> anxious to ensure that the form of education for any particular area meets the express wishes of the local public as far as practicable. ("Community Involvement," 1974, p.46)

Parents too have at least said they want to be more involved in their children's education. A survey conducted in central Auckland in 1974 found approximately ninety-two percent of the parents surveyed willing to participate in the education of their children. (Irwin and Westaway, 1977, p.30)

But participation in education covers a wide range of activities from representation on administrative boards to the yearly payment of school fees. What type of involvement is possible? As mentioned earlier, with the erosion of the power of the school committee, few people now take an interest in its workings. For example, the principal of one of the schools included in this study stated that the school committee more or less elects itself at each election as they are the only ones in attendance. Other communities have tried to become involved in other aspects of the administration of their children's education. For example, the Newlands/Paparagi community, after setting up an Education Investigation Committee in 1974 to review the total educational needs of their area, found that their involvement in educational planning had few highlights and many disappointment. ("Something Too Different," 1977, p.22)

How Schools Cope with Adaptation Problems

Corwin (1967) sees the school's adaptive problem being manifest in their boundary definition and boundary maintenance, where the degree to which a school's objectives are compromised by outside pressures depends on the organisation's ability to defend its boundries. This boundary maintenance is extremely difficult for the school due to its vulnerability.

The school's vulnerability. Etzioni (1971) considers schools are weak institutions, when compared to industrial corporations; therefore, according to Waller (1973), schools must try to maintain some kind of equilibrium between outside pressures and their own aims and needs. This vulnerability to outside pressure was noted in New Zealand schools in the Report compiled by the New Zealand Commission on Education in New Zealand in 1962.

> When any problem appears within society affecting children between 5 and 15, or indeed, affecting children of any age, those concerned to solve such problems turn automatically to the schools as the natural point where action may be most nearly universal and, therefore, most generally effective. (p.17)

Options for handling adaptation problems. Schools, according to Litwak and Meyer (1965), have at least three major options in seeking to handle their adaptive problems.

A school could maintain a closed door approach, viewing community involvement as extraneous, if not injurious to the education of the child. Today, educational trends make this policy nearly impossible and educational research too has shown its faults. One such piece of research was carried out by McDill, Rigsby and Meyers (1973) when they measured the affects of factors, including community, on the academic performance of children, finding the degree of parent and community interest to be the critical factor on pupil aspirations.

The second possible approach for a school to take when dealing with adaptive problems is the open door policy, by assuming that many of the basic educational processes take place outside the school, in the family, the peer group and the neighbourhood. But Bates (1976a), Eggleston (1974) and Loubser (1970), individually came to the same conclusion that if the school opens its boundries and becomes tied to their homogeneous local community, the result may well be to preserve that local minority culture depriving the children of the more varied experiences of the overall society.

Litwak and Meyer believe the answer to the pitfalls of the open and the closed door approaches lies in their balance theory, where "intimate and distant school-community relations must be balanced in different degrees under different circumstances to optimize educational objectives" (1965, p.52).

Schools as agents or reflectors of change. In any attempt made by a school to solve its adaptation problems, the question must be asked whether they should accept their environment's attitudes, values and beliefs, verbatim, therefore reflecting the environment; or should they become an agent of change, leading their environment as to its attitudes, values and beliefs.

The New Zealand Commission on Education in New Zealand (1962) concluded for reflection when it stated:"The aims and needs of a particular society changes from time to time and the schools reflect this change" (p.17). But certainly not all agree with this position. McGee (1967) views education as an agent of change in itself, as a condition of change in society, and as an effect of change in other institutions.

Summary of Adaptation Problems

Adaptation problems within New Zealand intermediate schools seem to be increasing in number and complexity. This was noticed from the lack of their mention in the earlier intermediate school surveys and from the abundance of literature and research now being published within this area.

The school's environment was conceptualised as three interlocking sub-parts: its clientele, its administrative context, and its local community. Each sub-part was discussed with reference to schools in general and then in a New Zealand context by the use of information from the intermediate school surveys.

Having reviewed the possible sources of adaptation problems in schools, it was stressed that schools are more liable to be affected by these types of problems due to their vulnerability, and three options, suggested by Litwak and Meyer (1965), were examined as ways for schools to handle their adaptive problems.

Lastly, the question of schools reflecting or leading their environment was broached, concluding that community relevance and justification must be maintained without the school becoming a passive reflection of its environment.

Pattern Maintenance

Pattern maintenance as defined in the last chapter, referred to the maintenance of the structure of the system under study. As this structure consists of patterns of institutionalised, normative culture, this function would attempt to stabilise the

culture by reconciling actors' norms and demands imposed by the referent social system with those of other systems in which they also participates, or with the more general norms of the broader culture.

Education plays a m jor role in the socialisation of children into the values, goals and accepted practices of the society, therefore playing a major role, along with the family, in the process of pattern maintenance, but how do schools perform this socialisation and maintain our cultural system. The manner in which schools organise knowledge, its transmission and evaluation, and their personnel is of most direct relevance. But a problem develops at this point, in that all educationalists do not agree on the emphasis placed on the conserving and socialising functions of schooling, therefore creating a multitude of organisational patterns.

Approaches to Education as they affect the Classification of Knowledge

Theoretical approaches. A number of authors have dichotomised polar approaches to education in general and more specifically to the classification of knowledge. Evetts (1973) discusses a popular dichotomisation based on whether education should preserve our culture or promote social change: idealist versus progressive. Bernstein (1971) further specified these general approaches to investigate educational knowledge's message systems: curriculum, pedogogy and evaluation, delineating two types of educational knowledge codes: collection and integrated codes. Eggleston (1977) investigated the concept of curriculum by examining the ideological perspectives underlying it, dichotomising the perspectives into: received and reflexive. Schools must translate these "theories" into practical methods and workable organisational structures. One of the major areas to view how a school performs this translation is in the organisation of its curriculum.

Practical approaches in schools. Traditionally, according to the idealist view, curriculum at all levels should be organised on the basis of subject matter as represented by the familiar disciplines. From their beginnings as the "seven liberal arts", the subjects have divided and redivided but still show the continual influence of their origins. Today, movement toward the progressive polar alternative where curriculum cuts across subject-matter lines and is articulated horizontally is becoming more widespread.

Kindred et al. (1968) discuss four arrangements found in American intermediate schools which cut across subject-matter lines: correlation, integration, fusion, and unified studies; and two curriculum designs: core and experience which use the needs, problems, and interests of the pupils as the main criteria for selecting instructional content.

Intermediate schools in New Zealand must also translate these idological perspectives into their own curriculum. Beeby in his 1938 survey failed to note even the slightest influence of the progressive movement. Even in the Watson's survey of 1964 little filtering of the progressive approach could be found in curriculum; but in general and especially in the pedagogical distinctiveness of the schools, the progressive approach was being felt. Watson distinguished between teachers and headmasters:"who ... take their cue in interpreting the word education from the verb 'educere' to lead out. ...others, ... from the verb 'educare' to train" (p.123). During the Educational Development Conference of 1973-4 educators were pushing more and more for increased emphasis on process and method, problem solving, and important principles rather than specific facts and limited techniques. The Working Party on Improving Learning and Teaching noted that movement in this direction was taking place. "Related subjects are becoming fused to form new areas of study in which integrated themes and general principles can be stressed" (E.D.C. 1974, p.149).

The widening and strengthening of the progressive perspective to education was being felt not only in pedagogy as stated by Watson (1964) and in curriculum evaluation as stated by E.D.C. (1974); but was also being felt in the organisation of personnel.

Classification of Personnel

In order to reconcile the norms of their personnel with those of the school itself and those of our society in general, a variety of rituals emerge which support the prevalant belief system of the school. Bernstein, Elvin, and Peters (1966) contend that ritualistic acts serve to relate the individual to the social order, and they distinguish between two types of rituals: consensual and differentiating.

Consensual rituals. These rituals serve to bind together: all the members of the school; the school to the school system; and

the school to the dominant value system of society. Lenny (1974), in his adaptation of the Bernstein et al. article (1966) to New Zealand intermediate schools, related consensual rituals to the following constructs in these schools: assemblies, prize giving, sports days, school socials, and P.T.A. meetings.

Differentiating rituals. Bernstein et al. define this type of ritual as those that:"mark off groups within the school from each other, usually in terms of age, sex, age relation or social function" (1966, p.430). All these types of differentiating rituals are traditionally followed in nearly all New Zealand schools.

Miles (1968) feels that schools in New Zealand consider age-grading as essential to adequately communicate subject matter, but notes that some intermediate schools and many smaller primary schools are integrating age groups. Lenny (1974) found that age differentiation could also be found in assemblies where junior pupils sit at the front and senior pupils, who by now are institutionalised, can be trusted to sit at the back.

Lenny (1974) also found that age relation rituals were best illustrated in New Zealand intermediate schools in their "para-military" rituals such as: all standing at assemblies, no talking, and junior pupils wearing drab regulation uniforms, whereas senior pupils are free to choose their own clothes.

The changing view toward sex differentiating rituals can be seen by comparing Watson's survey in 1964 to the Milburn et al. survey in 1976. Watson spoke of girls in homecraft and sewing and boys in woodwork and metalwork; whereas, Milburn et al. noted a wide acceptance in schools "to off-set early set stereotyping" (1977, p.10) by giving boys and girls opportunities to experience all the manual subjects and even mixing them within each class.

The classification of pupils by attainment or aptitude can be considered another type of differentiating ritual. Watson (1964) found that two-thirds of the intermediate schools surveyed classified their pupils in their actual scholastic attainment, most of the remaining third using scholastic aptitude, with only a few classifying pupils according to their shared interests. Yet in 1976, Milburn et al. (1977) found only one school out of the 126 surveyed to be streaming on a tight achievement basis with one-half of the sample arranging all their classes with a hetergeneous pupil mix.

Although previous references to rituals in New Zealand schools were concentrated of pupil ritualization, teachers are also grouped together and differentiated by the school's rituals. Such

devices as: position of responsibility ratings, classification groups, subject areas, dress, et cetera all serve to mark off groups of teachers within the school.

Drawbacks to ritualisation. Bates (1976a) points out that rituals emphasing knowledge, ability, and virtue and discriminating accordingly serve to set up divisions in the school population, therefore failing to unify or bind together the school. Dreeben (1968) agrees with this point and adds that these rituals "may create undue pressure and discouragement for the pupils" (p.36).

Watson (1964) found that the notion of homogeneous grouping by attainment or aptitude, at its conception expected to enlarge opportunities for pupils of varying abilities to gain self-respect and confidence, had in fact decreased their opportunities by not only creating superior and inferior attitudes among them, but effecting the allocation of teachers and their attitudes, the distribution of classrooms and facilities and even the interest of the headmasters.

Deritualization. Lenny (1974) notes a trend in the weakening of rituals in New Zealand intermediate schools where they are being replaced by a more personal voluntary system of relationships. He puts forth four major reasons for this deritualization: the emphasis on the development of open minded critical thinking, the weaking of society and the school's central values, the acceptance of the wider more complex function of the school, and the greater variability in the pupils' socio-economic backgrounds. But not all educators are applauding this trend. Burkin (1978) believes that society needs rituals to mark the individual's passage from one distinct social stage to another. Without these "signposts" proclaiming successive stages of social development, people become confused and lost.

Summary of Pattern Maintenance Problems

How a school performs its pattern maintenance and tension management function was found to be generally based on its philosophy of education, whether idealist or progressive or somewhere in between. This function can best be viewed through the manner in which the school organises knowledge, its transmission and evaluation, and their organisation of personnel.

Historically, New Zealand intermediate schools' curriculum has been subject oriented, but in the last number of years, the progressive ideal of an integrated curriculum has gained ground. Movement in this same direction has been noted also in the school's pedagogy and methods of evaluation.

In the classification of personnel, historically New Zealand schools have stressed both consensual and differentiating rituals but with the changing role of the school today, these rituals have been slowly weakened, being replaced by a more voluntary system of relationships.

Integration

Integration, as discussed in the last chapter, was seen as the coordination of the organisation's sub-parts in their attempts at goal attainment. In order to achieve this coordination, the organisation must maintain a level of solidarity or cohesion among the sub-parts to permit the organisation to function. Fraser (1967) believes that the integration of the sub-parts within a school is not as close, nor as sensitive, as the integration of the sub-parts within an industrial firm.

Integration in the school is examined firstly by pointing out the structural constraints to effective coordination, then the problems in maintaining an acceptable level of commitment on the part of teachers and pupils are looked at. Lastly, the most obvious solution, that of greater standardisation, is examined by looking at its advantages and its disadvantages.

Structural Constraints to Effective Coordination in the School

A number of authors, Bates (1976a), Corwin (1967), and Miles (1968) in particular, point out a number of structural constraints in the school to the effective coordination of their sub-parts.

Bates (1976a) considers that with the multitude of goal attainment difficulties within the school, coordination of its sub-parts might be impossible. With these difficulties, each sub-part might choose only those goals relevant to their particular function, discarding others. Having chosen their relevant vague goals, each sub-part might try to define them in accordance with its own function instead of from the organisation's viewpoint.

Both Bates (1976a) amd Miles (1968) and also the Educational Development Conference Report of the Working Party on Improving

Learning and Teaching (1974) saw the relative isolation of the school's groups as a stumbling-block to effective coordination. Not only are individual members of each sub-part kept isolated, but each sub-part is also kept separate from the others. Due to the isolation in schools, Miles (1968) contends that their staff fails to develop interdependent work contracts. Principals perform their tasks relatively independent of their teachers. In addition, the work carried out by each teacher usually has little connection with other subject areas and only slightly more with past or future work within the subject area.

A weak hierarchy of authority as found in the school also hinders effective coordination. Where this weakness occurs, authority structures are challenged by their sub-parts which have developed more power than authorised. Corwin (1967) explains that this problem manifests itself in three ways: functional divisions of equivalent official power develop different actual powers, by the development of informal power structures, and in the professionalisation of subordinate groups. All three forms of this problem can be viewed in any intermediate school in New Zealand, where traditional curriculum departments receive the bulk of the school's resources, informal staffroom cliques vote in block, and teachers continue their fight toward professionalism.

Maintenance of Member Commitment

Pupil commitment. The possibility of developing a personal voluntary commitment on the part of pupils, Bates (1976a) feels, is all but elimated by the schools' compulsory attendance clause. Miles (1968) agrees in that compulsion communicates to the pupils that teachers believe that they do not want to learn. With continued compulsion, the pupils' inner motivation to learn soon withers.

The commitment of New Zealand pupils to their intermediate schools was questioned in Watson's Report (1964). Submissions on this question came from two sources: those who considered two-year schools as having insufficient time to develop a school spirit or tradition and others, including the majority of parents, who felt that pupil commitment for their schools was high. Milburn et al. (1977) also found in their 1976 survey that the pupils formed a close attachment to their intermediate schools and usually felt sad upon leaving.

Teacher commitment. To develop a high degree of teacher commitment to the school might be envisaged as much easier than doing so with the pupils. Teachers take their job on of their own free will. But the level of teacher commitment, here in New Zealand as well as in many other countries, is well below what some educators believe is needed for effective integration. Some of the causes of this low level of teacher commitment are outlined below.

Miles (1968) believes that mobility within the teaching role is very difficult. For women, teaching is viewed as a temporary position between school and marriage, whereas; for men, teaching is viewed as a stepping stone to administration. One deditated New Zealand teacher in his letter to the editor of Education, 1976, expressed the feelings of many others when he asked what incentives are there for good teachers to become better teachers. At a certain point, the only promotion possible is for a teacher to assume more non-teaching responsibilities and gradually become an administrator (Best).

Teachers attempting to improve their teaching abilities must face dual problems, a lack of time for professional development and the lack of a comprehensive system of in-service education. A survey of the timetables of Dunedin teachers published in the National Education in December 1976 revealed that they averaged a fifty-two hour working week("Dunedin Reporter asked"). This problem was recognised by the Advisory Council on Educational Planning in 1974 when it called for the opportunity for teachers to: "stand aside from their work, to re-examine their objectives" (1975, p.67). Given the additional time will still not solve the problem as there exists today an inadequate system of in-service teacher training. Both the New Zealand Commission on Education in New Zealand (1962) and Watson's Report (1964) noted this problem with the latter calling it a most urgent need along with the provision of incentives for continued professional improvement.

Without this opportunity for teachers to "stand aside", the whole matter of teacher mental health has become an increasingly discussed problem. The National Education in February, 1976 looked into teachers' interpersonal relationships and found them to be generally superficial, defensive and destructive (Hawkins). Milburn et al. (1977) revealed that 70 staff breakdowns had

occurred during the last two years at the intermediate schools they had surveyed.

Another area of concern related to teacher commitment is that of conflict. This conflict occurs between teachers and all other groups they come into contact with, including departmental administrators, inspectors, school administrators, other teachers, pupils, and parents. The teacher, at times, must feel he is being assaulted by the world with his only chance being to strike back. Conflicts over expertise between teachers and administrators invariably arise, but are seldom advertised. Only salary or conditions claims reveal the tension between teachers and others. For example, the National Education in October 1975 reported the "mounting resentment among primary teachers at more than four years' delay in salary claim"("Emergency meeting agrees", p.130).

Certainly other causes for this low level of teacher commitment might be examined, but these four above are among the main reasons.

One Possible Solution

Corwin (1967), after reviewing this fund of problems associated with the low level of integration in the school, suggested that complete order and consistency among the school's sub-parts might prove the best solution. He has suggested that schools can obtain overall predictability by spinning a web of rules and regulations and establishing standards. Both teachers and pupils, although objecting to standardisation, would find their positions firmer, not being subject to the arbitary judgements of the administrators. In addition, he added that explicit rules can be more easily evaded as the reactions of others are predictable.

Not all authors feel that the impediments to integration discussed above are completely harmful, but in some cases may have the opposite effect of some school members. Bates (1976a) pointed out two "impediments" that might have advantages also. The multiplicity and vagueness inherent in the school's goals might allow school members to interpret them according to their own value system increasing their motivation and commitment. In addition, the relative isolation of groups within the school might allow each group to pursue different ethics, knowledge, and life styles, thereby ensuring each group's diversity and fostering a generalised commitment to the school.

Summary of Integration Problem

Integration, the coordination of the organisation's sub-parts, is said to be weak in schools. This is due to various structural constraints in the school and to the low level of personal commitment on the part of various groups in the school.

Factors said to contribute to the ineffective coordination in New Zealand schools include the multiplicity of goal attainment problems, the isolation of groups within the school, the lack of interdependent work contracts, and the weak hierarchy of authority.

The low level of commitment by school members is attributed to the following causes: the pupils' compulsory attendance clause, poor teacher career paths and mobility routes, the lack of professional development and in-service training for teachers, the low level of teacher mental health, and the various forms of conflict found throughout the school.

A solution was offered, that of standardisation, but one author questioned whether some aspects of this "problem" should be "solved" as there were certain advantages to incomplete coordination.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has set out to relate Parsons' schemes to the school setting, but as some of the more basic concepts and Parsons' pattern variable scheme were not considered as situation or system relevant, no attempt was made to relate them to the school setting. The functional problem scheme, however, was thought to be system relevant and was therefore put into the school context.

Each functional problem was analysed in four ways: how it is most often manifest in schools, the difficulties associated with each problem, the possible sources of these difficulties, and the attempts made by schools to cope with these problems.

Goal attainment in the school was found to involve the determination, specification, and articulation of its goals and the coordination and solution of problems in the school's movement toward its goals. Various difficulties pointed out by a number of authors were reviewed and attributed to the structure of the school and to various constraints of society. These difficulties have resulted in the school having problems effectively evaluating their goals and fulfilling all their goals effectively.

Adaptation problems were found to stem from the three sub-parts of the school's environment: its clientele, its administrative context, and its local community and were seen to be increasing in number and complexity. Three options said to be open to the school when dealing with adaptation problems were reviewed and the question of whether the school should lead or follow their environment was broached.

As pattern maintenance was considered the maintenance of the school structure, the school's possible philosophies of education were reviewed. It was found that this problem is best manifest in the school through the manner in which it organises its knowledge and personnel. Historically New Zealand schools have relied on the idealist philosophy for their organisation of knowledge and ritualisation for their organisation of personnel. Lately, both methods of organisation have weakened and the schools have been striving to devise alternative methods of pattern maintenance.

Integration was said to be weak in schools, possibly caused by various structural constraints and the low level of personal commitment on the part of its members. The structural constraints causing ineffective coordination were reviewed, as were the factors contributing to the low level of commitment found in the school. Standardisation was offered as a possible solution, but its faults and a discussion of whether the problem could really be solved, detracted from its acceptability.

In this chapter, problems dealt with by the school have been discussed, through a general educational perspective and in relation to the New Zealand intermediate school. These problems were categorised in accordance with Parsons' functional problem scheme and, in that way, have provided some insight into the problems viewed at the schools in this study. The chapter has also provided a background and a system of guidelines that were used during the research when attempting to classify every interaction of the principal as a certain functional problem.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This study has attempted an intensive analysis of the position of the New Zealand intermediate school principal. Through interaction analysis using Parsons' theory of social action as the framework this study has not only tested and critically analysed the application of his theory, but also developed a more sharpened and clarified picture of the principal's position. Having chosen a problem and developed a thesis to investigate it as stated in chapter 1, reviewed the theoretical schemes used in the problem's investigation as described in chapter 2, and related one of these schemes to the school situation in chapter 3; this study has, in essence, created an outline of the research model to be used. Now, its methodology is developed.

The methodology of the research model needs to have certain attributes. It has to provide for an ease of operation, a consolidation of research variables, adequate reliability of results, and an acceptable vehicle for the testing of these results and their theoretical perspectives. With these general attributes in mind, other more specific limitations and decisions had to be made. Such decisions included the selection of a situation, a method of investigation, a program of data collection, and a method of data analysis. In this chapter each selection is examined through its inherent limitations and the choice decided on explained.

Selection of a Situation

The choice of relevant situations in which to perform this research was severely restricted by firstly, the research task and secondly, the researcher's place of residence.

In the first instance, this study was concerned with the position of the principal in the New Zealand intermediate school. The situations chosen, therefore, had to be New Zealand intermediate schools with, hopefully, permanent, non-teaching principals. In order to perform adequate research within the schools chosen, the schools and their principals had to not only allow but encourage research, and the parties involved at each school, the researcher, the principal, and his staff,

had to be able to develop a congenial, working atmosphere.

The second, even more limiting criteria, was that the schools chosen needed to be within close proximity of the researcher's place of residence. As an extended period of time was needed at each school chosen, their close proximity served to cut down traveling costs and time loss.

Through related work at the university, the researcher was introduced to a number of the local intermediate school principals, in some instances developing an empathy with them toward educational research. Through these contacts and discussions with some of the university staff involved in intermediate education, two schools were chosen, which seemingly fulfilled the selection criteria. As it turned out, these schools provided many differences also, in their philosophies and structures, which later proved to make the theory's application more realistic and to allow for numerous comparisons.

A full description of each school (its philosophy, situation, layout, staff, clientele, and so on) and on each principal (his philosophy, leadership style, and personality) is provided at the end of this chapter.

Selection of a Method of Investigation

One could question whether this section should have come first, prior to the selection of the situation, as in parts it did, but the more detailed decisions were made after the schools were selected. As the problem/thesis dictated that this investigation was interested in the real problems of real principals in New Zealand intermediate schools and their orientations when coping with them, it seemed that the only general method possible was some type of field observation. By using a field method, hopefully, experimental artificiality was minimised, and by using an observation method, a complete and detailed record was able to be kept equal to that obtainable under laboratory conditions.

Two methods were finally chosen for the collection of the data: non-participant observation and interviews.

Non-participant Observation

In order to achieve a complete and detailed record of each selected principal's interactions, the researcher became his "shadow" during the period of study. Wherever he went, within

limits, the researcher followed recording every interaction between him and others. As this method was all inclusive, but also hectic and time-consuming, a period of one week (five working days) was chosen as a representative sample of the principal's interactions. The research periods at the schools were close together so as to minimise time of year differences, but being late in the school year also highlighted some problems specific of that time of year.

Interviews

Interviews were included to perform three purposes. Firstly, as some of the interactions of each principal were divisible into numerous problems, unbelievably short, or almost impossible to record, the interviews were used to provide background to each problem and to fill in all variables missed during the observation. Secondly, the interviews were used to increase the number of problems observed, especially if some of the functional categories were too light to analyse satisfactorily. Lastly, the interviews served as a check on observations in that a comparison was made between the observation data and the related interview data. Overall, the interviews provided background, missing variables, and a check for errors in the coding and collection of data.

The interviewees were selected according to the reasons behind the interviews. If background or missing variables were needed, then either the principal or the person that he interacted with during the relevant discussion was chosen, but when additional or different problems were being sought, then persons not seen during the observation period were interviewed.

The interviews took place throughout the observation period, when time allowed, but the bulk occurred within two or three days after the observations were finished. They varied from five to thirty minutes covering some of the interviewee's observed problems and generalised discussions on how they viewed their principal's position.

Selection of a Programme of Data Collection

Although videotaping was considered the optimum method for collecting accurate and detailed data, it was eventually ruled out due to its cost, non-availability, and impracticability when shadowing the principal. The second best choice, still providing

a fairly accurate and detailed account, was a portable tape recorder with a directional microphone.

It was felt that an audio-recording alone was not sufficient in order to later analyse the collected data. Some type of log sheet was needed to note what was on each tape, the persons in each interaction, the problems discussed, and where each interaction occurred on each tape. A data sheet was constructed, like that below, filled in by the researcher during the interactions and during the interviews.

Figure 2: Sample Log Sheet

Date	Tape number	Respondent(s)	Problems discussed	Tape counter
20 Nov	17A	Joe Smith (DP) John Jones (MT)	School play, IQ tests	031 074

Selection of a Programme of Data Analysis

The analysis of the collected data fell into three categories. Firstly, through the use of tapes and the log sheets, it was found that various types of survey information, not necessarily related to Parsons' categorisations, could be compiled that would better illuminate the role of the principal. This type of data included the number of interactions observed, the total length of the interactions during the study, and the number and length of interactions between the principal and various groups of people both within and outside of the school. A comparison between the principals studied was also made using this data.

The second method of analysis stemmed directly from Parsons' functional problem scheme. Through categorising each problem dealt with by the principal during observation, the following was extracted from the data: representative problems within each category (as found in Appendix 2), the number of interactions held on each type of functional problem, and the length of time spent in interaction for each type of functional problem. This information has been analysed in relation to the school's situation and then compared with the other school being studied. Through this

analysis, an analytical description of the principal's position was developed and the factors contributing to discrepancies found between the two principals were examined.

The third method of analysis involved both of Parsons' schemes: the functional problems and the pattern variables. By analysing edited transcripts of a sample of comparable (between the two schools) representative problems within each of the four functional categories, an interpretation of the principal's orientations toward each functional problem category was attempted. Once these orientations were delineated, a comparison was made between the two principals. Lastly, a judgement as to the functionalism of each interaction was attempted and linked to the interpretation of the orientations as a test of Parsons' supposed prescribed link between his two schemes.

Resumés of the Selected Schools

City Intermediate School

This school was one of three intermediate schools located in a fairly large city. It was centrally located, catering for approximately 600 form one and two pupils. The school was organised around five semi-autonomous teams or sub-schools plus one team composed of manual teachers, giving a total staff of 28 plus auxiliary personnel. The staff tended to be older and more experienced than most intermediate schools probably because it was a "normal" school. The 20 teaching classes were composite in that they contained both form one and two pupils, mix-sexed and, if streamed at all, then only by the pupils' interests. Although being the oldest intermediate in the city, it was known for its "progressive and innovative" philosophy. This acknowledged label seemed to have generated from three sources: its principal, its close connection with the teachers college, and a dedicated staff. The school's professed aims were four-fold, listed here in order of importance and difficulty. The most important and most difficult, they felt, was that of social skills. Second came cultural skills, where they felt that 50% of the school's work should be located. Their third goal was competence in physical, recreational, sport, and outdoor skills. Lastly, and the easiest to accomplish, they felt was academic skills.

The principal has been involved in education for probably close to 30 years and has been principal there for the last eight. He demonstrated a very sincere, thoughtful personality becoming professionally very close to his senior staff, but not completely relating to his newer teachers. His style of leadership, he verbalised as "participative leadership," but added that it was like "an iron hand in a velvet glove". His educational philosophy was the school's philosophy, probably due to his long tenure at the school and his strong convictions within education.

Town Intermediate School

This school was the only intermediate within a medium-sized agricultural town. It was located on the town's outskirts, accepting pupils from both the town and the rural district, with a present roll of approximately 500. The school was organised around four mixed-form teams plus the manual staff, giving a total of around 23 staff and auxiliary personnel. Although these teams were given considerable leeway in their own operations, they in no way could have been considered as sub-schools. Their staff mixture in ages, sex, and experience seemed about normal for intermediate schools, in that they were suffering from a shortage of older, more experienced staff. There were 14 teaching classes, mix-sexed and un-streamed, but not composite. The buildings and facilities were fairly new and well-spaced creating a quiet, relaxed atmosphere. Its philosophy might have been considered as fairly traditional. Although they rated social skills (self-respect and self-identity) highly, academic skills were considered to be very important, having a much higher rating than at City intermediate.

The principal, a professed "teacher" at about the halfway point in his career, has been principal there for two years. Due to his friendly personality, his weekly individual mental health chats with his teachers, and his professed priority, that of the general welfare of the staff, he has, in this time, developed a warm and open relationship with his staff. His style of leadership might too be classified as "participative" but he himself termed it as "the con-man approach," which most people would consider as cheerfully manipulative. He saw his job as researching problem areas, putting forth plans of action, and then letting his staff shoot them full of holes. But in the end,

he still had to make the final decisions. His educational philosophy was not so obvious or finely articulated as that of City's principal, possibly because it was still being refined, sharpened, and translated into school strategies.

Chapter Summary

Through interaction analysis using Parsons' theory of social action as the framework, this study has investigated the position of the New Zealand intermediate school principal. His observed problems were classified according to the functional problem scheme and his orientations toward them in accordance with the pattern variable scheme. In this way, a number of tentative conclusions about the position were constructed, Parsons' linkage between a set of two prescribed pattern variables and each functional problem was tested, and through the theory's application, a critical analysis of Parsons' Theory was attempted.

Having chosen a problem/thesis, decided on a theoretical framework, and researched literature linking the two, this chapter outlined the methodology of the research model. The methodology included the selection of: the research situations, where two local intermediate schools were chosen; the method of investigation, where non-participant observation and interviews were chosen; the programme of data collection, where interactions and interviews were tape-recorded and entered on a log sheet; and the method of data analysis, which contained survey information not related to Parsons' categorisations, survey information stemming from his functional problem scheme, and an analysis of the linkage between demonstrated pattern variables, interpreted from a sample of the principal's interactions, and the relevant functional problems.

One of the schools chosen, called for this research purpose City intermediate, was a central city "normal" school of 600 pupils, divided into five semi-autonomous teams. Both its principal and the school itself were know for their progressive and innovative techniques.

The second school chosen, Town intermediate, was located in a medium-sized agricultural town with its 500 pupils organised through four teaching teams. The school was recognised as having a rather traditional outlook with its friendly atmosphere

created by its outgoing principal.

The next chapter examines the compiled data, organises it according to the three ways mentioned earlier, analyses it in relation to the school in which it took place, and based on the data and its analysis compares the two schools and their principals.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND THEIR ANALYSIS

Through interaction analysis using Parsons' theory of social action as the framework, this study has investigated the position of the New Zealand intermediate school principal, his problems classified by the functional problem scheme and his orientations to each problem classified by the pattern variable scheme.

Two local intermediate schools were chosen, at which non-participant observation and interviews were carried out, followed by the resultant data being separated into two major areas: data obtained through observation of a survey nature, including data not directly related to Parsons' categorisations and data categorised in accordance with his functional problem scheme; and data dealing with the relationship between the pattern variables exhibited by the principal, the functional problem involved, and a judgement of the interaction's functionalism.

Survey Data Results

Survey Data (not related to Parsons' theory)

In this section, the types of people that the principal interacted with is of primary importance. These interactions were viewed from two perspectives, the number and length of interactions with each group of people. If one knew only the number of times the principal spoke to his pupils without also knowing the length of these interactions, a false impression could be gained.

The data from each school is broken down in three ways: the total number or length of the interactions during the research period; these totals split between school members and outsiders; and further split between the staff (and types of staff), pupils (individually and in groups), parents, and others (including educationalists and various community groups). Through this data, four tables dealing with the types of people each principal interacted with were constructed: tables 1 and 3, dealing with the number of interactions at both schools and tables 2 and 4, dealing with the amount of time each principal spent in interaction with each group of people at each school. The data in the tables are

TABLE 1

THE TYPES OF PEOPLE THE PRINCIPAL AT CITY INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL INTERACTED WITH DURING RESEARCH PERIOD

	PEOPLE INTERACTED WITH	Number of Interactions	Percentage of Total	Percentage of Group
(1)	Total interactions	85	100	-
(2)	Interactions with:			
	(a) School members	59	69	-
	(b) Outsiders	26	31	-
(3)	Interactions with:			
	(a) Staff			
	1. Teachers (classroom)	12	15	24
	2. Team leaders	10	9	20
	3. Deputy principal	9	11	18
	4. Manual teachers	6	7	12
	5. Auxiliary staff	12	15	24
	6. Student teachers	1	1	2
	Total	50	57	100
	(b) Pupils			
	1. Individually	9	11	90
	2. In groups	1	1	10
	Total	10	12	100
	(c) Parents	7	8	-
	(d) Others	19	22	-

TABLE 2

THE LENGTH OF TIME THAT THE PRINCIPAL AT CITY INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL WAS IN INTERACTION WITH VARIOUS GROUPS DURING THE RESEARCH PERIOD

	PEOPLE INTERACTED WITH	Length of Time	Percentage of Total Time	Percentage of Group Time
(1)	Total Interaction time	8403	100	-
(2)	Interaction time with:			
	(a) School members	5132	61	-
	(b) Outsiders	3271	39	-
(3)	Interaction time with:			
	(a) Staff			
	1. Teachers (classroom)	864	10	18
	2. Team leaders	1284	15	27
	3. Deputy principal	1140	14	24
	4. Manual teachers	309	4	6
	5. Auxiliary staff	1066	13	22
	6. Student teachers	78	1	2
	Total	4741	57	100
	(b) Pupils			
	1. Individually	321	4	82
	2. Groups	71	1	18
		391	5	-
	(c) Parents	1014	12	-
	(d) Others	2257	27	-

Note: Time in interaction was measured in tape counter revolutions, not clock time.

TABLE 3

THE TYPES OF PEOPLE THE PRINCIPAL AT TOWN INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL INTERACTED WITH DURING RESEARCH PERIOD

	PEOPLE INTERACTED WITH	Number of Interactions	Percentage Total	Percentage of Group
(1)	Total Interactions	108	100	-
(2)	Interactions with:			
	(a) School members	87	81	-
	(b) Outsiders	21	19	-
(3)	Interactions with:			
	(a) Staff			
	1. Teachers (classroom)	20	19	28
	2. Team leaders	22	20	31
	3. Deputy principal	16	15	22
	4. Manual Teachers	5	5	7
	5. Auxiliary staff	7	6	10
	6. Student teachers	2	2	3
	Total	72	67	100
	(b) Pupils			
	1. Individually	7	6.5	50
	2. In groups	7	6.5	50
	Total	14	13	100
	(c) Parents	9	8	-
	(d) Others	13	12	-

TABLE 4

THE LENGTH OF TIME THAT THE PRINCIPAL AT TOWN INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL WAS IN INTERACTION WITH VARIOUS GROUPS DURING THE RESEARCH PERIOD

	PEOPLE INTERACTED WITH	Length of time	Percentage of Total Time	Percentage of Group Time
(1)	Total interaction time	7359	100	-
(2)	Interaction time with:			
	(a) School members	5513	75	-
	(b) Outsiders	1846	25	-
(3)	Interaction time with:			
	(a) Staff			
	1. Teachers (classroom)	1522	21	38
	2. Team leaders	1323	18	33
	3. Deputy principal	618	8	15
	4. Manual teachers	131	2	3
	5. Auxiliary staff	415	6	10
	6. Student teachers	41	1	1
	Total	4050	56	100
	(b) Pupils			
	1. Individually	424	6	29
	2. In groups	1039	14	71
	Total	1463	20	100
	(c) Parents	790	11	-
	(d) Others	1056	14	-

Note: Time in interaction was measured in tape counter revolutions, not clock time.

given in numerical and percentage notations for both the number of interactions and their length. The length is not given in clock-time, but for ease of collection, in tape-counter time.

From the data compiled in these tables, a number of statements are put forth relevant to each individual school, some of which point out discrepancies between the number and time spent in interaction with various groups at each school and others serve, later in this section, as a basis for comparing the schools and their principals.

City intermediate school (tables 1 and 2).

1. Although the principal of City intermediate had about two-thirds of his interactions with school members, these took much less of his interaction time than one might expect. Outside groups, correspondingly, took a greater length of his interaction time than their numbers would suggest.

2. The principal had a large number of interactions with both his classroom teachers and auxiliary staff, but the time spent in interaction with these groups was lower, whereas with his team leaders and deputy principal the opposite to this occurred.

3. Student teacher contacts with the principal were almost non-existent, consisting of only one weekly discussion with the group.

4. Principal-pupil interaction, although occurring on occasion for disciplinary purposes, seemed to be disposed of in the shortest possible time.

5. Parents, too, although usually involving longer interactions than the two groups above, played only a minor role.

In summary, the principal of City intermediate had about two-thirds of his interactions with his school members, the vast majority with his staff and the remainder with his pupils. The remaining interactions were divided between outside agencies, receiving the bulk and parents, the rest.

Town intermediate school (tables 3 and 4).

1. Although the principal of Town intermediate had a high proportion of his interactions with school members, these took slightly less of his interaction time. Outside groups, correspondingly, took a greater length of his interaction time than

their number would suggest.

2. Of the principal's interactions with his staff, those with his classroom teachers and team leaders were largest in number and longest in interaction time.

3. Only one interaction between the principal and his student teachers occurred during the research period.

4. Pupil-principal interactions were equally split between individuals and groups, with the group interactions being longer in duration.

5. His interactions dealing with outsiders were divided between parents and outside agencies, with outside agencies comprising a slight majority.

In summary, the principal of Town intermediate had a high proportion of his interactions with his school members, most of which were fairly equally divided between his classroom teachers, team leaders, and deputy principal. His interactions with outsiders were fairly evenly divided between parents and outside agencies.

Comparisons of the two schools. The principal at Town intermediate had a much larger number of interactions than did his colleague at City intermediate, but these took less of his time during the research period. The large number was partly due to the central location of the principal's office and his open and friendly conversations. Whereas at City the principal's office was "off the beaten track" and he tended to be more reserved. The longer interaction time at City stemmed from how the principal's day was organised. He usually came in early to finish off paperwork, whereas his colleague came in early to interact with his staff at their leisure, leaving paperwork to school time. As this research was carried out mainly within "school time", this discrepancy in the length of interactions at the schools has occurred.

The principal at City had, and spent more time in, interactions with outsiders than his colleague at Town. Three attributes of City at the time of this research were at least partly the cause: City intermediate was a "normal" school; it was located centrally within a larger community than Town was; and three major contacts with outside agencies occurred during the research, which was probably above the normal level.

Both principals spent just over half of their interaction time with their staffs, but the principal at Town had more

interaction occurrences with his staff. The higher occurrence rate at Town was probably due to the centrality of his office and his easy, approachable personality. The principal at Town also had a good deal more of his staff contacts and staff time in interaction with his "professional" staff, especially classroom teachers and team leaders, than did the principal at City. A later interview with Town's principal established the reason for this when he stated that his "priority would be the welfare of staff". This priority was changed into strategy through weekly scheduled "mental health" meetings held between the principal and each of his staff. At City, on the other hand, the principal's interactions were numerous but of short duration, being probably due to the lack of scheduled, planned interactions with this group, most meetings being in class or of a casual nature. Where scheduled meetings occurred, such as with the team leaders and the deputy principal, the length of these interactions increased.

Both principals had hardly any contact with their student teachers. Through interviews with them, it was found that they both felt that they were responsible for this group and made an effort to welcome them to their school, but their weekly meetings after that were their only contacts. The students' day-to-day supervision fell on their individual associates at both schools, with intermediate responsibility at City falling to the deputy principal.

Although both principals had about the same percent of their interactions with pupils, these interactions' composition, whether in groups or individually, and the interaction time taken with the pupils were markedly different. At City, the vast majority of the principal's pupil interactions were with individuals, mainly for disciplinary purposes; whereas at Town, only a third were with individuals and only some of those for disciplinary purposes. This difference stemmed from Town's unofficial appointment of a counselor, who handled most of the direct contacts with problem children; whereas at City, the principal liked to deal with them all himself. The higher proportion of group pupil contacts and time spent in these contacts at Town seemed to stem from Town's principal's "need to teach". One staff member stated that "one of his biggest worries in that now he is in the office and will never have a class of his own again". Through occasionally

teaching, having regular assemblies, and personally advising the school council, he felt that he knew his pupils well. At City, the principal's contacts with groups of pupils was limited to a short introduction to a weekly assembly and chance encounters as he toured the school. The school council was handled by the deputy principal.

The parental interactions of both principals were approximately equal. Only in one instance did either principal contact a parent first. The interactions at both schools were fairly evenly split between telephone calls and personal visits, and behavioural and administrative reasons for the interactions.

Interactions with outsiders at both schools seemed to take a disproportionate amount of both principals' time, when compared with the number of them. It was felt that this was caused by the scheduled context of these interactions. As they were usually planned and more formal than interactions with school members, they required additional time for preliminaries, such as introductions and small talk.

In summary, the principals at both schools had a number of similar interaction patterns that did not seem to be related to their respective schools or their individual personalities. Both spent over half of their interaction time with their staff and almost no time with their student teachers. They both interacted with their pupils and parents in about the same proportion of their interactions. Along with these few similarities, a number of differences also came to light. When comparing the two schools, the interactions at Town intermediate were: more numerous, but of shorter duration; more concentrated on school members; more involved, time wise, with staff, especially with "professional" staff; and much more contact between the principal and pupil groups.

Summary of survey data (not related to Parsons' theory). City intermediate's principal was seen to be heavily committed to the school's community, but still attempted to remain in contact with his staff. In doing so, pupils and student teachers received scant attention.

Town intermediate's principal was seen to be heavily committed to his staff and pupils leaving little time for community groups or student teachers.

Although differing in many of their attributes, these two schools exhibited some agreement as to their interactions with certain groups of people: staff (overall), student teachers, pupils, and parents. Overshadowing these agreements were a number of serious differences in their interaction patterns: time with staff, time with professional staff, number of total interactions, percentage with school members, and time with pupils. These were found to be caused by various structural, locational, organisational, and philosophical aspects of their respective schools and their personal philosophies and personalities.

Survey Data based on the Functional Problem Scheme

In this section, the types of problems that the principal had to deal with are delineated according to Parsons' functional problem scheme. [Examples of representative problems falling within each functional category at both schools are given in Appendix 2.]

Through the data compiled, two tables, dealing with the number of and time spent in interaction within each functional category, were constructed: table 5 dealing with City intermediate and table 6 dealing with Town intermediate. From these tables, a number of statements are presented relevant to each individual school, some of which point out discrepancies between the number of and time spent in interaction on each problem and the others serve, later in this section, as a basis for comparing the schools and their principals.

City intermediate school (table 5).

1. The adaptation problems at City intermediate, although only placed third among the number of times this type of problem was discussed, occurred in just less than one-fourth of the principal's interactions and did take almost one-half of his interaction time.

2. The goal attainment problems, on the other hand, occurred in by far the most interactions, but took a smaller percent of the principal's interaction time.

3. Pattern maintenance problems came second in the number of problems discussed with just over one-fourth of the total, but as with the goal attainment problems, took less of the principal's interaction time.

TABLE 5

THE NUMBER AND LENGTH[1] OF INTERACTIONS
OF THE PRINCIPAL OF CITY INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PARSONS'
FUNCTIONAL PROBLEM SCHEME

A. THE NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS

Functional Problems	Number	Percentage
Adaptation	44	22
Goal Attainment	82	41
Pattern Maintenance	57	28
Integration	17	9
Total	200	100

B. THE LENGTH OF INTERACTIONS

Functional Problems	Time	Percentage
Adaptation	3750	45
Goal Attainment	2360	29
Pattern Maintenance	1601	19
Integration	539	7
Total	8250[2]	100

Note:

(1) Time in interaction was measured in tape counter revolutions.

(2) Total time here is 153 tape counter revolutions less then in Table 3. This is due to various pauses in conversation and discussions completely outside the school context.

TABLE 6

THE NUMBER AND LENGTH[1] OF INTERACTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL OF TOWN INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PARSONS' FUNCTIONAL PROBLEM SCHEME

A. THE NUMBER OF INTERACTIONS

Functional Problems	Number	Percentage
Adaptation	42	17
Goal Attainment	78	32
Pattern Maintenance	92	38
Integration	33	13
Total	245	100

B. THE LENGTH OF INTERACTIONS

Functional Problems	Time	Percentage
Adaptation	1933	27
Goal Attainment	2005	28
Pattern Maintenance	2220	31
Integration	1002	14
Total	7160[2]	100

Note:

(1) Time in interaction was measured in tape counter revolutions.

(2) Total time here is 199 tape counter revolution less than in Table 4. This is due to various pauses in conversation and discussions completely outside the school context.

4. Integration, both in number and time taken, was lowest in the problem hierarchy.

In summary, as City intermediate was based on a community-related and progressive education, its principal dealt with and spent the majority of his interaction time on adaptive and goal attainment problems (together they accounted for two-thirds of his interactions and three-fourths of his interaction time). Although pattern maintenance problems occurred often, their duration was usually short. Integration problems were seldom discussed.

Town intermediate school (table 6).

1. Adaptation problems occurred infrequently, but were fairly lengthy, when they did occur.

2. Goal attainment problems took an easy second place, having occurred in one-third of the principal's interactions and only slightly dropped in the portion of his interaction time spent on them.

3. Pattern maintenance problems took first place both in number and in time spent by the principal.

4. Integration problems came last in both number and time spent by the principal.

In summary, Town intermediate's principal dealt with and spent most of his interaction time on the problems of pattern maintenance and goal attainment (together they accounted for almost three-fourths of his interactions and over one-half of his interaction time). Although adaptation problems occurred more infrequently, their discussions were fairly lengthy. Integration problems occurred the least frequently, but still were an integral part of his position.

Comparison of the two schools. Adaptation problems, although having occurred in less than one-fourth of both principals' interactions, did take up a much larger part of their interaction time, especially at City. This increase in time spent on these problems was partly related to a point mentioned earlier, that contacts with outside groups tended to be planned meetings, not on a day-to-day basis, but scheduled with a specific purpose in mind. The more substantial increase noted at City could have been caused by the chance happening of three rather lengthy meetings within the category all occurring within the research period.

Goal attainment problems at both schools ranked very high (first at City and second at Town in number and second at both schools in time spent). Although both principals professed their leadership style to be "participative leadership", they seemed to be still directly involved in the selection, specification, and the articulation of their schools' goals. Both stressed that they wanted to be kept in close touch with the happenings of their schools. At Town, the number and time spent on these problems were approximately equal, but at City, goal attainment problems occurred in well over one-third of the principal's interactions and took significantly less of his interaction time. This was attributed to City being a "normal" school, where the staff were matured and experienced, more able to recognise areas of needed change and, in addition, able to act on those changes themselves without bothering their principal. Also, the junior staff at City had no scheduled interaction time with their principal so their goal attainment problems were probably mediated by their team leaders.

Pattern maintenance problems ranked a strong first at Town, whereas at City, they ranked a poor second to goal attainment in number and a poor third in time spent by the principal. Due to this research being timed at the end of the school year, one might have expected that the pattern maintenance function would have come to the forefront at both schools. As these schools drew to a close, additional discussions would have centred around pupil reports, prizes, and attempts to "gear down" or lessen staff and pupil tension. Its high ranking at Town was attributed to the school's attempt to provide a stabilising influence on its pupils by providing some structure through their pattern maintenance devices, such as; assemblies, age-graded classes, and academic prizes. In addition, the principal there made it a point to know his staff through their weekly scheduled talks and other numerous casual conversations, and to know his pupils through scheduled frequent assemblies, attending the pupil council meetings, and teaching the occasional class. Whereas City intermediate was known as a progressive school based on a more fluid pattern of activities, personal classifications and expectancies. There one might have expected a low level of pattern maintenance problems, but although the figure determined was lower than at Town,

the problem still occurred in over one-fourth of the principal's interactions. Could it have been that this lack of stable pattern maintenance structures, such as: age-grading, competitive grading, and streaming, had themselves created confusion in the pupil population? Pupils, as suggested by Burkin (1978) in chapter 3, need "signposts". The discrepancy found between the large number and little time spent on pattern maintenance problems at City was probably due partly to the lack of scheduled interactions between the principal and his junior staff (chance meetings tended to be of short duration) and to the very few occurrences where the principal addressed groups within the school, especially pupil groups.

While integration problems at both schools ranked a poor fourth, Town did seem more interested in, or needed to be more interested in this problem. The lower integration figure at City was attributed to the mini- or sub-school team structure of the school. As each team was considered to be semi-independent, having their own sports, assemblies, and parent meetings, their integration (one to another) was not so actively needed or sought after. Town, too, was based on a team structure, but could have in no way been seen as comprised of mini- or sub-schools. Integration problems between teams were still of importance at Town as they organised a number of their activities around the whole school. The time of the year might have been partly involved in integration problems having a low occurrence at both schools, as most would have been noted at the beginning of the school year when units were beginning their interactions, developing policies, and making plans for the coming year. Now, at the end of the year, the major integration problems have already been ironed out.

In summary, the principals at both schools were very much involved on their goal attainment function. From that point on though, each principal's school and personal philosophy led him to stress a different order of problems. Integration problems fell well below all others at both schools.

Summary of survey data based on the functional problem scheme. The principal at City intermediate was heavily committed to two of his school's functional problems: goal attainment and adaptation. Together they occurred in about two-thirds of his interactions and took up about three-fourths of his interaction time. Pattern maintenance problems, although discussed frequently, took up only

a small share of his time. Integration problems appeared only occasionally and took little time.

The principal at Town intermediate seemed to spread his interactions more evenly over all but the integration problems, which here too received little attention. Pattern maintenance and goal attainment problems edged out adaptation problems for his attention.

When comparing the two schools, it was found that in both goal attainment problems ranked very high and integration problems ranked lowest. The ranking of the others seemed to be affected by school's philosophy and the principal's personality.

Deductions from the Survey Data

Although these two methods of classifying the interactions of the principal were not theoretically related, they are in this section compared with each other. Connections, such as: adaptation being closely linked to the principal's interactions with people outside the school and pattern maintenance being linked with staff and pupil interactions, are investigated. Other connections, such as between integration problems and certain group of people are more difficult to establish. This section attempts to draw deductions from the relationship between the people the principal dealt with, as found in first part of this chapter, to the functional problems he dealt with, as found in the second part, by comparing and contrasting the data at and between each school.

The suspected linkage hinted at above, between each principal's interactions with non-school members to adaptation problems, has proved to be true at both schools. The time that each principal spent with these groups was lower than the time each spent on adaptation problems in general. The difference between these times was much higher at City than at Town. As this difference was believed to be the time that each principal discussed this type of problem with his school members, it did substantiate the deduction that City intermediate was much more susceptible to outside pressures than was Town intermediate. In addition, the finding that at both schools adaptation problem interactions were lengthy, when compared to the other problems, also held true in that, in general, interactions with non-school members tended to be lengthy themselves.

The relative importance of pattern maintenance problems at both schools, was substantiated by the both sets of data where both principals spent a considerable amount of their interaction time with their junior staffs and pupils. The even greater importance of pattern maintenance problems found at Town was directly attributed to that principal's priority to interact frequently with his pupils and classroom teachers.

The number of goal attainment problems dealt with at each school was directly linked with each principal's discussion time with his senior staff. In these interactions, goal attainment problems were stressed, as pattern maintenance problems were considered less important due to the senior staff's assured institutionalisation of the school's value structure. At City intermediate, where classroom and manual teachers had no scheduled access to their principal for these types of discussions, they were dealt with by their team leaders; whereas at Town intermediate, goal attainment discussions with these groups were regularly held during their weekly scheduled meetings with the principal.

Integration problems were more difficult to link to any specific groups of people, but the low level found at both schools was thought to partly link with the low levels of interactions between the principals and groups of people in their schools. At City, where there was an almost lack of principal interaction with groups of pupils, the number of integration problems were substantially lower than at Town, where principal-pupil group interactions were more frequent. Assuredly, pupil groups were not the only groups that needed to be integrated, but the interactions with these groups might have acted as an indicator of a more general trend.

In summary, the interactions of the principals at both schools with various groups of people, both within and outside of the school, were justifiably linked to specific functional problem categories: non-school members with adaptation problems, pupils and classroom teachers with pattern maintenance problems, team leaders and the deputy principal with goal attainment problems, and seen as an indicator only, pupil groups with integration problems.

Summary of the Survey Data

The first part of this section, while looking at the people

that the principals dealt with, found a number of agreements between the schools, but overshadowing these agreements were a number of discrepancies in their interaction patterns. These discrepancies were found to be caused by various factors of the schools and their principals.

The second part of this section, while looking at the types of problems that the principals dealt with, found agreement between the schools in their high ranking of goal attainment problems and their low ranking of integration problems, but the ranking of the others differed considerably.

The last part of this section, while comparing the above two types of data, found a high degree of linkage between various groups interacting in the school and the types of problems discussed. Although the first two sets of data were not theoretically connected, the comparison of their individual results established several close links leading to the belief that they described substantially the same thing.

The Testing of Parsons' Linkage

Each school is dealt with individually in this section by describing a number of interactions; explaining why each was classified within a certain functional category; selecting the dominant pattern variables demonstrated by the principal concerned, one pattern variable from each orientation dimension; and searching for attributes of each interaction that would have led to functional or dysfunctional relationships. Upon completion of this analysis, the data from each school is compared in order to support or refute Parsons' supposed prescribed linkage between the pattern variables and the functional problems.

Transcripts used for this analysis are not included in the thesis itself, but attempts are made to justify the category choices through explanations of the interactions and direct quotes of the respondents.

City Intermediate School

Adaptation problems. In order to analyse the principal's handling of adaptation problems, a number of short, but interesting and comparable interactions were chosen: the Maori wardens, the Psychological Service, the visiting teacher, Youth Aide, and the teachers college.

All of the interactions used in this analysis were seen as extensions of the administrative context of the school, some of a voluntary nature and others more mandatory. They were considered as part of the school's external environment and as a means for the attainment of system ends. The principal had to come to terms or actively manipulate these agencies in order to achieve his goals for the school. All interactions, by this explanation, were considered as adaptive problems.

In dealing with or talking about all five of these agencies, the principal exhibited the cognitive categorisation of universalism. When discussing these agencies, he spoke impersonally of them, not of specific persons within, friends, and so on; but of the agencies relative worth to the school. He spoke of: "youth aide ... /ās/ an offshoot of the police" and the Maori wardens whose: "purpose is better liasion,... the wardens being able to act as go-betweens, unpayed social workers". He seemed to have each agency, objectively, categorised in his own mind, using each when appropiate to the situation. Even when dealing with teachers college students, who in some cases might be considered as school members, therefore being an integration problem, he still tended to differentiate this group from the school itself.

Within the cathectic dimension, specificity was the dominant pattern variable exhibited by the principal. He spoke of an used each agency only when the situation called for its use. When not needed, he maintained no contact with them. This point surfaced when he stated, "we have not had any dealings with them /youth aide/ since October last year". Each agency had a specific scope of interaction defined by the principal through its relative use for the school. Any requests outside their legitimate relationship were thoroughly screened, not by a member of his staff, but by the principal himself. His deputy principal came to his office one day during the research period saying that the teachers college had asked, "a rather burdensome request of us. Before I really started jumping up and down, I though I would talk to you first". After hearing the request, the principal replied:"I do not like it. They are just here to observe."

When confronted with adaptive problems, was the principal's primary use of the pattern variables of universalism/specificity leading to functional relationships? At least from the school's

point of view, it seemed so. By using universalism/specificity criteria he was not bothered by these agencies when he did not need them. Everyone was aware of how and when they should be contacted. The deputy principal and the staff were also cognizant of their responsibilities and limitations when dealing with these agencies. Two comments to this affect came out of the interviews. One team leader stated, "Advertising and dealing with outside agencies goes through him /the principal/". The deputy principal too pointed out his limitations when in contact with outside agencies. "/The principal/ makes the policy, but I sort of keep the materials flowing." The principal himself was in favour of using these agencies when he felt they were appropiate, so his stance must have produced, at least in his eyes, functional relationships. A number of times he commented that the Maori wardens were "a marvellous idea" and that "youth aide... are very skillful and very helpful". In the absence of interviews with these agencies then, at least from the school's point of view, the principal's interactions within this category did lead to functional relationships.

Goal attainment problems. With the advent of the completion of the new school hall, the principal decided that then was the time to start its decoration. A number of interactions involving the principal's attempts to enlist the support of his staff in this request were judged as representative problems all falling within the goal attainment category. His reasoning when dealing with this problem was that, the hall should become, as quickly as possible, an integral part of the school, looking like it belonged to the school and its pupils. Cultural skills were considered by the school to be one of the three fields in which this age group needed strengthening, and their use of art both within the classrooms and in the corridors reflected this pursuit. As it was considered that the attainment of cultural skills by the pupils was one of the goals of the school, then their display within the school also became an integral part of the goal attainment process. The principal then by approaching various club teachers to enlist their support in the hall's decoration was attempting to solve the technical problem of showing off pupils' work in the hall and co-ordinate the construction and placement of these works in order to maintain movement toward that goal.

There can be no question that in these interactions the principal was stressing the performance criteria within the cognitive pattern variable dimension. Throughout the transcripts, the principal not only stressed that he wanted the pupils' best work, but he also continually complemented the staff on their efforts and artistic talents. The principal exhibited the use of this criteria when he spoke to some of his teachers as follows:

> You are so artistic, I would hesitate to give advice... You really pick your best /pupils/ ...You have to select children able to do it.... You would be coaching, so to speak, the best.... And let the children know it is the highest honour,... only the best ones are invited.... She is so creative and cooperative.

In the cathectic dimension, the principal's display of affectivity was also very visible. When approaching each club teacher, he continually said how much he liked their work and how pleased he would be if they assisted him in this project. Comments by the principal, such as these were recorded:

> I would be tremendously pleased....I would very much like your club....I do want the hall straightaway to look like part of us, I want us to put our stamp, our personality....I want you to leave your mark behind....Tremendous idea,... marvelous....We would like the two foyers to show our personal touch.

His attitude was one of requesting or persuading his teachers to help him on this. He did not tell them to do it, but made it a favour to him, as in this conversation, "no, no, you have got to be keen of this," thereby keeping it within the realm of affectivity and away from the objectified neutrality category.

In all of the interactions analysed involving the principal requesting staff support for decorating the hall, he received enthusiastic agreement. It seemed from this that his interactions in this area were functional. The staff's agreement at the time of these interactions did not necessarily prove functionalism, but without sitting in on each club meeting and listening to the teachers' discussion of the project, this was our best indicator.

The principal, just in case, hedged his bet by attempting to gain pupil support for his request, where in the next assembly he asked the pupils to "leave your mark behind, not as a carved desk top, but something more lasting".

Pattern maintenance problems. When pupils deviate from the normative culture of the school or their emotional tensions explode, behavioural problems occur, which for this study were considered as pattern maintenance problems. The principal felt that he should be involved in the solving of all the major pupil behavioural problems and his staff were well aware of this desire. More than one staff member reiterated the following statement made by a team leader "the principal seems to want these behavioural problems sent to him". In order to determine the principal's demonstrated pattern variables for this functional problem, three interactions between pupils and the principal plus parts of four staff interviews were used. The problems dealt with ranged from a lack of institutionalisation of the school's culture to an explosion of emotional tension. All cases still being classified as the maintenance of the patterns of the units, the structure of the system, pattern maintenance.

The principal's overall use of the cognitive pattern variable, quality, came out most strongly in one of the transcripts where the principal continually questioned the pupil's attributes, was he "big enough... too young... a little immature... lacking in steel," and in one case complemented his honesty. Through these comments he seemed to be focusing on the pupils' qualities. Through the school policy of shifting problem pupils to other teams, the pupils seemed to have been viewed as objects, not in terms of their achievements, but as statues, pupils who were not conforming to the normative culture of their classroom.

In this case, the pupils' behaviour was viewed as attributes, beyond their control, a quality.

In all three interactions and in the school policy of shifting problem pupils, the dominant category exhibited by the principal in cathectic dimension was neutrality. In one of the interactions, the principal continually mentioned what the pupil's father was going to think, keeping his own feelings out of the picture. In another case, the principal refused to listen to excuses by dealing with the pupil in a rational and objective manner. In a third case,

the principal stayed right out of the problem by saying that he would hand it over in total to the visiting teacher and the pupil's mother. Lastly, the whole policy of shifting problem pupils provided a cultural shock to them by moving them to the other side of the school, to a different team, a different teacher, a different daily routine, and to a different pupil population. This tactic seemed to definitely stress a cathectic stance of neutrality.

Was the principal's demonstrated pattern variables functional for this type of problem? Overall, they seemed to be. Most of his staffwere content with his handling of pupil behavioural problems, illustrated in that the teachers did send their problem pupils to his office, eight were sent during the research period. The policy of shifting problem pupils also seemed well accepted by the staff. One teacher, when discussing the shifting of a pupil, stated, "I think if the problem gets to the stage where the teacher is getting frustrated and emotional about it,... it is a good thing". Another teacher related that "it wasn't my idea. It was actually... /the principal's/ idea that we do this /send misbehaving pupils to his office/". Contented teachers, although pointing toward functional intereactions in this category cannot prove functionalism. One team leader fully backed this policy by saying, "that is what... /the principal/ calls shock tactics and I think that is a very good thing". Another teacher agreed that "in some cases it seems to work reasonably well". In general then it can be said that the principal's handling of these types of problems were functional.

Integration problems. The problem chosen to illustrate this functional category centres on discussions at a senior staff meeting on an end of year concert. The principal, in collaboration with his deputy and the music teacher, decided to involve the whole school in an end of year concert. It was raised at a senior staff meeting to enlist the support of the team leaders and their teams. The team leaders were reluctant to commit their teams, but as an alternative, one team leader, with the eventual support of the majority of the senior staff, suggested that the prize giving be combined with the proposed concert, thereby eliminating the need for any additional support from the teams. The principal, after several attempts to lead the discussion away from this idea, to no

avail, put his foot down and said absolutely not. Although the team leaders were still reluctant to commit their teams, it was agreed in principle that all would try to assist.

Difficulties might have occurred in accurately classifying this problem into one of Parsons' categories as it dealt with the prize giving ceremony (pattern maintenance), pupils' parents (adaptation), the coordination of activities (goal attainment), and the quest for staff support (integration). Keeping in mind though that Parsons' theory suggests that the dominant area be used for classification, this problem was classified as one of integration. The main questions then brought up in this interaction were: firstly, the principal's quest for support of the team leaders in the school's effort to put on an end of the year concert; secondly, as this was not fully accomplished, to win their support for his wish to keep the two functions separate; and thirdly, since not achieving their whole-hearted support for either of the above, to maintain a high level of cohesion among the senior staff members even though their suggestion was rejected by the principal. As the principal throughout the discussion, attempted to evoke the vigorous support of the senior staff for organisational goals and to establish and maintain a level of cohesion among his units sufficient to permit the system to function, the interactions were justifiably classified within Parsons' category of intergration problems.

Particularism stood well out within the cognitive dimension for both the principal and his senior staff. All seemed to be viewing the pupils in their own particular, personal frames of reference. They all accepted the psychology of mass participation, which would invoke greater parent involvement, but each group then viewed the situation on a more personal level. The principal seemed to view the problem from a more global, school-wide criteria, refusing to combine the two functions because if combined would mean a change in the school policy necessitating more changes next year. The principal put his thoughts across in this way, "I'm getting mentally petrified or something because I really think we have got on to a pattern that is very good and I would like to maintain it". The senior staff, too, seemed to view the problem in a particularistic way, but of course their view was more limited than their principal's. They saw the problem from their particular team's point of view in

that some teams had already done their share this year. In that case, it was not right to spring this new request on their teams so close to the end of the year. One team leader expressed the feelings of the majority of the others in saying, "I thought we did our bit in the arts festival".

Within the cathectic dimension, it seemed that the team leaders and the principal did not agree. The team leaders seemed to be trying to re-make the problem from one of giving their support to an end of the year concert, by widening the scope of the interaction, to suggesting a combination of functions not requiring their additional support. This widening or extension of the interaction beyond the specific context of the task situation would have put the senior staff's cathectic pattern variable into the diffuse category. The principal, on the other hand, from the first mention of an alternative to his suggestion, stuck to his plea for additional support from his team leaders for a separate end of the year concert. Right from the start, he attempted to limit the scope of the interaction to his request for support, until having failed to do so, he emphatically stated, "the certificates will be handed out ten o'clock", thereby ending the more diffuse discussion which had taken preference. Throughout the discussion the principal tried to limit the interaction to the specific situation which he proposed, thereby categorising his remarks within the specificity pattern variable.

At the beginning of the discussion, the principal was attempting to elicit support for an end of the year concert. He only partially achieved this quest, in that as the discussion closed some of the team leaders were still registering their reluctance to provide any additional support. The principal finally left it open till their next meeting by saying, "I suggest that we discuss it at the next team meeting. We have a whole fortnight to just think about it". From this quote it can be seen that he has not fully succeeded and probably used this two week period to do some lobbying. His statement to the pupils in the next assembly was seen as an attempt to bring pupil pressure to bear on the team leaders:

> You know there will be a concert in the new hall at the end of the year. I'm sure you have been told, we want maximum participation, it is not entirely to show you off this time, but this time we want to show the hall off. We want you to participate so mum and dad will come along.

In this light, the principal's original objective was, if at all, only partially accomplished.

His intermediate objective, to win their support for keeping the two functions separate also did not run smoothly. When the team leaders' voluntary support was not forthcoming, the principal found that in order to end the discussion in his favour he had to make an autocratic decision. Even though some of his team leaders still favoured a combination, they had to acquiesce to the principal's decision. Interviews with these team leaders afterwards served to illustrate this point. One team leader spoke for them all when he said, "I think with a bit of judicious wrangling they could have combined both, but this is my opinion".

His final objective, to maintain a high level of cohesion among the senior staff even though their suggestion was turned down, was difficult to assess without viewing the happenings at subsequent senior staff meeting and estimating the amount of support given by each team. Discounting the last objective for lack of evidence, the principal did not fare so well in his interactions on this topic, pointing to a dysfunctional interaction.

Summary of problems at City intermediate school. Through investigating four groups of representative problems, one group for each functional category as put forth by Parsons, this section identified the dominant pattern variable choices demonstrated by the principal and made a judgement as to whether each interaction led to a functional relationship. The criteria used to make this judgement included the attitudes of the respondents involved in the interaction, the attitudes of others affected by the interaction, and, if possible, an evaluation of the solution's effectiveness. The results obtained are given in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Results of Linkage Testing at City Intermediate School

Problem	Pattern Variable Demonstrated	Relationship Functional/Dysfunctional
Adaptation	Universalism Specificity	Functional
Goal Attainment	Performance Affectivity	Functional
Pattern Maintenance	Quality Neutrality	Functional
Integration	Particularism Specificity	Dysfunctional

The principal's interactions, in all but the integration category, led to functional relationships. In the interaction dealing with the integrative function, the principal did not follow Parsons' prescription of the cathectic pattern variable, diffusness, but choose the opposite one, specificity. In all other interactions analysed, the principal followed Parsons' prescriptions.

Town Intermediate School

Pattern maintenance. In each of the interactions selected to represent problems within the pattern maintenance category, pupils have deviated from the expected, institutionalised norms of the school. In two of the cases where fighting between pupils was involved, the pupils must have been aware of the school's explicit norm outlawing fighting, but let their emotions get out of hand and fought anyway. The principal then tried to control and manage their emotional tensions in order to dissipate future disturbances. In the other case, where a pupil cut an electric cord, the principal informed the pupil of the school's norm forbidding such foolish acts and then reinforced its institutionalisation by the pupil through explaining the consequences. By definition then, the principal in all three cases has attempted to deal with problems of pattern maintenance.

It was fairly easy to choose quality as the most prominent pattern variable within the cognitive dimension, as the principal in all three cases focused on the pupils' attributes. In the first case, where the principal focused on the pupil's reputation, brains, and being "a heavy", this pointed to the quality pattern variable. In the second case, where the principal spoke to the sewing class, he told them, "I'm not dealing with a group of infants.... There isn't a kid in this room that hasn't enough brains". Here again he has focused on what the pupils are, not what they can do. In the last case, the principal again focused on the pupil's attributes of honesty and keeping a good "mana". So in all the cases analysed, the principal has focused his orientations on the pupils' attributes, their reputation, their brains, their honesty, in other words, their qualities.

The prevalence of the principal's shifting the solution of these behavioural problems from his responsibility to that of the pupils' responsibility, moving away from affectivity toward

neutrality, pointed to neutrality being the main pattern variable within the cathectic dimension. Throughout the three interactions, the principal maintained an impersonal orientation by suggesting that it was the pupils who needed to solve their own problems. The use of the term "you", not I when discussing solutions with the pupils brought this out. Other comments that pointed to the principal using neutrality as his cathectic pattern variable included: in one problem where he suggested that the school (impersonal) has hung a reputation on the pupil; and at the start of another interaction, where he immediately demonstrated to the pupil his business-like, non-affective orientation by telling him to take his hands out of his pockets. If affectivity was his orientation, he probably would not have started in such a way.

Did the principal's handling of these problems lead to functional relationships? The principal himself seemed contented with his method of handling these pattern maintenance problems. There was an exacting chain of communication used for most problems of this type: classroom teacher to team leader to principal to counsellor. Most problems were discussed by the classroom teacher with his team leader, but seldom physically reached the principal. The principal backed this up by saying, "three kids have been constantly back to see me, but all the others, are dealt with without ever getting through, up to here". One team leader made the same comment, but from the teachers' angle, "nine times out of ten with pupil behavioural problems that I bring to him, /he/ would never see the child". The classroom teachers appeared very much at ease when talking to the principal, so at weekly meetings, they voluntarily brought up their pupil problems for discussion. One team leader when being interviewed on pupil problems said, "I wanted to go to the boss as a colleague and chat about it. It is almost like going to a friend and saying what do you think." A new teacher at the school felt the same way, "if I am having any hassles with the kids, I talk to him about it during our weekly meetings". Through the use of his weekly meetings with all his teachers and by his open and friendly questioning of teachers on individual pupils, he was not only able to keep on top of recurring problems, but also to dissipate some before they flared up. It appears that his orientations used with pattern maintenance problems have led to functional relationships.

Adaptation problems. Four short interactions between the principal and the same outside agencies as analysed at City, were chosen to represent adaptation problems. The principal seldom used any of the voluntary agencies at his disposal, but due to the psychologists' expertise on handling pupil problems, they were contacted on occasion. All of these agencies in the school's environment impinged on his control of the school, but when used for instrumental purposes, served as a means for accomplishing system goals. He had to come to terms or actively manipulate these agencies in the school's environment to the best advantage of his school and pupils. That he did and how are problems under the functional classification of adaptation.

The cognitive pattern variable of universalism dominated most of the principal's statements about these agencies, such as, "we don't use outside agencies for pupil behavioural problems". It seemed that the principal classed together all external agencies dealing with school behavioural problems, as external, a common property. He felt that pupil behavioural problems should be handled internally, not externally, "I feel we have to do more storefront work. We have to go out to the public." He classed together or discriminated methods of dealing with these problems by their common property, in this case, being external, independent of their relationship to him.

The principal throughout his contacts with these agencies displayed a friendly attitude, but always stuck to the purpose of the interaction. He stated that he had used only the psychologists and only for two specific purposes. As he felt that his staff and especially his counsellor were doing a very good job at this point, he had no contact with these agencies recently. Specificity, then, was the most predominant cathectic pattern variable.

The principal's use of the pattern variables of universalism/ specificity was judged to be functional in his dealings with these types of problems. Both he and his staff were content with the procedures used and the policy of only using these agencies sparingly and only for specific purposes. His counsellor was really taking over some of these agencies' roles, keeping the problems within the school boundaries, therefore lessening these agencies influence over the school. The lack of recurrent pupil behavioural problems and the positive attitude of the staff, both pointed to his interactions in this category as having led to functional relationships.

Goal attainment problems. In the past a photocopier was rented, but now the school, through the assistance of their parents, have bought one. These interactions considered representative of goal attainment problems involved, the principal's attempt to cut down on the indiscriminate use of it by channelling all requests through his office. They focused on various teachers requesting copying to be done, a discussion with a team leader on its misuse by other teachers, and an interview with the principal.

In the past, teachers indiscriminately used the copier, using vast quantities of paper and running the school into debt on their copying budget. The principal has implemented a directional change (a new copier and system of use) which reduced the gap between the system's needs (the school's need for copied material) and the environment (the school budget) that impinged upon the system. By definition then, this problem was one of goal attainment.

The principal, when dealing with this problem, was interested in insuring that the school was provided with an adequate copying service at a cost that they could afford. In the past, his teachers' use of the copier was not up to his expectations. He therefore made this change in order to guide their actions to the type of performance that he expected. He did not allow teachers to run copies because they were his friends or were good teachers; but he judged each case individually, questioning what the copies were going to be used for, their performance value.

He showed disinterest in the staff's contentment with this new procedure, "I don't know how happy they are". His main concern was if the new procedure was saving the school money. If the staff did not complain then he felt that they were content with his new procedures. Neutrality was the most dominant cathectic pattern variable used by the principal.

In order for these interactions to be considered functional, they must have satisfied three criteria. Firstly, the procedures adopted should have enabled the school to stay within its copying budget. The principal felt it had when he commented that, "it seems to have cut down an awful lot of material". These comments led to the conclusion that the first criteria was satisfied.

The second criteria, the maintenance of an adequate supply of copied material, was more difficult to judge. The principal himself felt that he had "made it sensible, the stuff that is going through sensible". Also, in all the interactions taped, each

request for copied material, after initial questioning, was allowed; but some teachers were still not getting all they requested. Was this cut down hindering his teachers' performance? Some teachers were being scared away from requesting copies when they really needed them. This was told to the principal by a team leader when she said, "You caught... /a teacher/ on it too, because she was very dubious about running off stuff for science." What other teachers for fear of repuke, never requested copying? In this light, it was considered doubtful that this criteria had been fully met.

The third criteria, that of principal and staff contentment with the new procedure, was also questioned. Certainly, the principal was happy with the results, although it was noticed that he was a bit perturbed at being bothered on occasion by such mundane requests. Although there was no specific evidence to back up this conclusion, it was felt that many of the teachers would have resented having to request(beg) each time they wanted any copying done. In schools today, the amount of good reference material that could be made directly available to the pupils is vast; and surely some teachers felt, the hell with the money, let's give our pupils the best education we can. In addition, with the continued rise of professionalisation within the teaching field, certainly some teachers would resent having to ask at all. Can they not be trusted to make the best decisions for their own pupils? The principal's meeting of the third criteria then was felt to be, the the least, incomplete.

In conclusion, criteria one seemed to have been adequately met, as this was the main objective of the new procedure; but as there seemed to be a lack of pupil materials and staff alienation the interactions were said to be dysfunctional.

Integration problems. This problem centred around the weekly school council meeting which was attended by a pupil representative from each class and the principal, acting as an advisor.

The integrative functional category has been defined as the maintenance of mutually supportive, or cohesive relations among the system's units, despite the emotional strains in goal attainment and adaptation. Certainly then the principal's interactions with a body of pupils (a unit) representing the entire pupil population to discuss problems in the school and their

solution must have fallen within the integrative category. The principal suggested that the function of the council was to give "the pupils the chance to have a say in the running of the school, that they feel that they can get something done". By functioning in this way, the council and the individual pupils must have felt a certain solidarity with the other groups in the school. Although most of the problems discussed at the council meeting were pupil initiated, the principal also used this time to put forward his ideas and plans for discussion and to alleviate any pupil emotional strains by being very open and positive.

Overall it seemed the principal tried to maintain an open and friendly relationship with the councilors. He considered himself not as the leader, but more in an advisory capacity. He attempted to stick to the principle of never saying no. The principal told this researcher that "at first I used to jump up and down, but now I find the rest of the pupils will bring the idea down to size". Also, when answering some of the councilor's questions directly, he at times asked the chairman's permission to speak on a matter. Most of his comments were certainly not orders, but suggestions put in the first person, what he would like to see happen. He felt that the final decision was up to the councilors themselves. By developing this open relationship and a mutual feeling of belongingness between his councilors and himself, he was stressing the particularistic side of the universalism/particularism dichotomy.

Diffuseness took the predominant position in the cathectic dimension. During the council meeting, the range of topics discussed was enormous. Not just petty pupil grievancies, such as water fountains not working and requests for the swimming pool to be opened; but more far reaching points, such as teachers' chewing and smoking, the need for school assemblies, and individual pupil-teacher problems. The principal made no effort to lead or limit the scope of interaction, but moved it even more toward a diffuse relationship by considering himself and being considered by the councilors as just one of the parties in attendance and not the leader. The principal's cathectic orientation toward the council, (diffuse) was noted also in the opportunity given to the councilors to conduct a bi-weekly assembly. Their role as councilors was not limited to a half-hour weekly meeting, but extended into their classrooms and into assemblies.

The principal felt, that by using this procedure when dealing with the council and giving them their bi-weekly assembly to conduct, that they had an edge on the usual school councils, and for that reason served to more fully integrate the pupil body of the school. The pupils' openness and tough questioning during the meeting seemed to show that the pupils too felt that they were accomplishing something worthwhile, making their own decisions, but voluntarily asking the principal's advice when needed. The friendly climate that prevailed, alone, might have been sufficient to point to this interaction having led to a functional relationship.

Summary of Town intermediate. Through investigating four groups of representative problems, one group for each functional category as put forth by Parsons, this section identified the dominant pattern variable choices demonstrated by the principal at Town intermediate and made a judgement as to whether each interaction led to a functional relationship. The criteria used to judge functionalism were the same as those used in the analysis at City intermediate.

The results obtained are given in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Results of Linkage Testing at Town Intermediate School

Problem	Pattern Variable Demonstrated	Relationship Functional/Dysfunctional
Adaptation	Universalism Specificity	Functional
Goal Attainment	Performance Neutrality	Dysfunctional
Pattern Maintenance	Quality Neutrality	Functional
Integration	Particularism Diffuseness	Functional

The principal's interactions in all but the goal attainment area, where he did not follow Parsons' prescribed cathectic pattern variable choice, led to functional relationships. In the goal attainment area, he demonstrated the opposite pattern variable, neutrality, thereby alienating his staff and only partially solving the problem.

Comparisons between the Schools

In an attempt to make these comparisons more relevant, it was decided, if at all possible, to use like problems within each functional category. When dealing with like problems, the principals might have been more apt to have had like orientations and agreed on functionalism or dysfunctionalism of their interactions.

The adaptation problems at both schools were similar, all dealing with outside agencies, and as it turned out both principals demonstrated a predominance of the same pattern variables: universalism/specificity. At the same time, both interactions were considered to have led to functional relationships. So at least in this first case, Parsons' prescribed linkage between the universalistic/specific pattern variables and adaptive problems has led to functional relationships.

Completely alike goal attainment problems were impossible to observe, but both of the problems selected would have certainly fallen within that category. The principals both demonstrated the cognitive pattern variable of performance, but differed in their cathectic choices. At City intermediate, where affectivity was chosen, a functional relationship developed; whereas, at Town intermediate, where neutrality was chosen, a dysfunctional relationship developed. If the principal at Town had chosen affectivity, as suggested by Parsons, would his interactions have led to functional relationships? Possibly so. By showing more concern for the teachers and their pupils on this matter, by either allowing them to make their own professional judgements or by winning their approval and support through stressing the need for the new procedure, the principal would have gained the confidence of his staff on this matter and provided the optimum in copied material. It seems in this case also, Parsons' linkage between performance/affectivity and goal attainment problems has led to functional relationships.

Within the pattern maintenance functional category, pupil behavioural problems were chosen at each school. As most of them were very short, several were grouped together at each school in order to better analyse the category. Although differing in their personal styles and in the behavioural structure of their schools, both principals used the same pattern variable combination, that of quality/neutrality, when dealing with this type of problem. Through interviews with them and their staffs and in light of the

lack of re-occurring pupil problems at their schools, it was thought that their interactions have produced functional relationships. So, in this case too, Parsons' prescription has resulted in functionalism.

Although different problems for each school were chosen within the integration category, City's principal interacting with his senior staff and Town's principal interacting with his pupils, both interactions to be functional, according to Parsons' theory, had to have similar pattern variables demonstrated. The principals seemed to agree on their choice of cognitive pattern variable, particularism; but disagreed in the cathectic mode. Town's principal followed Parsons' prescription by choosing diffuseness as his dominant cathectic pattern variable, with his interactions culminating in a functional relationship; whereas City's principal demonstrated specificity as his dominant cathectic pattern variable, with his interaction culminating in a dysfunctional relationship. The senior staff at City intermediate seemed to take a diffuse stance on their side of the interaction, leading one to believe that if their principal had done the same, then their interaction would have led to a functional relationship.

In summary, the principals at both schools, when dealing with the functional problems of adaptation and pattern maintenance, agreed on their choices of dominant pattern variables: universalism/-specificity and quality/neutrality. On both occasions these interactions led to functional relationships. While agreeing on their cognitive pattern variable choices on the other two problem areas, their cathectic choices differed. In all cases, the choices that led to functional relationships were those prescribed by Parsons.

Summary of Testing Parsons' Linkage

From selected interactions at each school this section analysed each interaction's placement within a functional category, the concerned principal's demonstrated dominant pattern variables, and whether each interaction led to functional relationships.

It was found that in six out of the eight groups of problems (four from each school) the principals' demonstrated the same pattern variable combinations that were prescribed by Parsons, and following his supposition each led to functional relationships.

In the other two groups of problems (one from each school), the principals' demonstrated a like pattern variable to Parsons' prescription in the cognitive mode; but in the cathectic mode, chose the opposite end of the dichotomy. Both of these groups of problems were judged as to have led to dysfunctional relationships.

Chapter Summary

In studying the position of the New Zealand intermediate school principal through interaction analysis, this paper has compiled two types of data for analysis. The first type was composed of the sets of survey information: one that was not related to the theoretical framework of this thesis differentiating the interactions of the principals according to groups of people they were in interaction with, and the other looked at the problems dealt with by the principals by categorising them according to Parsons' functional problem scheme. Through categorisation of the principal's orientations to each functional problem according to Parsons' pattern variable scheme, the second type of data served as a test of Parsons' prescribed linkage between a certain pattern variable set and each functional problem leading to functional relationships.

An analysis of the survey data revealed several agreements between the schools, such as: the amount of time their principals spent with parents and student teachers; the number of interactions between these principals and pupils, staff, and parents; the high ranking of goal attainment problemsat both schools; and the agreed low ranking of integration problems.

Overshadowing these agreements were a number of serious discrepancies observed and analysed at these schools, such as: the vast difference in the number of total, pupil group, and school member interactions; the time spent with staff and specifically with professional staff; and the ranking of adaptation and pattern maintenance problems. Through a subsequent comparison of the two sets of survey data, strong links were established between specific groups of people and functional problems, which led to the belief that both sets of described substantially the same thing.

Next, through the analysis of a sample of each principal's interactions relating to specific functional problems, their dominant demonstrated pattern variables were identified in order to test the linkage between these, the functional problem, and

functional relationships. In those cases where the principals' choices agreed with Parsons' prescribed choices, functional relationships did occur. In the other two cases, where different selections were made by the principals, dysfunctional relationships occurred.

The first section of this chapter provides the background for a more generalised look at some possible, but unsubstantiated at this point, conclusions as to the position of the principal. The last section has not only looked more closely into the problems of the principal; but through its attempt to analyse his orientations and test Parsons' connection between the pattern variables and the functional problems, it provides the necessary background to make some judgements as to the utility of Parsons' model in the analysis of schools.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Through an intensive interaction analysis of two New Zealand intermediate school principals, using Parsons' theory of social action as the framework, this chapter attempts to draw conclusions in three areas. Firstly, a number of generalised statements are offered as to the role of the intermediate school principal. Secondly, conclusions as to the testing of Parsons' prescribed linkage between his pattern variable scheme and his functional problem scheme are attempted; and lastly it provides a critical analysis of Parsons' theory as applied to research situations.

The New Zealand Intermediate School Principal: Directions for Further Research

It was realised right from the start of this research that by dealing with only two schools and their principals, any generalisations made about the position could not be considered as representative for all New Zealand intermediate principals. But as the purpose of this study was to apply Parsons' theory to a school setting by attempting a detailed analysis of only two principals, the lack of accurate generalised conclusions as to the principal's position was accepted.

Given that additional research will be carried out using Parsons' theories in a school setting, these following tentative conclusions, although not presented as representative of all principals, might provide a background or at least a beginning for other researchers. These conclusions could then be tested, refined, or discarded, providing a more accurate picture of the position of the principal.

Based on the survey data compiled and analysed in Chapter 5, these tentative conclusions are offered.

People who the Principal interacts with

1. The total number of interactions and the time a principal spends in interaction are affected by a number of factors. The number of interactions a principal has is affected by the

positioning of his office, whether an open-door policy is in effect throughout the school, his personality, and his daily schedule. The amount of time a principal spends in interaction during the school hours is mainly affected by the way he structures his day, that is whether he uses before and after school time for paperwork or for interacting.

2. An integral part of the principal's position involves dealing with persons or groups in the school's environment. Depending on a number of factors: his personality, his and the school's philosophy on education, the school's location, its relationship with other educational organisations, and the community in which the school is located; up to one half of the principal's interaction time could be taken up with these groups. Due to their time-consuming nature, the individual number of these interactions would possibly be less than the time involved would suggest. Parents, as one of these groups in the school's environment, tend to take about one-tenth of the principal's total interaction time.

3. The principal is usually involved with his staff in just over one-half of his interactions, but the time spent in these interactions varies considerably depending on whether most are scheduled or casual. Within his staff, the principal spends little time with his manual teachers, auxiliary personnel, and student teachers, reserving the majority of this time for his senior staff and classroom teachers. The proportion given to each of these groups is affected by the school's organisation and whether the principal has scheduled interactions with these groups.

4. The number and length of the principal's contacts with his pupils varies depending on whether he handles all major pupil behavioural problems and whether he personally takes a role in the instruction of his pupils by taking lessons, conducting assemblies, and attending school council meetings. Although varying, these contacts should fall into the range of from 10-20% of his total interactions.

Problems that the Principal deals with

1. The level of occurrence of the categories of problems tends to be substantially affected by the time of the school year. Pattern maintenance problems tend to increase toward the end of

the school year as pupil assessment problems are dealt with. Goal attainment problems tend to decrease as the pace of the school starts to relax at the end of the year. Integration problems also tend to decrease toward the end of the school year, as the major settling-in problems have already been solved. Adaptation problems do not seem to be substantially affected by the time of the school year.

2. Some problems seem to take a disproportionate length of the principal's interaction time when compared to the number of their occurrences. The duration of pattern maintenance interactions vary greatly depending on the amount and types of contact between the principal and his teachers and pupils. The duration of goal attainment interactions also vary greatly, but depending on whether the interactions involved are scheduled or casual. Adaptation problems tend to be proportionately long in duration.

3. Goal attainment and pattern maintenance problems occur more frequently than other categories of problems in the interactions of the principal.

4. Integration problems occur infrequently in the interactions of the principal.

5. Adaptation problems, their occurrence and time spent on them, vary considerably according to the following factors: the school's philosophy of education, its location and the community in which it is located, and the principal's philosophy of education and his personality.

Comparison of People with Problems

1. The occurrence and time spent in interaction between the principal and his teachers and pupils reflects his interest in the pattern maintenance function of the school. Little interaction with these groups would tend to mean a low level of pattern maintenance problems discussed.

2. Likewise, the interaction level with his senior staff tends to reflect his interest in the goal attainment function of the school. Low levels of interaction with this group would tend to point to a low level of goal attainment problems discussed.

3. The level of adaptation problems dealt with by the principal is directly linked with the level of his interactions with outside groups in the school's environment. The difference between the two (adaptation problems minus outside contacts) is viewed as the level of influence these groups have in the operation of the school.

4. Although integration problem interactions can not be directly linked to any specific groups in the school, the level of interactions between the principal and pupil groups tends to act as indicator on the overall school level.

Summary of Conclusions as to the Principal's Position

Through this intensive analysis of two New Zealand intermediate schools and their principals, this study has provided some tentative conclusions about the position in general. These conclusions are related to the people that the principal interacts with, the problems that he deals with, and a comparison of the two. Although not being put forth as representative of principals in a New Zealand-wide context, they can possibly be used by other researchers as a base to begin research of a more representative and comprehensive nature.

An Analysis of Parsons' Theory

This section provides critical analysis of the application of Parsons' theory of social action. In the main, it is not a theoretical analysis but suggests some problems, limitations, and difficulties in the theory's application.

Prior to this generalised analysis though, conclusions of a more specific nature, related to Parsons' contention of a prescribed linkage between his pattern variable and functional problem schemes, are put forth.

Testing of Parsons' Linkage

As described in chapter 2, Parsons put forth certain cross-system linking pattern variables for each type of functional problem that are considered apporopriate if the system is to remain stable; universalism/specificity - adaptive problems; particularism/-diffuseness - integration problems; performance/affectivity - goal attainment problems; and quality/neutrality - pattern maintenance problems.

In order to test this linkage, this study in chapter 5, analysed the relationship between a representative sample of functional problems, the principals' demonstrated dominant pattern variables, and attributes of the interactions that led to system stability or system instability. In all, eight individual or grouped problems, four from each school, were analysed.

It was found that in six of these eight problems, the principals concerned did demonstrate Parsons' prescribed pattern variables. In addition, all six cases were judged to have led to functional relationships.

In the two other cases, the principals concerned demonstrated Parsons' prescribed cognitive pattern variable, but their choice of a cathectic pattern variable differed from his prescription. In both cases, they demonstrated the opposite end of the dichotomy of Parsons' prescribed pattern variable. These intereactions were judged to have led to dysfunctional relationships. Further analysis of these two problems, as discussed in chapter 5, pointed to the probability that if the principals had followed Parsons' prescription, functional rather than dysfunctional relationships would have eventuated.

If it was considered that this sample of problems analysed were representative of all the types of problems dealt with by all New Zealand intermediate school principals, then it could be concluded that Parsons' prescribed linkage between his pattern variable and functional problem schemes was correct. But as mentioned in the first section of this chapter, the results of this research can not be considered as representative, due to the small sample of schools where the research took place. Further limitations qualify this conclusion to an even greater degree.

The sample of problems analysed was the focal point of a number of these additional limitations. Firstly, only 24 interactions were analysed out of over 200 observed. These analysed interactions were not chosen for their representativeness, but for other more practical reasons: clarity of recording, ease of classification, similarity of problems between schools, and overall completeness. Secondly, in order to obtain some degree of similarity between schools and to have sufficient interaction dialogue to make the category choices, a number of very short interactions, at times up to three or four, were classified as the same functional problem and analysed as a single problem. It was realised that by grouping numerous interactions together as a single problem, although making the analysis simpler, also increased the chance of researcher error. Lastly, although every attempt was made to obtain total similarity between the problems analysed at both schools, this was found to be impossible. This dissimilarity of problems might have been a very serious limitation as it was found that when similar problems

were analysed, such as in the adaptation and pattern maintenance problems, both principals agreed on their choices of pattern variables; but in the other functional categories, where similar problems were not possible, the principals differed in their choices of pattern variables. It could have been that these problems, although considered as representative of their functional categories, were incorrectly placed.

Other limitations of a more general nature will be examined in the next section. They deal with the possibility of additional researcher error caused by the numerous choices that needed to be made, the problem of category primacy, and the problem of category subjectivenesss; and the difficulties involved in interaction analysis, including extremely short interactions, interactions that changed their emphasis over time, and interactions that contained numerous sub-problems.

In summary, based on a very small sample of data and qualified by the numerous limitations discussed above, this study offers the tentative conclusion that, in the New Zealand intermediate school setting, Parsons was correct in his belief that for each functional problem there is one and only one appropriate set of pattern variables if the interactions centred around that problem are to lead to functional relationships.

Critical Analysis of Parsons' Theory

As mentioned earlier, this section does not focus on the theoretical problems or limitations of Parsons' theory, but examines some problems, limitation, and difficulties discovered when this study attempted to apply his theory to a school setting. Difficulties of a more general applicational nature are examined first, followed by an examination of the more specific school-related problems.

General applicational difficulties. Three major difficulties were found through this research that could well be present in any attempted application of Parsons' theory in any situational context. All served to increase the possibility of researcher error in this research and could do so in any other.

One difficulty was that the researcher had to make choices within categories that were only subjectively delineated. Although Parsons contends that all of his categories are "qualitatively differentiated reference categories," he continually hedges on this

by adding qualifying statements. When discussing the axes of differentiation of his functional problem scheme he stated that "these two axes must be considered, not as continua, but as qualitatively differentiated reference categories", but then hedged his statement by adding "however much they shade into each other" (Parsons, 1959a, p.6). Likewise, within the pattern variable scheme, although stating that these categories represent fundamental problems of orientation which the actor must resolve one way or the other, he hedged again by saying that the actor is expected to subordinate the inappropiate pattern variable (Parsons, 1970).

This point of subordinating inappropriate pattern variables has brought up the second difficulty, that of the researcher choosing category primacy. The researcher when applying both of Parsons' schemes discussed here was continually faced with the discrimination of variables, not on the basis of the variable being present in the interaction, but on the basis of whether it was the dominant one demonstrated by the actor. When using the functional problem scheme, the researcher had to select the primary references of each problem. But when using the pattern variable scheme, the researcher's problems seemed to multiply. Not only did he have to choose the two dominant pattern variables within each orientation mode of the actor, but in order to link the actor's pattern variables with the relevant functional problem, he had to also choose the dominant two from the first choice of four.

Certainly the third major difficulty hinged on the above two, in that even with the subjectiveness of the categories and the problem of choosing category primacy, the researcher had to still make numerous choices. Within the functional problem scheme, the researcher had to choose one variable out of four. With the pattern variable scheme, he had to firstly choose two from four in each of the two orientation modes and then narrow them down to one dominant one from each mode. Lastly and the most difficult was the judgement of whether the problem involved and the actor's demonstrated pattern variables led to functional relationships.

In all of these difficulties, the researcher had to make, at best, subjective decisions, any one of which if in error, completely nullified his conclusions.

Applicational difficulties in a school setting. These school-related difficulties in applying Parsons' theory fell within two areas: interaction difficulties and analysis difficulties. First

the interactions took place in very complex situation, some changed emphasis over time, others contained numerous aspects of a multitude of problems, and a good number were so short that they were almost impossible to analyse. Secondly, major difficulties arose involving the use of an adequate method of data collection in the school situation, such as; what was the best method and when and where were school-related decisions made. All of these difficulties have compounded to make research in this area more problematic.

According to Parsons' theory, each interaction, no matter its duration, can be analysed as to its functional problem category, its actors' dominant pattern variables, and its pointing toward functional or dysfunctional relationships. If all interactions were found to take an extended period, then this would have been possible, but many were so short as to have been able to only catch a few words before they ended. In these cases, interaction analysis was insufficient, other techniques such as interviews were needed to fill in the gaps.

Some interactions, for example the discussion at City intermediate on an end of the year concert, could have justifiably been classified within any of the functional categories. It involved the prize-giving ceremony (pattern maintenance), pupils' parents (adaptation), the coordination of activities (goal attainment), and a quest for staff support (integration). The researcher had to make a subjective decision in this and many other interactions as to which functional problem was dominant.

Other interactions, such as the one on intelligence tests at Town intermediate, changed their emphasis and therefore their function classification over a period of time. This interaction began as an adaptation problem in that tests were requested by an outside agency, changed into a goal attainment problem when the interactions focused on the how and where of administering the tests, and ended as a pattern maintenance problem related to the marking and use of the test results. Was this one problem or three? If three, where exactly did it change?

As mentioned in chapter 4 when discussing the methodology, the choice of a method of data collection was severely limited by equipment availability and by equipment appropriateness. It was found that certainly some instruments of data collection were better than others, but no one instrument was perfect, and none were able to collect the totality of data needed. Certainly the principals

studied did not conduct the totality of their school-related interactions in the school buildings, or in their offices, or in school time. They tended to live their positions as principal, getting telephone calls at all hours, attending meetings with an unbelievable variety of groups, and interacting on school matters from the men's toilet to the lunch room to the rugby field. In this light, the complete collection of all relevant data, by any means, becomes almost impossible.

Summary of Analysis of Parsons' Theory

Subject to the numerous qualifications outlined in this section, it was tentatively concluded that Parsons was correct in his prescription that for each functional problem there is one and only one appropriate set of pattern variables if the interaction centred around that problem is to lead to a functional relationship.

This section also outlined various applicational limitations and difficulties found in attempting to apply Parsons' theory. They included general applicational difficulties, such as: category subjectiveness, category primacy, and the vast number of category discriminations; and school-related interaction analysis difficulties, such as: the brevity of some interactions, interactions that changed emphasis over time, and interactions that contained numerous sub-problems. In addition, the problems of adequate data collection in schools were outlined.

Chapter Summary

By attempting to apply Parsons' theory of social action to a school setting through the analysis of two principals' interactions, this study has provided a number of tentative conclusions. These conclusions were considered as tentative because the research sample was insufficient to claim it was representative. They can be used, though, as a guide or a base to begin further more generalised studies using a similar framework.

One group of these conclusions dealt with the people that the principal interacts with, the problems that he deals with, and a comparison of the two. A number of agreements and discrepancies between these categories were brought to light.

The second group of conclusions centred around the usefulness of Parsons' theory when conducting research. Although it was found that in this study Parsons' theory could be applied to the

school setting and that the pattern variable and functional problem linkage held true, it was felt that the limitations and difficulties in its application might outweigh its usefulness.

In conclusion, if this study had been in search of accurate and defensible conclusions about the position of the principal, then this theory was not the right one to use. If it had been envisaged as an easy research model to apply, then again it was the wrong one. But if the main criteria had been the inclusiveness of its categories and its wide applicability in research situations, then possibly it was chosen correctly.

APPENDIX 1

Robert F. Bales' Research and its Consolidation with Parsons' Pattern Variable Scheme

Robert F. Bales' research with small problem-solving groups and the subsequent publishing of his book, Interaction Process Analysis; A Method for the Study of Small Groups, (1950), which has set up categories for classifying acts in the interaction process of these groups was instrumental to the development of Parsons' functional problem scheme and its consolidation with his pattern variable scheme, especially the motivational paradigm.

As both Bales and Parsons collaborated on the functional problem scheme, combining their respective research areas, a quick look firstly at Bales' research and then at the authors' consolidated scheme serves as background to the functional problem scheme, as outlined in chapter 2.

Bales' Work

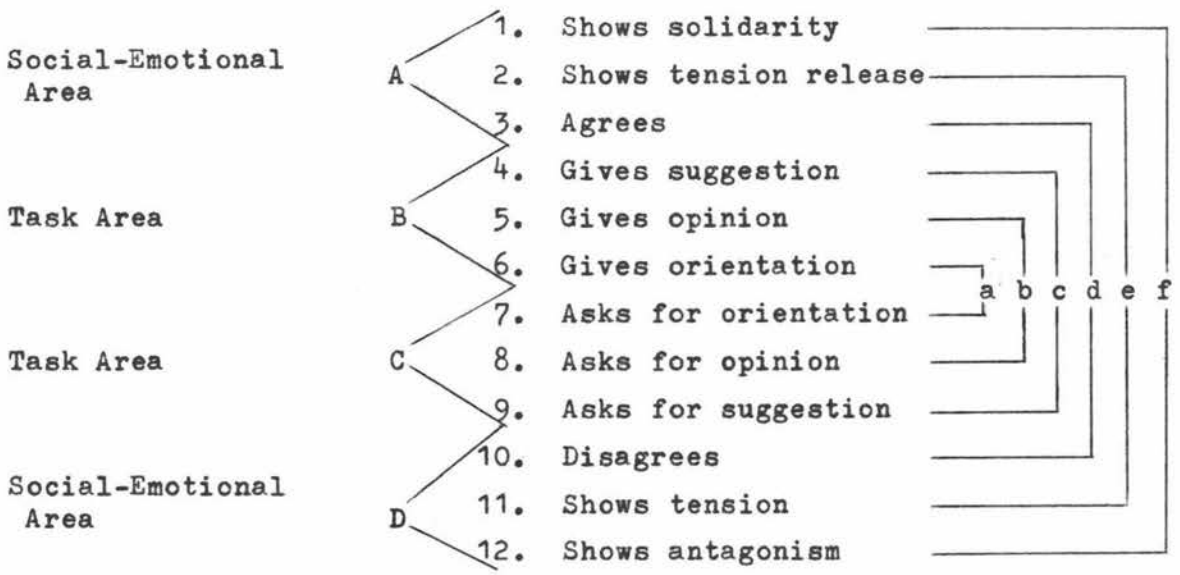
Just prior to Parsons' book The Social System being published in 1951, Bales published his book, Interaction Process Analysis, A Method for the Study of Small Groups (1950), in which he had, by an observational study of the interaction process in small face-to-face groups, worked out a system of categories for classifying each act of each specific individual, whether spoken or gestured. (See Figure 5 - Interaction Process Categories Defined and Grouped by Types)

These categories, twelve in all, were designed to be relevant to the functional problems which need to be faced by a small problem-solving group. The categories are divided into two dimensions: six in the task dimension, which is concerned with the solution of problems imposed by the task itself and; six in the social-emotional dimension, which is concerned with the motivations of group members and the establishment of a sufficient level of cohesion to permit the group to function as a unit in dealing with its task. Within each dimension, three categories represent forms of positive interaction and three of negative interaction.

Bales' technique was used to study sequences of group processes, along a time line. It was thought that small group interaction processes tended to be differentiated along a time line and that

Figure 5

Interaction Process Categories Defined and Grouped by Types



Key: a - problems of orientation
b - problems of evaluation
c - problems of control
d - problems of decision
e - problems of tension-management
f - problems of integration

Adapted from (Bales and Strodtbeck 1951, p.486)

their differentiation tended to follow a sequence of phases relevant for the functional problems of the group.

By considering these small problem-solving groups as functioning social systems, Parsons later related that Bales discovered that each group needed to solve four main functional problems.

> Those of adaptation to conditions of the external situation, of instrumental control over the parts of the situation in the performance of goal oriented tasks, of the

> management and expression of sentiments and tensions of the members, and of preserving the social integration of members with each other as a solidary collectivity.
>
> (Parsons, et al. 1953, p.64)

Consolidation of Parsons' Motivational Paradigm with Bales' Classification of Problems

Parsons discovered that his motivational paradigm, cross-linking the pattern variables from the attitudinal pole and the object-categorisation pole, and Bales' fourfold classification of the functional problems of problem-solving groups were essentially the same, but formulated from different perspectives.

The functional problems are: "set of categories for the direct observation and classification of social interaction" (Parsons, et al. 1953, p.63) as seen from the perspective of the social system; whereas the pattern variables are: "set of... /categories/ for the classification of the dilemmas of choice in action", (Parsons, et al. 1953 p.63) as seen from the point of view of the actor.

> The mode of organization of the scheme revolves around the "functional problems of social systems" put forward by Bales, and the pattern variables of Parsons and Shils, put together in a specific combination; the two in this context turning out to mean essentially the same thing.
>
> (Parsons, et al. 1953, p.71)

(For a more detailed explanation of this combination see the Working Papers in the Theory of Action, by Parsons, Bales, and Shils, 1953, pp.67-85)

Each problem developed by Bales was found to be defined by a cross-linking of pattern variables (one from the attitudinal pole and one from the object-categorisation pole) as developed by Parsons.

> In the terminology finally adopted, the adaptive problem was defined from the attitudinal point of view in terms of specificity, from the object-categorization point of view in terms of universalism; the goal-attainment problem ...

> in terms of affectivity, ... performance; the integrative problem ... in terms of diffuseness, ... particularism; finally, the pattern maintenance and tension - management problem ... in terms of affective neutrality, ... quality.
>
> (Parsons and Smelser 1957, p.36)

With the consolidation of Bales' and Parsons' conceptual schemes, they collaborated in two major monographs, Working Papers in the Theory of Action (1953) and Family: Socialization and Interaction Process (1956), which used each scheme as alternative formulations of the dimensions of a four-dimensional space.

Summary

Robert F. Bales, through his research with small face-to-face problem-solving groups, devised a system of categories for classifying their interactions. These interactions of the groups according to the phases of the group cycle deliniated four functional problems that all groups need to solve. Parsons' motivational paradigm,which theoretically developed a cross-system link between pattern variables, was found to be essentially the same thing, approached from a different perspective. Where Bales' categories serve to classify social action from a social system perspective, Parsons' categories classify social action from the actors' perspective. Now with his cross-system link of pattern variables confirmed by Bales' research, Parsons set out to incorporate his pattern variables within a new scheme, not from the actors' perspective, but from a social system perspective, the functional problem scheme. This scheme is also examined in chapter 2.

APPENDIX 2

Examples of Representative Problems From Each School Classified by The Functional Problem Scheme

This appendix lists, for each school, representative problems classified by the functional problem scheme. Three problems within each functional category are explained, followed by a mention of several others. The problems listed in this appendix are in addition to the ones analysed in chapter 5.

Problems At City Intermediate

Adaptation problems.

1. Printing of the new school prospectus took over 13% of the principal's interaction time of which most happened in two long discussions between himself and the printer. Due to errors, on the part of both the printer and the school, the prospectus was printed incorrectly and had to be corrected and reprinted.

2. One group of company representatives visited the principal during the research period taking over 10% of the principal's interaction time with a marathon meeting between himself, his staff member in charge of the library, and the three company representatives. The purpose of the visit was to introduce themselves and to discuss new materials coming out this year.

3. Interactions on the construction of the new hall took over 9% of the principal's interaction time. They consisted of numerous chats with construction workers and one long meeting between the principal, the architect, and the builder.

4. Other problems considered to be adaptive in nature included: a visit by Sir Edmund Hillary, numerous visits and telephone calls from parents, and the principal's contacts with the area high schools, local primary schools, the Civil Defense unit, and numerous other outside agencies.

Goal attainment problems.

1. Discussions on the coding of library books took over 2% of the principal's interaction time through meetings with his teachers and auxiliary staff. The principal had noted a method

of book coding at another school which he thought might be applicable to his school. He endeavoured to find out the method now being used and then discussed whether a change was needed.

2. Discussions on the construction of handball courts took over 2% of the principal's interaction time. After seeing these courts constructed at another school, he questioned his senior staff on the courts possibility at their school.

3. Swapping the two libraries was suggested at a senior staff meeting by a school member. Discussions at that meeting and subsequent talks between the principal and individual staff members took over 2% of the principal's interaction time. The suggestion was to move the main library away from the music room to alleviate the noise problem.

4. Other shorter goal attainment problems that occurred included: the use of the new photo-copier, the indexing of remedial reading and resource material, discussions with the caretakers on needed repairs, and a change in the sewing curriculum.

Pattern maintenance problems.

1. Changes in the basic organisation for the next year was a many-faceted problem taking over 6% of the principal's interaction time. Discussions took place during numerous individual meetings with senior staff and during a whole school staff meeting. These discussions centred around questions of: the placement of the new form one pupils into classes, continuation of composite teams, alterations in subjects and time-tables, and the staffing situation for next year.

2. The selection of pupils for the end of year prize lists was not a major problem in the school, but some discussion did centre around the criteria for selection.

3. The grading of pupils was again a minor problem, but various discussions did take place on marking and completeness of the reports.

4. Other problems considered to be of a pattern maintenance nature included: the principal's talks to school assemblies, the principal's mental health discussions with his staff, planned end of the year activities, and various informal chats between the principal and his pupils.

Integrative problems.

1. Discussions on errors in the manual grading took about 1% of the principal's interaction time and took place between the principal, his deputy principal, and the senior staff. A contention between the academic and the manual staff appeared when it was found that the manual marks were inaccurate and sloppily done.

2. The question of doing away with composite teams for manual times was raised by the manual staff, but got nowhere.

3. During a staff meeting, the principal discussed the communication methods that were used to keep the various units within the school in coordination.

4. Other problems considered to be integrative in nature included: the coordination of team meetings, the provision of long-range team plans, and the coordination of events prior to the end of the school year.

Problems at Town Intermediate

Adaptation problems.

1. The principal's contacts with parents took over 11% of his interaction time. They consisted of nine occurrences, of which eight were initiated by the parents, five by telephone and three in person. Most of the contacts were behavioural in nature.

2. Two Education Department advisors visited the principal during the research period, taking over 3% of his interaction time. Both discussions centred around the organisation of next year's programmes.

3. Two grounds representatives from the education board toured the school with the principal, taking about 4% of his interaction time. They were inspecting the grounds in order to process requests for the next year.

4. Other problems considered to be adaptive in nature included the principal's contacts with the school committee, other principals, the Chamber of Commerce, and other intermediate schools.

Goal attainment problems.

1. The re-advertisement of a part-time teacher position was discussed between the principal and his senior staff. Due to the school's increasing role, the allocation for a part-time teacher also increased. If the present one was considered unsuitable, the principal had the option to re-advertise the position.

2. Another intermediate school was scheduled to visit Town intermediate at the end of the research week and the planning needed to ensure a smooth operation continued throughout the week.

3. The principal discussed various repairs needed around the school with the caretaker. It took over 2% of his interaction time with the main discussion taking place just prior to the visit by the education board's grounds representatives.

4. Other problems considered to be of a goal attainment nature included the rebuilding of the stage for the inclusion of changing rooms, a learn-to-swim course, a uniform sale, construction of a teacher reference section of the library, and the organisation of team talent quests.

Pattern maintenance problems.

1. Discussions on end of year prize lists took over 7% of the principal's interaction time. They took place mainly during a senior staff meeting, but also on an individual basis between the principal and his senior staff and manual teachers.

2. The organisation and chairing of assemblies took approximately 5% of the principal's interaction time. Although the senior staff chaired the daily assemblies, the principal briefed them on the main points to be brought up and he, himself, chaired a full assembly at least once weekly.

3. The policy of the school was that each teacher weekly sat down to a relaxed interview with the principal. All topics affecting the school were covered, but the main thrust of this time was to insure the teachers' mental health.

4. Other problems considered to be pattern maintenance in nature included the change to non-composite teams next year, the organisation of pupils and staff into teams, the organisation of the end-of-year function, and the completion of reports, registers, and rolls.

Integrative problems.

1. On an irregular, but frequent basis, the principal took his teachers' classes and presented his own prepared lessons. It took over 3% of his interaction time during the research.

2. There was a disagreement among the senior staff as to one of their member's handling of the arrangements of the visit from another intermediate school. Each senior staff member voiced

his opinion to the principal on a number of occasions.

3. The school had set up to have teacher activity days at the end of the school year where pupils followed and participated in teacher selected activities. The coordination of each teacher's programme came through the principal.

4. Other problems that were considered to be integrative in nature included team coordination, coordination of school sport, dissension among the senior staff as to another staff member's responsibilities, and the initiation of subject responsibilities for senior teachers.

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