

*"Every novelty does some hurt,
for it unsettles what is established."
Bacon - 'Of Innovations'*

AN EXAMINATION OF THE IDEA OF
DECISION MAKING CONSENSUS
APPLIED TO EDUCATIONAL
INNOVATIONS IN FOUR COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT

This study sets out to make an examination of decision making with a particular emphasis on consensus in the process of innovation.

Four countries provide the context - Indonesia, Malaysia, the Länd (State) of Nordrhein-Westfalen in the Federal Republic of Germany, and New Zealand.

The study has two purposes. To examine;

1. The relationship between concordance between specific, but interdependent groups in each society and the nature of the innovation, and,
2. The degree of consensus among those same groups.

The theoretical foundation is a simplified version of a Parsonian position, based on normative consensus within a social system.

The data base was derived from three sources. The main source was;

- (a) A data gathering instrument called an innovation dossier which was completed by respondents in each of the countries studied, and who were closely involved with the innovations as part of a research project involving seven countries, which agreed to work together on the problem of educational innovation under the auspices of UNESCO's International Institute for Planning, IIEP, in Paris. An important source of background information was;
- (b) The working draft of a book to be published for the IIEP by UNESCO, edited by Raymond S. Adams and David Chen, entitled *The Process of Educational Innovation: An International Perspective* which gave valuable information and insights on the chosen innovations not available in the dossiers;
- (c) Certain relevant literature, Reports and Acts of Parliament concerning the countries studied.

The method employed is 'case study' based and is intended to be both qualitative and illuminative. The emphasis is placed on description and analysis of consensus events occurring in the processes of each innovation and not on developing 'findings'.

Certain broad trends, however, did become apparent among many other events which occurred within each innovation. For example:

In all four innovations the people actually involved in carrying out the reform had no part in determining what the reform would be. Those who determined an innovation planned it, and, in two cases legislated for it. The operation of the innovation was left in the hands of those excluded from determining what the solution would be.

Decision making at Government, Ministry and Educator level was greater in frequency than decisions made by groups lower down the societal hierarchy.

These, and many other insights yielded into problems encountered within each innovation, are presented as tentative conjectures on the function of consensus within the innovative process.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Manchester Guardian Weekly*¹ in the course of an article on Cuba and its efforts towards development, made the statement that:

"The grass roots have little influence on propositions made higher up, nor do higher ups have much influence on rank and file decisions."

The present thesis, though not concerned with Cuba, is concerned with the critical issue implicit in the quotation - consensus in decision making. It is, as well, concerned with another phenomenon also implicit in the quotation, the puzzling phenomenon of the innovative process; the fact that many innovations founder because of rank and file have either not been consulted, or have been only fitfully or partially involved in the planning, development and implementation of the innovation.

The thesis is however, rather more focussed than is the general statement from the *Guardian Weekly*. Here the emphasis is on the education system and innovation within its sphere of operation. Thus it is the classroom teacher who constitutes the grassroots of this study - grassroots are, nonetheless part of a wider network that includes parents, citizens, local politicians, traditional and religious leaders and many others.

Perhaps it is not strange that, as the record constantly asserts, educational innovations fail (Taba, 1962; Havelock and Huberman, 1977; Adams and Chen, 1980; Hagen, 1962). There is, among administrators of educational systems, an apparently naive belief that classroom teachers are infinitely biddable, infinitely resourceful and above all infinitely adaptable. For example, in New Zealand it was the classroom teacher who, upon edict had to take delivery of the new mathematics texts from the local authority and attempt, often without benefit of in-service training, to teach the new mathematics. Before that, it was the classroom teacher who had to come to terms with the vastly different philosophy in learning inherent in the 'Ready to Read' series of readers, and, in an in-service climate different from that which teachers enjoy today, make 'Ready to Read' an almost indispensable part of teaching in New Zealand schools. The success that ultimately crowned their efforts took the best part of twenty years to achieve - a something less than ideal implementation, it would seem. More often than not however, such attempts are crowned with failure - for good reason:

"Faced with anything new which he doesn't know much about, the average teacher exhibits a remarkable

¹ The *Guardian Weekly* Volume 122, No.26, Week Ending 22 June 1980.

capacity for going on doing the same old things under a new name." (Beeby, 1979)

But the *Guardian* statement can be looked at in another way. In many countries the 'grassroots' have little influence on propositions made 'higher up'. Higher up means those decisions that are made by Governments and Government ministries. They are made with little or no reference to the educational consumer in the belief that the decision is 'good' for the country, with usually national unity the reason, if not the excuse. This is a marked characteristic of educational decision making, principally, but not exclusively in developing countries where Governments have sought to inculcate an acceptance of, and a compliance with prevailing political systems, and, among other things, to detach disparate communities from their distinctive cultural and religious affinities in order to promote a sense of national identity through formal public instruction (Wilson, 1977).

In a heterogeneous society the introduction of politically determined educational programmes has far-reaching implications for the student of innovation and consensus. In education, as in all social affairs, the people who make up the communities of the world have conflicting views on what they want. Changes are seldom greeted by universal acclaim. People tend to disagree over what constitutes educational wisdom. Misinformation abounds; interests clash and while new policy is fashioned most of those who will ultimately be affected by it are left to remain on the sidelines, unaffected, and quite likely unaware of it all (Coombes, 1975).

In developing countries (and this thesis is concerned both with developing and developed countries) and in particular those of South East Asia, the cultural and ethno-linguistic diversity is reflected in the widely diverse character of the populations of the individual states of the region. Problems with multi-lingualism and multi-culturalism are endemic, affecting the efforts of centralised government to forge a unified nation state. Understandably, modern education has increasingly come to be used as a way to confront and overcome the problems inherent.

This thesis, prompted by sympathy for the problems of divergent and developing education systems, sets out to make an examination of decision making, but with a particular emphasis on consensus in the process of innovation. Four countries provide the context - Indonesia, Malaysia, the Länd (State) of Nordrhein-Westfalen (one of the parliamentary democracies which make up the Federal Republic of Germany), and New Zealand. Two of these countries can be described as developing and two as developed. However they are all widely divergent and display interestingly different organisational patterns.

There is inevitably some relationship between the starting point

of a thesis, the choice of method and the nature of the questions whose answers are to be sought. In a study such as this the assumption made is that any discoveries made may yield insights into problems which loom large in the field of educational innovation. The search has the overall purpose of gaining an understanding (approximating an explanation), of the function of consensus in the innovative process.

The method employed is based on case studies and may be described as qualitative and illuminative (Trow, 1970; Berg and Ostergren, 1977) where the emphasis is placed on description and analysis of consensus events occurring in the processes of each innovation. The innovations concerned are described within the framework of a data gathering instrument called an Innovation Dossier which was completed by respondents in each of the countries concerned, and who were closely involved with the innovations. The dossiers used may be described more accurately as halfway between a questionnaire and an interview schedule. Ample room was provided in them for comments by each group of respondents. These dossiers provided a framework within which further information about each innovation could be more systematically sampled. That included (germane to this writer's purposes), further information into the function of Decision Making/Consensus. There are drawbacks to a case study, dossier based method. Nothing can be proven. The results reached and given may be contaminated by a personal bias. The lack of measurable and quantitative data may also be seen as another drawback. Illumination may distort rather than reveal a true image of the reality that is being sought.

Nevertheless, because of, rather than in spite of, these drawbacks this writer believes that what is informed, depends not only on the *content* in which the dossiers are set but in the *manner* in which they are sampled; for, that there is more order in the innovations studied than appears at first sight is not discovered until that order is looked for in a systematic way. Chapter 1 therefore, sets the boundaries and purposes of the study, explains the methods used, and provides a framework within which the decision making/consensus processes of innovation have been examined. Chapter 2 outlines the trends apparent in educational innovative research over the last three decades. Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 are concerned with the innovation studied in each of the four selected countries. These four chapters have the same basic format. They set out to describe and explain the particular innovation within the framework of the Innovation Dossier returned by each group of respondents and to interpret the information provided in light of the basic concerns of this present study. Chapter 7 draws together the analysis of consensus events, discusses the insights yielded into problems encountered within each innovation, and presents some conjectures on the function of consensus within the innovative process.

CHAPTER ONE

BOUNDARIES AND PURPOSES

The purpose of this chapter is to set the boundaries and purposes of the study, explain the methods used and provide an explanation of the framework within which the decision making/consensus processes of innovation have been examined. Its structure is presented in the following way:

First, the background to the study is outlined briefly; Second, the reasons for the choice of countries to be studied is given; Third, the focus, underlying purpose, theoretical basis and assumptions made are stated; Fourth, the Innovation Dossiers are explained and outlined; Fifth, the structure of the decision making/consensus groups are discussed.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This is a study which arises out of a larger study involving seven countries. In 1976 a group of educational researchers and senior educational administrators (each administrator having responsibility for educational planning in his own country), met under the auspices of UNESCO's International Institute for Planning, IIEP, in Paris. They represented twelve countries in all and shared a common problem - how to ensure that chosen policies in education could be effectively taken to their desired conclusion.

During the course of the meetings held, the group agreed upon several salient features of educational planning. Among them was the lack of information available on the process of educational innovation, the need for research based relevant information on this process and the similarity that was apparent (despite other differences) in all countries in the relationships between the school, the community, the education system and the greater societal system outside the educational boundaries (Adams, 1977).

As a direct result of these deliberations and the agreement reached, the IIEP set up a research project involving seven UN countries which agreed to work together on the problem of educational innovation (Adams and Chen, 1980).

Each of the representatives consented to take a particular innovation from within their own country and trace its progress from the initial idea, through all the stages attempted and all the societal groups concerned, up to its general implementation (if this actually occurred).

As it happened each country not only had its own educational research or curriculum research unit, but also had its own innovation under consideration or under way. So, after meetings involving the production of working papers for each country,

designed to provide detail and background, a data gathering instrument - an 'Innovation Dossier' was developed. Its authors called it:

"A strange device halfway between a questionnaire and an interview schedule." (Adams and Chen, 1980)

COUNTRY SELECTION

For the present study four of the original seven have been selected. They are Indonesia, Malaysia, Nordrhein-Westfalen and New Zealand.

The four countries were chosen for study because of the differences in the organisation of their educational systems; Nordrhein-Westfalen has a decentralised system, New Zealand a semi-centralised/decentralised system, and both Indonesia and Malaysia have centralised systems, but with differing emphases.

The four innovations studied were also very different. Nordrhein-Westfalen was attempting to rectify the employment problems of its apprentice age school leavers, New Zealand to design a different and better type of secondary school building, Indonesia to introduce nationally a new modular instruction approach throughout its system, and Malaysia to develop a new integrated curriculum for the first three years of schooling.

The four innovations however, had several points in common. They were all in some way concerned with the quality of education. As Coombs (1975) has pointed out the strategies required for dealing with *quantitative* problems in educational systems are well established and constitute a skilled and systematic 'numbers game'. It is the planning of innovations to improve education *quality* that are not so well understood.

PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

Innovations usually, but not always, involve some rearrangement of the internal structure of their systems, the entry of new people, new materials, financial inputs and a new way of doing things, i.e. the introduction of new rules. The introduction of new rules implies the making of new decisions and decision making is crucial to the evolution of innovation. By definition then, innovation entails change. Whether change comes about in ways that promotes or prevents the development of an innovation depends on the kinds of decisions made - the times at which they are made, and more importantly, the extent to which decisions are carried out. Given that decisions for most innovations are made in the higher echelons of education systems but those who have to carry them out are in the lower, then the degree of concurrence or concordance between the two becomes crucial to the success (or failure, or abandonment) of the innovation.

Thus, the purpose of the study is to examine:

- (i) the relationship between concordance between specific (but interdependent) groups in each society and the nature of the innovation, and
- (ii) the degree of consensus among those same groups.

The assumption made here is that the relative power of each group and the degree of concordance between group and innovative idea will influence the *process* of the innovation. In this context, deemed critical in the evolutionary process of decision making are the relationships of concordance between the *idea* of the innovation and the hierarchy of the social groups.

Although there have been a number of attempts to generate general theories of change (see for example, Bennis, Benne and Chin, 1961), so far theories of educational innovation are relatively rare. Havelock and Huberman (1977) and Dalin (1970) have taken first steps, but as yet the field is characterised more by conjecture than certainty.

For the purposes of the present study a somewhat simplified (and loose) version of a Parsonian position has been adopted. It sees the context and process of innovation in the following way: The main elements (Johnson, 1961; Rex, 1961) in the structure of a social system are -

- (a) *Sub-groups* of various kinds, normatively related;
- (b) *Roles* both within the larger system and within sub-groups - each role system being normatively related with each of the others;
- (c) *Regulative norms* governing sub-groups and roles;
- (d) *Cultural values*.

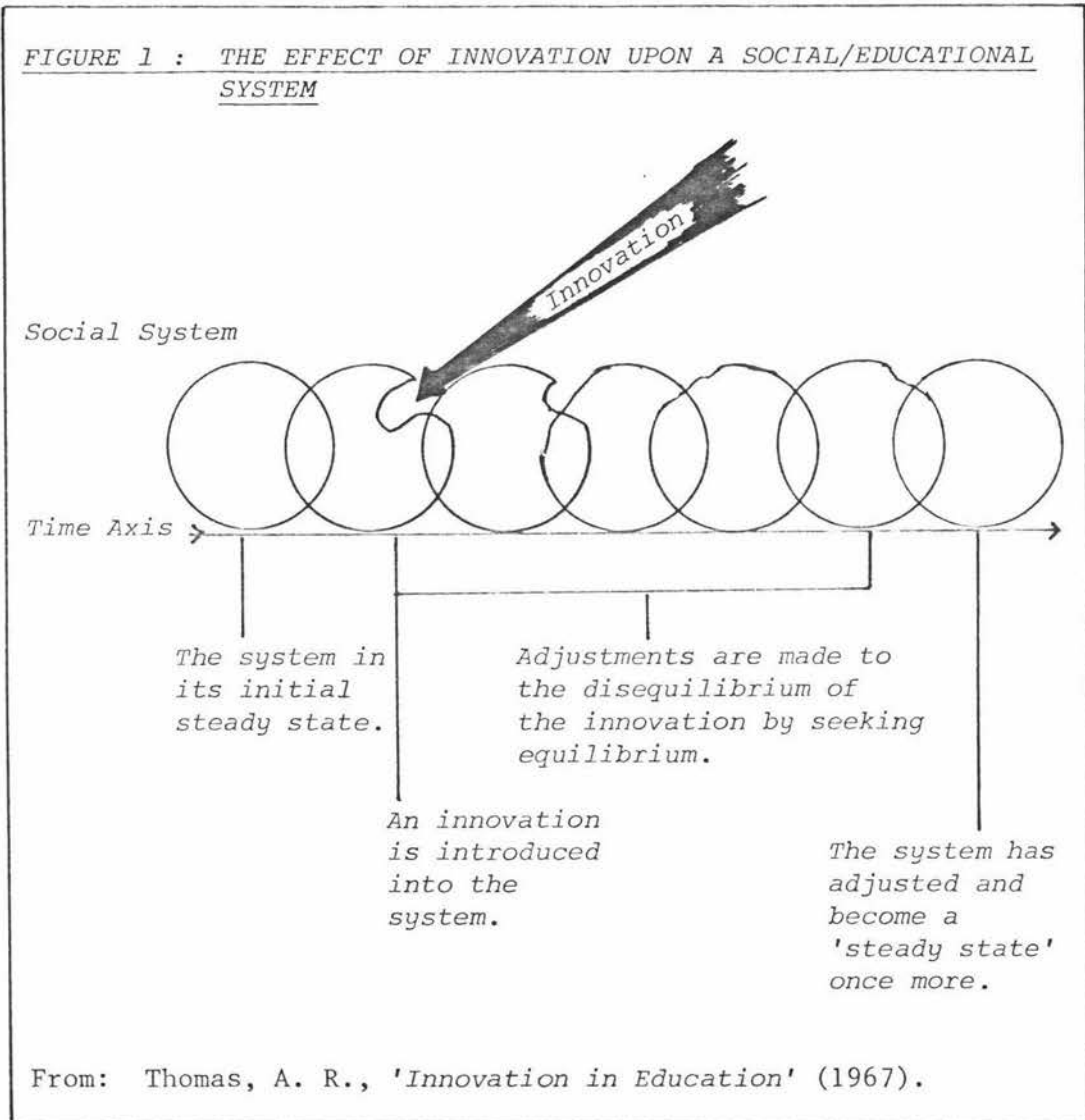
(These are referred to later in the chapter.)

Parson's social system is based on normative *consensus*. The integration of common value patterns with the internalised need/disposition structure of the actors involved is seen as not only crucial for the stability of any social system (including an educational one), but as the

"*...fundamental dynamic theory of sociology.*"
(Parsons, 1951, 1960, 1961)

There is no Parsonian general theory of the processes of change of social systems. There *is* the *idea* of an increase of strains in one strategic area of the social structure which are finally resolved by a structural re-organisation of the system. In educational terms in this thesis an innovation is seen as a strain or disequilibrium in the educational system (Figure 1). The resolution of the 'strain' is attempted by the structural re-organisation of the system within a decision making/consensus

framework traced within a particular data gathering instrument, the Innovation Dossier. This document is now described and explained.



THE INNOVATION DOSSIERS

The data base for the present study was derived mainly from the 'dossiers' used in the investigation. Each dossier is an A4 size book, containing 176 typewritten pages. The whole volume is glue-bound (and fragile). The paper cover bears the logo-gram PQIE (Planning Qualitative Innovations in Education) within a simple geometric design on the left upper corner, and the words INNOVATION DOSSIER 2¹, above the logogram IIEP (International Institute for

¹ Dossier 1 was a trial version which after modification, was converted to Dossier 2.

Educational Planning) towards the bottom of the page. Each, roughly equal, section of the dossier is colour-coded to correspond with each of four phases upon which the dossier is predicated. These are designated in the dossier as:

1. Origination - The conditions that existed prior to the emergence of the innovation, and the circumstances that brought it about.
2. Specification - The general or particular specifications of the innovation that were developed.
3. Operation - The first uses or applications of the innovation that were developed.
4. Implementation - The development of procedures which facilitated the diffusion of the innovation.
5. Consolidation - The state of the system when diffusion of the innovation is complete.

The introduction to the dossiers makes the point that, although the five stages above could well be interpreted as developmental stages in a process of innovation, there is no 'a priori' assumption of this kind. However, it is assumed that the stages do have some effect on each other and that certain conditions need to be met. In each phase of each innovation, items have been selected with these necessary conditions in mind. There are eleven main elements accepted as being developed. They are:

- (i) The nature of the rationale developed at a particular stage;
- (ii) The character of the task and its content;
- (iii) The working procedures or methodology;
- (iv) The personnel;
- (v) The plant;
- (vi) The equipment;
- (vii) The links established with relevant social contexts;
- (viii) Evaluation;
- (ix) Co-ordination;
- (x) Costing;
- (xi) Scheduling and Time Budgeting.

The dossiers contain an array of questions that bear on the problems associated with planning and implementing the four officially selected educational innovations that are studied in this work. The format for each question provided space for checklist type answers and further written comments and elaborations. The dossiers were designed so that the answers given to the questions could be used for diagnosis of socio-cultural aspects of the innovation at particular points of time. A representative sample of the range of formats used will be found in the Appendix.

The limits within which the questions were interpreted are set by a brief 'justification' preceding each section and each question or series of related questions. An example is given from the Origination section to illustrate how the 'scene was set' for the respondents from each country. In a 'box' headed 'Section I - Origination', appears:

This section is concerned specifically with the circumstances that existed before any attempts were made to develop the specific innovation under consideration.

The success of an innovation appears to be related to:

- 1. the original precipitating causes (which can be of various kinds);*
- 2. the source or origination of the innovation itself;*
- 3. the extent to which and the way in which a rationale for the innovation developed.*

This section thus sets out to seek answers to questions like: Was there a problem situation that surfaced? What was it? Where did the concern for it originate? To what extent did concern spread throughout society? What were the forces brought to bear on the problem situation?

The purpose of the section is to produce information that appears relevant to the future development of the innovation.

The next page, 1.2 (indicating the section of the dossier and the page number, respectively), is topped with:

There is some evidence to suggest that sometimes the success of an innovation depends upon the extent to which it is a solution to an existing problem or lack.

Below this the first question in the dossier is put:

Question: *Before the proposal of the innovation, was there a particular problem, problem situation or need recognised as requiring this (kind of) innovation?*

The replies were to be indicated as: Yes = ✓, No = x, Don't Know = 0, and Not Applicable = (blank). This, including space for comments, was the convention followed for each dossier.

The respondents for the dossiers were, as already stated, senior people in their field; each having some responsibility for planning educational innovations in their own country. They comprised:

In Indonesia:

A senior Administrative official in the Ministry and a Research Officer. To provide answers for the dossier they conferred with colleagues; in their own organisations, and in the Teachers Colleges involved in their innovation and in the schools.

In Malaysia:

A Senior Administrator in the Penang Division of the Ministry of Education and a Senior Research Officer in the Curriculum Development Centre of the Planning Division of the Ministry.

In Nordrhein-Westfalen:

A senior Officer in the Ministry with responsibilities for planning, plus a University Professor and his research associates working on the project.

In New Zealand:

A Senior Official in a Regional Office of the Department of Education who had access to all the people involved in all aspects of the project, and a University Professor whose contact was more marginal.

All of these Administrators and Researchers had participated in the design and development of the dossiers and all had access to their respective Administrative systems and/or the project schools.

The respondents were asked to take each question in sequence, and after considering every alternative offered:

1. Respond in the appropriate places on the checklist.
2. Add any additional supplementary information and comment thought necessary to clarify the answer.

DECISION MAKING/CONSENSUS GROUPS

Figure 2 contains a sample question from the dossier. It lists the groups in society whose considered reaction was thought to be influential. Figure 2 is included for these reasons:

1. It provides a good example of the scoring convention followed throughout each dossier;
2. It enumerates the societal groups examined in the study for evidence of decision making/concordance consensus; and
3. It illustrates the basis upon which the four chosen dossiers were examined for degrees of Decision Making, Concordance, Consensus and Dissensus.

It is emphasised that the figure is *not* representative of *all* items

1.4

FIGURE 2: SAMPLE ITEM FROM DOSSIER (Origination Phase, Page 4.

The nature and extent of concern expressed over the basic problem (situation) and the 'power' of those expressing it often affects the support an innovation gets and, accordingly, its success.

Q: Were the groups listed below or vocal representatives of them displaying concern publicly over the problem at the time?

		CONCERN			
		None	A Little	Some	Much
01	The people in general	(x)	(✓)	(x)	(x)
02	Parents of 'school attenders' .	(x)	(x)	(✓)	(x)
03	Affected school attenders	(x)	(x)	(✓)	(x)
04	Tertiary and Senior Secondary Students	(x)	(✓)	(x)	(x)
05	Teachers (including Teacher organisations)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(✓)
06	School administrators	(x)	(x)	(x)	(✓)
07	Teacher Trainers	(x)	(x)	(x)	(✓)
08	University personnel	(x)	(✓)	(x)	(x)
09	Officials in the Education Department (Ministry)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(✓)
10	Officials in other ministries .	(x)	(✓)	(x)	(x)
11	Trade Unions	(o)	(x)	(x)	(x)
12	Employers (including associa- tions)	(x)	(✓)	(x)	(x)
13	Local authorities	(o)	(x)	(x)	(x)
14	Other 'interested' organisations	(o)	(x)	(x)	(x)
15	Traditional leaders (chiefs, etc)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
16	Religious Leaders	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
17	Other community leaders	(x)	(✓)	(x)	(x)
18	Media spokesmen (journalists, commentators, etc)	(x)	(✓)	(x)	(x)
19	Prominent or 'interested' lay- men	(x)	(x)	(✓)	(x)
20	The Government	(x)	(x)	(✓)	(x)
21	Non-Government politicians (opposition)	(x)	(x)	(✓)	(x)
22	The Head of State	(o)	(x)	(x)	(x)
23	External Agencies/Experts (e.g. World Bank, UNESCO, etc)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
24	Other: Specify	()	()	()	()
25	()	()	()	()
26	()	()	()	()
27	()	()	()	()

COMMENTS: NEXT PAGE, PLEASE

in the Dossiers (see Appendix). Only *parts* of the dossiers were used for the present study. These parts were those that indicated in some recognisable way that members of a societal group made a decision either for, against (or somewhere in between), some particular aspect of the innovation being considered. A 'recognisable way' was indicated by the position the respondents placed their ticks in relation to a given question. In Figure 2 the respondents considered that *much* public concern was shown by teachers, school administrators and officials in the Education Department over a problem that exercised them *at the time*. They also indicated the *degree* of concern, and the *amount* of concern in the space allocated in the Dossier for comment. For example (as will be shown), the respondents for the German innovation indicated a 'nationwide' debate over concern for their particular problem.

Similarly, dissensus, or resistance to the phase of the innovation under scrutiny is indicated by ticks placed under categories headed, *Very Resistant*, *Strongly Opposed* or *Rejected* in other types of dossier items.

The strategy used in this study was as follows: Each dossier was examined, item by item, phase by phase, for evidence of societal groups indicating either consensus or dissensus among groups within a normative relationship. The strongest indication was given in the question asked, for a particular item. For example: At the Origination stage the question is asked:

"On the basis of evidence available, to what extent were the groups listed below supportive of, or resistant to social change in general?"

The range of categories given is Very Resistant, Resistant, Neutral, Supportive, Very Supportive and No Evidence. The respondent concerned was asked to make his ticks after considering *every alternative offered*. It was on this evidence (plus comments) that a decision was made as to whether or not the item indicated consensus or dissensus. Ticks under Very Supportive, were regarded as group consensus. Ticks under Very Resistant, were regarded as group dissensus.

Concordance or concurrence *between* the listed groups was also looked for and noted. For example, in Figure 2 it will be noticed that *Some* concern was shown by the parents of school attenders, a group who, as a body, have very little effect on educational policy. An individual parent can (and does) effect changes in policy on his own by, for example, resisting zoning decisions or a class placement for his child (by confronting the principal of a school directly), but apart from rapid and vociferous 'flare ups' from time to time over issues such as caning or bussing, the overall parental influence is of little account.

However, *Some* concern was also shown by the Government and Opposition (see Figure 2). This, under the stated purposes of this

study, gives an opportunity to examine the relationship between concordance among mutually dependent groups in the concerned society, for, while parents on one hand and politicians on the other are far apart in terms of an educational 'power' base, the wider public participation in educational matters by the societal groups, with supposedly little decision making power, over recent years has meant that politicians listen to pressure groups of parents who want a say in the direction they feel the system should be heading. As Coombs and Luschen (1976) point out, the consensus of politicians is required before an important innovation can be set in motion.

Using the method described above, 20 items were identified as having elements of consensus/dissensus concordance. These items were tabulated and analysed and will be presented in a later chapter.

Not all items covered in the 176 dossier pages concern decision making. There are few overt examples, for instance, of group decision making in elements such as costing or equipment. However perusal of the dossiers revealed a source of further information:

This is the category of items, found in each of the phases of each innovation, that ask the respondents to rank such elements as economic necessity, educational desirability and moral necessity, in order of importance, at the time of the authorisation of each

1.14

FIGURE 3: SAMPLE ITEM (Origination Stage, Page 14)

Whether innovations are introduced because they are needed or (only) desired, sometimes affects their success. So also does the nature of the necessity or desirability.

Q: At the time of authorisation (or the beginning of action to consider the problem), which of the following explanations, if any, were given overtly by the authorisers? (Please rank order your answers in order of importance.)

	Necessity	Desirability	Ranking
01 Economic	(✓)	(✓)	(2)
02 Educational	(✓)	(✓)	(5)
03 Political	(✓)	(✓)	(1)
04 Ideological	(✓)	(✓)	(4)
05 Social	(✓)	(✓)	(3)
06 Religious	()	()	()
07 Moral	(✓)	(✓)	(7)
08 Aesthetic	()	()	()
09 Administrative	(✓)	(✓)	(5)

COMMENT:

innovation; at the time that the choice was made in favour of the proposed innovation, and at the time when the innovation was being evaluated in the Operational stage. Figure 3, taken from the Origination phase, is an example.

In terms of the stated Parsonian position taken in this study, the opportunity is presented by this type of item to consider such concerns as cultural values and the importance of various roles and regulative norms in each society affected by an educational innovation. The comments made by the respondents to these items also provides the researcher with insights into the attitudes of the societal groups concerned with pattern maintenance, goal attainment and integration. These are the very groups (for the most part) listed in Figure 2; the source of the decisions made and the basis for normative consensus.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LITERATURE ON INNOVATION

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the trends apparent in educational innovative research at the present time. This entails a brief review of the significant literature over the last three decades combined with an indication of the characteristics of that literature both within the broad area of educational change and the more specific topic of educational innovation.

LITERATURE ON INNOVATION

It is interesting, in 1980, to cast back as short a span as thirty years, when terms such as educational change, innovation and consensus were little used either in educational research or practice.

By the 1960s however, publication of investigations and research studies on change and innovation accelerated. More was published then than in the previous thirty years (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971). That literature however, had its own character. It was predominantly American (Stuart and Dudley, 1968; Kurland and Miller, 1966; Havelock, 1968, 1973). It was almost wholly concentrated upon studies of schools. It was mainly concerned, moreover with particular situations - a particular school or a particular system of educational administration and as well the *content* of the organisation or administration of the particular school or system. Interest in the major *process* elements such as steps, strategies, barriers and consolidations were yet to emerge. Moreover, the American emphasis of the studies reflect the essentially decentralised nature of public education in the USA. As such, they were not necessarily relevant to either Western European or emerging countries of the Third World.

During the 1970s the pace increased. Particularly in the last half of the decade the literature had become quite voluminous. Dill and Friedman (1979) described it however, as overwhelmingly descriptive rather than analytical:

"Most of the published work is narrative material, opinions, theoretical fragments or 'How to' manuals."

Systematically obtained data and theoretical bases are contained in only a small sample of the available studies and where these do not exist,

"...the perspective employed may vary depending upon the disciplinary training or background of the research."

This results, Dill and Friedman say, in the empirical research, limited as it is, being non-cumulative. Dependent variables vary from study to study and the direction and magnitude of relation-

ships are often unspecified. Dill and Friedman, in this context were referring to studies in higher education but in an examination of virtually all innovation research to date, Downs and Mohr (1976) arrived at similar conclusions. A quotation from their work puts it quite succinctly:

"Perhaps the most alarming characteristic of the body of empirical study of innovation is the extreme variance among its findings, what we call instability. Factors found to be important for innovation in one study are found to be considerably less important, not important at all or even inversely important in another study. This phenomenon occurs with relentless regularity. One should certainly expect some variation of results in social science research, but the record in the field of innovation is beyond interpretation. In spite of the large amount of energy expended the results have not been cumulative. This is not to say that the body of existing research is useless... This troubling instability results from a lack of clarity on several conceptual issues... Perhaps the most straightforward way of accounting for this empirical instability and theoretical confusion is to reject the notion that a unitary theory of innovation exists and postulate the existence of distinct types of innovations whose adoption can best be explained by a number of correspondingly distinct theories."

It is clear from the above - and this is typical of commentaries upon innovation theory or the lack of it - that prevailing theories of innovation

"...have neither the breadth nor the strength to provide much guidance regarding the variables that are plausible to change, or to predict with much confidence the effect of significant changes." (Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971).

The fault is seen by Berg and Östergren (1977) to lie in the methodology used. They see the still current belief in methods borrowed from the natural sciences as no longer being valid. They question whether one can find relevant explanations of social realities by defining isolated variables in social events. Similar doubts were expressed in the fifties by Kurt Lewin (1951).

What the solution may be is yet unclear but one possibility seems to be to use the tools of both the social sciences and the natural sciences in a multi-disciplinary way, especially when research frameworks to study innovation are being constructed.

To do this, Kahn (1974) has suggested that before further advances can be made, more rigorously conceptualised quantitative research is needed. The difficulty here is to define 'rigorously', and then apply it in social science terms to the concepts that are to be employed. Attitudinal and values orientations are notoriously difficult, both to conceptualise and to quantify. Kahn argues

that what is needed are *measures* for behavioural changes in an organisation *and how long they last for*. He does not, however, suggest what these measures are, or should be, nor does he suggest any way of relating in a systematic way, the relationships among behavioural changes.

However, the development of conceptual frameworks does seem to be an appropriate step on the way to eventual greater understanding of innovative change. Berg and Östergren (1977) build a careful formulation based on Lewinian Field Theory (1951). They see Lewin's theories as useful for description, explanation and prediction of the relations between various causes of change in social systems. Briefly Berg and Östergren describe their stance as follows:

1. They employ:
A *systems approach* in which events and behaviours are explained by means of structures and forces across the social field as a whole. Systems are regarded as possessing their own characteristics and may be regarded as participants in processes. The importance of the parts of a system depends not on their characteristics but from their positions within each system.
2. They view:
Change as a disturbance of equilibrium in the field (see Figure 1, Chapter 1). Opposing forces striving for dominance cause disequilibrium, and see:
3. Innovation introduced into a force field as a process of unfreezing the force field surrounding the equilibrium, so that the equilibrium moves, over time, causing a continuous change of balance over time (Figure 1).
4. They interpret:
The analysis of change and causes of change by reviewing the system situation as a whole.
5. Using:
A conceptual apparatus of *dynamic constructs* which indicates interactions and interrelations to analyse the causes of change.

This style of model building had been reviewed earlier by Havelock (1971, 1973).

Havelock discerned three types: research and development (R and D); social interaction (SI); and the Problem Solving (PS) models.

Schon (1971) attacks diffusion models for their neglect of the conflicts inherent in social change. He regards the process as

"...more nearly a battle than a communication",

and,

"Innovation in any aspect of the system threatens the system as a whole."

Schon stresses the need for an approach to innovation that covers comprehensively the need for change, resistance to change, methods of diffusing innovations, public reform strategies, learning systems and self-renewing systems and details methods for innovation development under these headings.

Taxonomies of theory and research existing in the social science literature, attempt to provide descriptive categories. Turner (1974) focussed on functionalism, conflict theory, interactionism, and exchange theory. He identifies the *types of sociological theory* employed. Chin and Benne (1969) *using an original interpretive conceptual framework* focussed more specifically on *types of change*. They produced three categories: rational-empirical, normative-reeducative and power-coercive. Gamson (1974) cited by Dill and Friedman, also identifies theoretical types when looking specifically at change in higher education. Gamson identified four distinct frameworks underpinning research in his field; complex organisation, conflict, diffusion and planned change.

The most common model in innovative literature still appears to be the diffusion type model (Havelock, 1971; Schon, 1971; Gamson, 1974). A number of diffusion studies have been concerned with the *speed* with which a particular innovation diffuses throughout a system (De Fleur, D'Antonio and De Fleur, 1971). Mort and Ross (1957) gave attention to the length of time required for an innovation to diffuse through a school system. Allen (1956) using a similar orientation compared the diffusion of community study programmes with driver training courses. As a matter of interest the study programmes took sixty years to permeate throughout his schools sample, whereas the driver training courses took only eighteen to achieve a similar level of saturation. According to traditional diffusion theory, diffusion occurs between individuals even though the medium for diffusion is essentially a social setting, i.e. an innovation is started by an individual and spreads by contact with other individuals (Hagerstrand (1952) quoted by Berg and Östergren).

House (1974) who based some of his work on Hagerstrand's *Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process*, in an anniversary article in the *Journal of Curriculum Studies* (1979), reviewed a selection of innovation studies from the last decade. He used his review as a vehicle for arriving at an explanatory interpretation of trends and development in innovation research. The following paragraphs draw heavily on this source.

House describes innovation during the first part of the last decade as *technological* in perspective - a perspective attributable to the boost given to science, foreign languages, mathematics and physics in secondary schools after the launching of Sputnik (Brickell, 1961). House identifies Rogers (1962) and later with Shoemaker

(1971) as the leaders of this early technological thrust. Rogers began the (now common) analysis of innovation according to logical stages, e.g. awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption. The human actors were classified according to the speed they 'took' to the innovation.

Next came a period dominated by the RD and D (research, development, diffusion) model - a model described by Havelock (1971) as having four sequences: research, development, diffusion and adoption. This model usually entailed extensive planning, high development costs, a division of labour and a passive consumer. This model was found to be more ideal than actual partly because in the decentralised educational systems of both the USA and Great Britain the adoption of innovations depends very largely on individual schools and individuals within each school. Even so the model has retained popularity with officials down because, as House suggests, it involves the bureaucratic penchant for large scale decision making.

The early seventies saw a concentration on what House labelled *political* innovations because the problems (largely of the RD and D approach), were interpreted as lack of interaction among factional groups within the concerned populations. The earlier Hagerstrand (1967) research on diffusion was plotted by House (1974). The course of the diffusion of an innovation tended to be shaped by personal contacts. A similar analysis of innovations in school and local districts pointed up the difference in access that teachers and administrators have to external contracts to resources, and to the available rewards. Research by Westbury (1976) showed the teacher as having few incentives to innovate and, in fact, many disincentives. The burden of innovation usually falls on teachers (Fullan and Pomfret, 1977; Kritek, 1976).

In the USA educational researchers for the Rand Corporation concerned with federal programmes found that 'mutual adaptation' was the key to success for government programmes (House, 1979). This entailed staff training and two-way communication at the local school level (Berman and McLaughlin, 1974). In further studies, Rand Corporation researchers found the allocation of federal money was usually enough to start a project but *commitment* was only generated where a local need was perceived - 'Outside' projects did not tend to be supported. Workshops tended to work well, outside consultants did not. Financial rewards and massive planning were found generally not to be productive ploys, but strong administrative support was regarded as essential. A crucial finding was that schools that were helped to strengthen their own capacities, rather than to imitate 'good' models were better agents of diffusion. Dissemination was found to be limited to the local participating schools and did not extend to other district schools. The Rand studies have emphasised the 'power' of local communities to affect positively or resist effectively innovations that do not coincide with the local interests.

In Britain too, a 'teachers view' of government agency programmes, criticised the tendency for 'outside' innovators to under-rate the 'established system', its institutions, its processes, its personnel and its achievement (MacDonald and Walker, 1975). The same study regarded 'curriculum negotiation' between the parties as the best means of ensuring dissemination and acceptance of introduced innovations.

Politically motivated innovations have largely been concerned with broad social change (Becher and Maclure, 1978), and have been instituted by the ruling political party or power. They have also displayed a tendency for conflicting political, economic, cultural and subject claims to shape the curricula and without reference to the views of individual teachers.

The final perspective House labelled 'cultural'. This label refers to an anthropological approach to innovation set within a specific culture and a specific social setting, without concern for political overtones. Cultural innovations are set in the classroom (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968; Smith and Keith, 1971), the school (Sarason, 1971), and the local community where school/community relationship have been studied (Hoke, 1972). The school system has been regarded as an ecosystem or an ecology of education embracing the school culture, the community and the school/community where:

"Nobody on the outside was trying to do anything to anybody on the inside." (Goodlad, 1975).

Some of those who have advanced the cultural perspective have seen the dissemination process as a cultural confrontation between the researchers and the teachers (Rudduck, 1976), which could be organised and understood by the use of a key framework with *culture* as the key concept. By this she meant that hypotheses and experiences were disseminated to teachers who in turn disseminated them to other teachers. The 'culture' Rudduck claims, is located

"...in the actual teaching materials used and printed expressions of theory."

The disseminating group interpreted the culture for transmission to the recipient group which inevitably produced a gap between the research culture and the interpretation of its products in the culture of the classroom.

The 'gap' between researchers and practitioners mentioned by Adams and Chen (1980) has been treated comprehensively by Elliott (1975) and Wolcott (1977). Elliott contended that professional practice should be based on practical deliberations by teachers rather than on knowledge from independent research. He pleaded for dialogue between the parties. Elliott has developed teacher training innovation models in which the teacher fully participates in the research in his own setting. Wolcott's study was directed to the different meanings produced by the efforts to impose change.

The reasons for teacher resistance and inertia to change has been

investigated by Lortie (1975). He provides illuminating insights into how scholars view teachers. Lortie regards teaching as a conservative occupation, mainly because the career and work rewards are found in personal contact with children and contain uncertainties about effects on children. Innovation should therefore be regarded with suspicion.

The cultural perspective is regarded by House as a future major perspective. He predicts that concerns with language, symbols, social exchange, shared values, cultural context, belief systems and evolutionary change will 'swell' the literature in the eighties.

"Case study will be a major methodology of investigation."

CHAPTER THREE

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
LÄND OF NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN

BERUF SVORBEREITUNGSJAHR
(BVJ)

*(An innovation designed to give an opportunity
for unemployed school leavers to return to school
for a further year.)*

This chapter has two main purposes: First, to describe and explain in some detail, the contents of the Innovation Dossier returned for the Länd of Nordrhein-Westfalen; and second, to interpret the information provided in light of the basic concerns of this present study.

The items from the dossier have been analysed and presented in the following sequence:

- A. Background information concerning Nordrhein-Westfalen at the Origination phase of the innovation (including the education system).
- B. A description of the sequence of the innovation.
- C. The decision making/consensus argument of this study.

BACKGROUND

Nordrhein-Westfalen is the largest of the West German Länder. It is also the one with the highest population because of its concentration of industrial complexes centred on the valley of the Ruhr. The tremendous achievements of the West German economy since its devastation in World War II needs no repeating here. What may not be generally understood, however, is that the Federal Republic, like all the other Western nations, in spite of its phenomenal recovery and growth to one of the most affluent nations in the world, began to experience an increased rate of unemployment in the early seventies. The rising numbers of young unemployed, caused (as the dossier informants outlined), by a slowing down of economic expansion led to a cutback in manpower needs and a consequent decreased interest in offering places for apprenticeship. Those chosen for apprentice placement tended to be, not all, but the 'best' school leavers -

"Well educated, well qualified and well disciplined for apprenticeship."

The remaining school leavers, especially those handicapped by social and regional considerations were left

"...without learning and working opportunities".

People on one hand wanted the problem of youth unemployment solved but at the same time they did not trust regulations or schools being regulated by the state. There was therefore a clash of values between the Government's attempts at problem solving (from top to bottom) and private attempts (groups of people trying to help themselves). So far the threads of consensus are clear, and can be shown as sources from those sections of German society who were involved. The 'value-questions' were very relevant for the *Berufsvorvereitungsjahr* (BVJ) which in its initial form, lasted nearly a year and was a regulation by the Minister that gave unemployed school leavers the opportunity to return to school for a further year if they wanted to do so.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

From the age of six children in the Federal Republic have four years of general education. At the end of this period a selection is made, based on parental aspiration and the teachers' advice, as to what kind of future lies in store. The children are divided into one of three streams. The *Gymnasium* stream is a normal course of instruction for the academics and leads through a classical education to the University. The business, trade and economics aspirants are directed into the *Realschule* where the normal curriculum continues, but with its accent on commercial subjects. Those who do not have the attributes necessary for these two streams, but who hope to become tradesmen, and skilled go to the *Hauptschule* (Highschool) with its accent on practical and vocational instruction.

There is a fourth stream called the *Sunderschule* (School for Special Education). This is the stream for children with learning difficulties which offers the most basic curriculum. Once in the stream that has been selected, the children study in that stream until they reach fifteen years. Here a range of alternatives are available. Transferring (either up, down or across) is possible. Mostly, however, the die is cast and the only real movement is downwards, particularly for those who find the *Gymnasium* too demanding.

The *Realschule* pupils may continue their vocational type education, or, if their marks are good enough can be promoted to the *Gymnasium*. Another possibility to be considered here is to leave school and find a job or become unemployed. For this category one day a week of school is provided. We are concerned with the 'dual' system which is yet another option for *Realschule* pupils. This system was begun in 1919 and entailed four days of apprenticeship employment and one day spent at a state vocational school (I.B.E. UNESCO 1975).

The pre-vocational stage of education is the 10th grade. The statutory system embraces only nine grades. After this, attendance is voluntary at the *Gymnasium* and apprentices have to divide their time between their job and the vocational school until they are 18 years old.

Most of the vocational schools in *Nordrhein-Westphalia* are huge institutions of some 2,000 - 6,000 pupils each, so plant, equipment and such are not a problem. The innovation is concerned with a group of youth who would normally not be concerned with full-time schooling and therefore the problems lay with curriculum, educational philosophy and teaching practice, which has to adjust to the new group. The real problems however, were problems of providing teachers for the new group, in-service training, ancillary services and advisory services. These have to be dealt with by educational planning.

The population for the innovation are 15-16 year olds, with a predominance of girls because they have greater difficulties in finding apprenticeships. They are mainly of lower socio-economic status. Some of the children are Moslem, the offspring of Turkish workers, but the great majority are German with an increasing number of Italian, Yugoslav and Greek children of migrant workers.

Account was taken of several variables when designing the innovation. These were allowed for in the '*Richtlinien*' (printed guides) as variations in the curriculum for the pre-vocational year and were dictated *by the schools* taking into account the geographical variations, the different sorts and forms of industrial production and economy as they occurred in different parts of the state. This was imperative if chances in the labour market were to be enhanced. The variations were recognised as being of a 'socio-economic kind'.

THE INNOVATION IN SEQUENCE

The dossier returned for the Länd (State) of Nordrhein-Westfalen in the Federal Republic of Germany stated that the 'general public' was alarmed as far back as 1975 when

"an increased number of young people"

could not find apprenticeships. The statistical source quoted gave a figure of 100,000 but the informants stated that the actual figure was probably higher. From then on there was pressure on the educational system to 'do something about it'. 'Average' general public expectation that the educational system ought to present at least part of the solution, was stated.

The nature of the problem, as it emerged initially had several causes. The first was the increase in the population caused by the general 'baby boom' of the sixties. Secondly, there was a change in the traditional dual system of vocational education which had existed in the Republic for many years. This was basically an attempt to improve the quality of vocational education by enforcing improvements that were promulgated by Federal legislation.

The time sequence given overleaf for the Federal German innovation is at first glance startling for its speed. The research team explain it this way: The problem of finding apprenticeships for young people is not new in German political and educational debate. The discussion started as far back as 1900. There were three different approaches -

- (i) Vocational education consisting of basic vocational skills for those who did not want to take up apprenticeships. These were unskilled workers.
- (ii) Vocational education for handicapped school leavers.
- (iii) Attempts to upgrade the quality of vocational education by overcoming the problems of integrating general and vocational education.

These included a one-year basic vocational course on a voluntary basis, specialised vocational training in the second year, and special courses for young people who left school without any certificate of proficiency. None of these approaches however, according to the research group, had been developed far enough for general implementation but they spawned a fund of ideas, proposals and observations when the 1975 unemployment problem forced quick action on the authorities. The three approaches were included in the Berufsvorbereitungsjahr (BVJ).

TIME LINE

	1975	Preparations in the Ministry of Culture.
August	1975	Experimental Classes on a voluntary basis.
	1975-1976	Preparation of specifications - curriculum, organisation, budget.
17 February	1977	Programme against unemployment by Government of Nordrhein-Westphalen.
11 May	1977	Parliamentary Committee under Minister of Culture.
9 April	1977	Issue of the 'Richtlinien'.
5 June	1977	Legislation by Parliament.
19 June	1977	Ministerial Regulation (BVJ).
August	1977	General Implementation.
January	1978	(Special regulations for handicapped youth issued.)

However, the pre-vocational classes were in 1978, part of the vocational schools with a population of some 586,000 pupils and 17,000 teachers. The newly created classes numbered 35,000 pupils, or less than eight percent of the population of the system. It may well be argued that a system of this size is healthy and strong enough to bear a problem area like the current innovation. The opinion of the research group in 1978 was that the consequences of the whole system had been under-estimated. The innovation *may* lead to change for the whole system but at present is a matter of speculation.

The dossier shows clearly that the state of affairs as outlined aroused a nationwide debate in the Federal Republic. Hardly a week went by when the media did not feature the problem of unemployed school leavers in some way. The depth of the national concern is indicated by the reference to repeated newspaper articles, political speeches, radio and television items, large public meetings and small discussion groups. In fact the problem was a continuing source of national embarrassment.

The pattern of consensus so far is clear. The incidence of rising unemployment had been noticeable for some years. The response was quite literally nationwide because it offended some basic tenets of German belief regarding the goodness of work and the evils that could and would arise from idleness. Particularly the kind of idleness forced by unemployment.

Once the problem appeared the initiatives needed to deal with it were taken by the officials of the Education Department, Trade Unions, the media, prominent citizens and the leading politicians from all parties including the head of state. Teachers, pupils, employers, local authorities, religious and community leaders also expressed concern.

After the beginning of the general discussion of the problem, practically all relevant groups tried to find solutions. Parents, of course, tried to find solutions for their own children, local authorities for the youths of their own communities. More important was the attempt of the Federal Government in introducing new legislation for vocational education between 1974 and 1976 which was only partly successful. In Nordrhein-Westfalen the government had tried to deal with the problem since 1975 through the Ministries of Culture, Interior, Finance and Work, Health and Social matters. The problem was discussed within the Federal German Parliament. Although the Federal German Parliament published some recommendations it did not practically influence events.

The initial clarification of the problem was made by the Government and Parliament in Nordrhein-Westfalen working together. The most important parliamentary standing commission in the clarification process was the 'Kultur-Surschup of the Landtag'. The guidelines (Richtlinien) were prepared especially by the planning department of the Ministry of Culture in collaboration with units from the above ministries. A special Commission was formed in which members of the Ministry of Culture and principals and teachers from schools worked together.

The authorisation for attempting to deal with the problem sprang directly from Government in the form of regulations and directives through the appropriate Ministers. At this point in the time scale for the events it was *thought* that the problem had been identified clearly which of course did not mean that it was. The problem too, was not stated with sufficient lucidity.

Strangely enough, *at that time* the attitude of those most effected, the school leavers varied from strong opposition to favourable. This was also noted of tertiary students, teachers, school administrators, university personnel and what were listed as other 'interested' organisations. The general population, parents, teachers colleges, employers, local authorities, religious and community leaders were rated as neutral to favourable. The groups in favour, were the media, prominent laymen, the politicians and the Chancellor himself. Once the choice was made the go-ahead was given by the Minister in writing for the designing of the innovation to proceed. At this stage, the media, the public, parents, pupils, etc., had no part in the innovation's design. The main thrust was made by Government Ministries, Trade Unions and Employers. This may be due to the fact that there was nothing that the journalists 'think to be sensations'. It may be due to the fact that public interest was just directed to expect a solution and not to the details and/or alternative specifications. A telling comment is the lack of interest evinced by the Chancellor, the people in general, the community leaders, etc. Their interest would probably only rekindle if and when the media criticised the innovation.

Prior to the innovation being put into practice the specifications of the innovation were not brought to the attention of the public. The reason was not secrecy, but sheer lack of interest on the

public's part. The usual amount of informal communication existed (perhaps in the form of rumour) but the extent of discussion on the innovation is unknown. The extent of support for, or resistance to the innovation when specifications were completed or the first steps were being taken to put it into practice were judged as too early to assess, particularly by the schools (principals and teachers).

In spite of the fact that the Ministry personnel and the Preparatory Commission were acknowledged as qualified and were aware of the problems inherent in implementation without experimentation they still decided that *implementations could be done by 'overnight' legislation.*

THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN TO SCHOOL

This section of the chapter represents an interpretation of the information provided in the previous section in light of the basic concerns of this present study. It is necessary that it must retrace some of the ground previously covered.

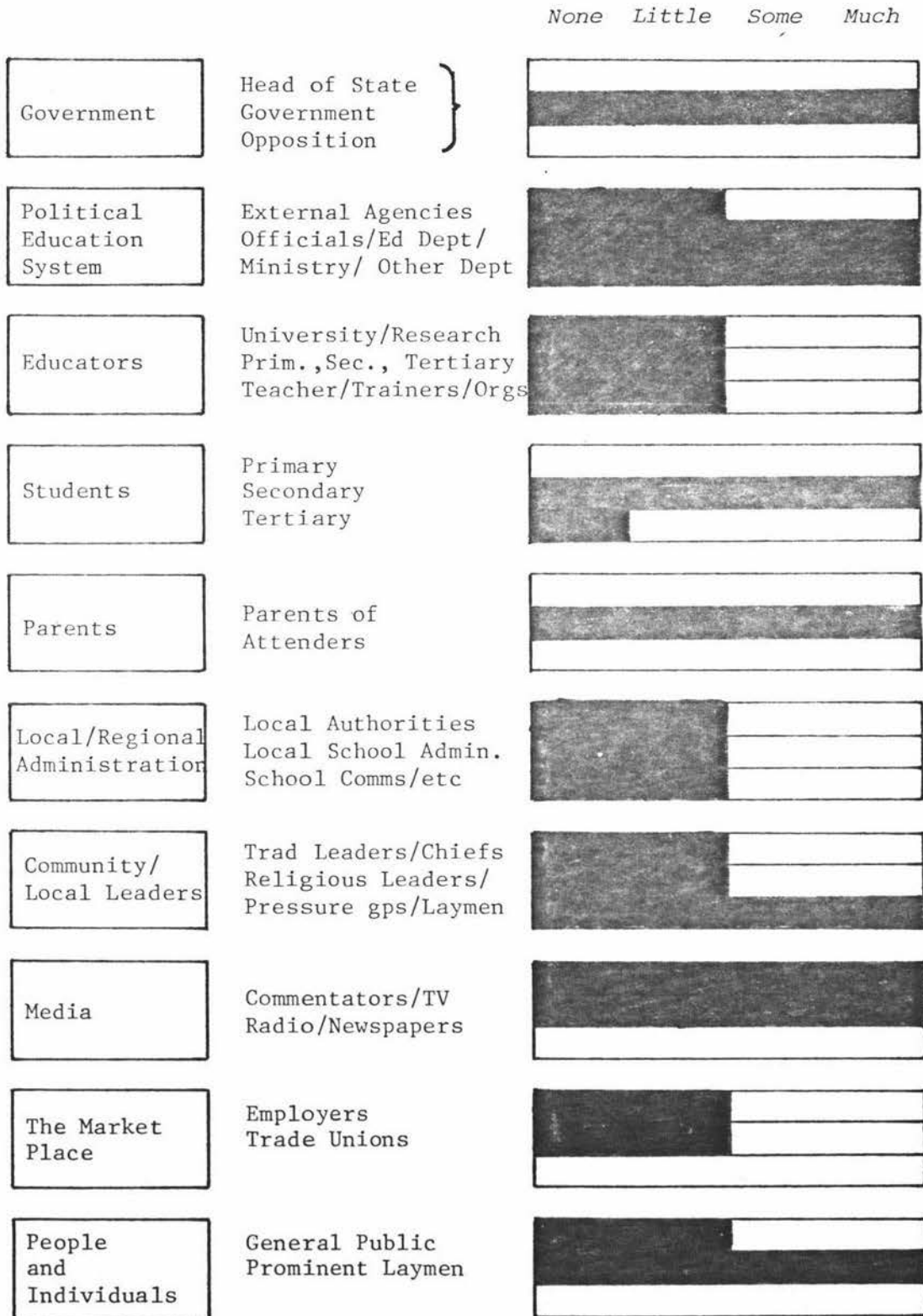
In the Nordrhein-Westfalen innovation, the problem area selected was defined very early -

"An increased number of young people could not find apprenticeships."

In fact the public concern was intense, particularly among the parents of the pupils affected and of course, the pupils themselves.

There was what appears to be a clear example of mass consensus; a cultural response to the violation of a cultural norm; the 'original' Protestant ethic that there is value in work. There is no place for idleness. Political ideology was seen to be violated, morality was offended and social justice injured. The public concern can be shown diagrammatically as in Figure 4. The headings are identical with the headings in the dossier except that the groups listed have been reorganised into a hierarchy with Government uppermost and the general public at the bottom. The amount of concern shown by a 'bar' type indicator gives an immediate and positive view of the almost general concern. However, even given mass consensus, different groups are likely to be differentially concerned, as the responses to the Dossier indicated. The extent to which each of the groups appeared concerned has been illustrated in Figure 4. As Figure 4 reveals, the greatest concern was shown by the parents of those affected, the media, the affected youths, various pressure groups and laymen and not surprisingly, the political education system (the Education Department and other departments) and the Government. The debate was 'nationwide'. The media, motivated according to ideology, political persuasion and economic interest gave the problem a great deal of space, air-wave and air-time.

FIGURE 4 : THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CONCERN SHOWN



The universities made active comment (primarily through their education and sociology departments). The public debate began. The politicians, the Federal Chancellor, the Prime Ministers of the concerned Länder, and Ministers of Education expressed their concern in a number of statements on the problem.

Figure 5 shows the amount of initiative taken, by the same groups that showed concern over the problem of the unemployment of the apprentices. Comparison with Figure 4 clearly shows that consensus for initiative was kept at the same, or higher, level of concern by the same power bases.

Parents tried to find solutions (jobs) for their own children and local authorities for their own youth. The Government, in an attempt to assuage the problem, passed new legislation for vocational education (industry and craft education) which was only partially successful.

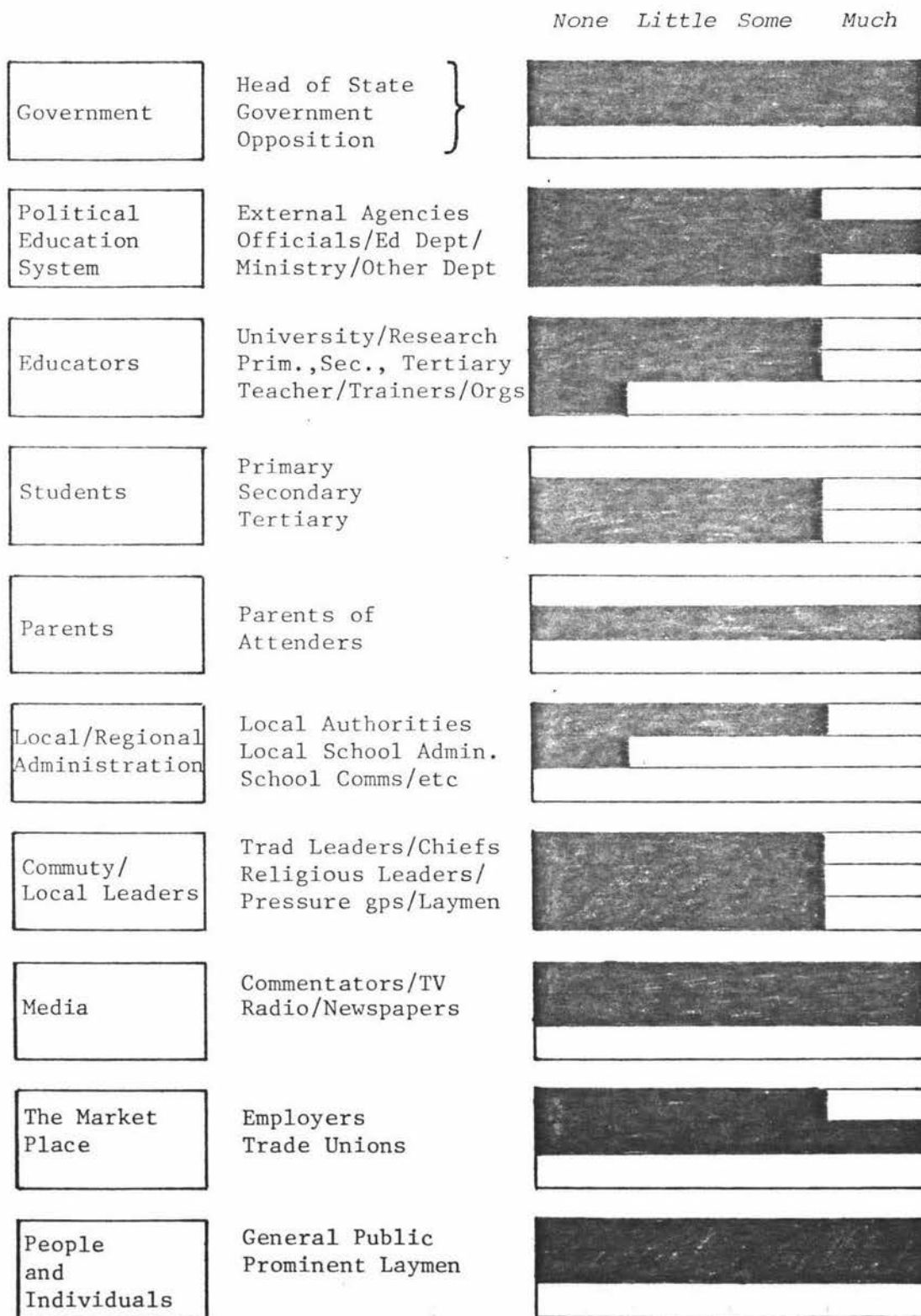
It is significant to note that government and legislature acted both swiftly and in concert, by the formation of parliamentary commissions which included not only bureaucrats but also school principals and teachers.

It is at this point that a different consensus 'strain' is mentioned. Germany was experiencing nationally the first setback to its phenomenal record of economic success. Because politicians (and the public), often measure success in terms of prosperity, changes which point to a slow down in increasing prosperity are seldom popular. However, in the general debate a value question surfaced. On the one hand some voices questioned the wisdom of an unqualified pursuit of wealth. Issues such as transport, pollution, and energy conservation were being brought to public notice, as well as national concern over housing, schooling and working conditions. The question of values, was seen by some as relevant to the Berufsvorbereitungsjahr (BVJ). It (the innovation) had therefore two consensus bases; that is, broad agreement among those concerned, that the situation required:

1. A further year of schooling to prepare for entry into the labour market;
2. A chance to find a lifestyle not dependent on economic success.

The consensus then was thus with respect to the existence of the problem - not necessarily the best manner of solution. Concern was universal. The value base for the concern was not. There was then something of a clash of values with however, the great weight of public opinion taking the more conservative position. In fact there had been a marked tendency for German society to become conservative. The enthusiasm for social change, so evident between 1965 and 1972 seemed to have disappeared, especially where it concerned social change which was initiated by official political agencies. There was no longer an expectation that change,

FIGURE 5 : THE AMOUNT OF INITIATIVE TAKEN BY CONCERNED GROUPS



especially value changes, should be initiated by the government or the opposition.

In spite of the concern that was universally shown for the plight of school leavers seeking apprenticeships, strangely enough, at *the time* when the decision to give them an opportunity to return to school was selected for action, consensus was by no means universal among those *most concerned*. The school leavers themselves varied from strong opposition to a favourable response. The decision to return to school was at first made voluntary but as many children played truant (to be returned to school by the police), soon the law was changed to make attendance compulsory.

The dossier shows that the reaction to the BVJ as a *solution* to the problem by the population at large, varied from neutral to favourable. Only the media, some lay spokespeople and the politicians were exclusively favourable to the idea.

SPECIFICATION

The 'specification' of the innovation - the actual design and development of its characteristic form - did not become part of the public debate. Those who were concerned were the educators and ministry officials involved with working out details and drawing up blueprints. Public interest and concern was for a solution to the problem and not in details and specifics. Printed booklets of directions and guidelines (Richtlinien) were issued to the affected schools and teachers, which may or may not have been read or understood. There was no systematic in-service training. And, in no shape or form could the guidelines be regarded as a practical blueprint to be followed by practitioners. The general population, the Head of Government, the religious leaders and the various community leaders, as well as the politicians, seemed to be uninterested in the specifications. This was because the media had also lost interest to the extent that it did not criticise the innovation even though the

"...usual amount of informal communication existed".

The only discernable reaction existed among the teachers themselves. As in every human activity there were small groups who worked enthusiastically, rather large groups who were neutral and uninterested, and groups who preached doom and failure.

From the description of the events on the causes and birth of the German innovation up to its implementation the details of the decisions made and agreed upon are reasonably clear. So are the reactions of the various groups of the community. Consensus would appear to be an ephemeral phenomenon, in that it can only be identified as a massive manifestation in the innovations earliest stages but then becomes a non-event for the public at large and only a feature of the reactions of those most concerned with the innovation itself.

Consensus depends on shared access to information. If information is not available to segments of the community, consensus becomes a non-issue. In the BVJ it is noteworthy that once the solution was left to the schools, the sharing of information virtually ceased, *even within* the educational system. The result was that not only were some of the *teachers* opposed to the scheme and invariably *other* teachers in the school, but also, whole schools too.

The actual *attitudes* regarding consensus or dissensus regarding the implementation of the innovation indicate a curious patchwork of variables. The people *in general* favoured the innovation. However many groups, ranging from parents, school attenders and tertiary students, as well as teachers, school administrators, teacher trainers and trainees, university personnel and the media were either strongly opposed to or strongly in favour of the innovation as a solution to the problem.

Those actually in favour were the bureaucrats, the politicians and the trade unions, as well as religious leaders. Both the Government and the Opposition were in accord here too.

In the German innovation the more prominent indicators of consensus that could be identified as the innovation unfolded were:

1. The problem was agreed upon by many groups *as a problem* very early.
2. The unemployment problem was a matter of widespread public concern. This public concern quickly spread to become a political concern, and in retrospect, helped a political purpose.
3. The political consensus on the problem was one of extensive accord as to both the need for a quick solution and the means of achieving it between Government, Head of State and the Opposition parties.
4. The problem itself was a socio-economic one, with overtones of violated political ideology, morality and social justice that gave rise to a broad consensus for reform of some kind.
5. While the problem (unemployment) was not the fault of the education system, by almost common consent, the solution was seen to be best left to education to solve.
6. The almost universal consensus (towards some sort of action to alleviate the problem) did not, in the event, extend to agreement over solution of the problem.
7. There is, within the dossier, a tacit agreement among the respondents that the innovation will succeed because of the size of the educational system and its capability and resources to 'trouble-shoot' any problem.

8. The power of deciding the precise form in which the BVJ should be manifested was given to the schools, and teachers.
9. What had to be done therefore, became a matter of negotiation among the various power groups in each school. Whether consensus among such groups emerged is, as yet, unknown. In fact whether some schools actually did *anything at all* is, as yet, unknown also.
10. Nonetheless, the dossiers provided no indication that the politicians questioned the competency of their teachers to meet the challenges of the problem.
11. The successful operation of the innovation depends upon the continuing support of the teachers in the affected schools.
12. This is where the whole question of consensus takes on a different character. In the Dossier the people actually involved in carrying out the reform had no part in determining what the reform would be. Ironically those who determined it only legislated for it, while the operation of the innovation was left in the hands of those excluded from determining what the solution would be. Each school could decide for itself what to do. Even in that limited context consensus was also very limited - to the very few teachers who were given responsibility to look after the BVJ programme.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEW ZEALAND

NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL STANDARD PLAN
(S80)

Popular Name:

WHANAU HOUSE DESIGN

*(A plan for a school of the future organised
and planned as a consultative exercise.)*

This chapter sets out to describe and explain the above innovation within the framework of the Innovation Dossier returned by the respondents in New Zealand. First, the need for the innovation is examined; second, the methods used to produce the plan is described; third, an account of the repercussions over the naming of the innovation is given; fourth, the attitudes of the implementors are explored, the responses of parents, teachers and pupils given; and finally a brief summary made of both the evaluation and the events that occurred.

TIMETABLE

1960s	The problem began to surface.
1970	Educational Development Conference Activities (EDC).
1972	Educational Development Conference Reports.
1972-74	Secondary Education Review (SER).
1974	Ad Hoc Committee -
1975	Problem clarified.
1976	First unit commences (October - December).
1977	After delays (construction) pupils move in. Evaluation commences.
1978	Construction commenced on two more schools (Auckland and Timaru).
1978	One-day evaluation seminars held - June/July.
1979	Further evaluations made for Department of Education.
1980-81	Schools commenced 1978 due to open.

THE NEED FOR AN INNOVATION

Over a period of some twenty years in New Zealand concern has been expressed from time to time, by teachers, principals, parents and sometimes pupils that in a school that is 'too big' there is 'loss of identity', an 'impersonal atmosphere' and 'conditions conducive to bad behaviour, to name but a few'. There is, however, no estimate as to what does constitute a school that is 'too big'. Big city schools are an obvious candidate for the title but these are not the only ones in a nationwide population of some 250 state secondary schools.

The initial problem, however, beside the vague generalisation of a school that is 'too big', was also seen under the blanket concern for the 'quality' of education. 'Big schools' were seen as not providing a school structure of sufficient intimacy. The present organisation where teachers work in subject faculties means that teachers do not interact sufficiently with other teachers, or with other pupils in the school. Communication problems exist between teachers and the school administration as well as the school population. As well, in New Zealand the increasingly multicultural make-up of the schools, and the organisation for it, is not satisfied by the existing 'big school' organisation. The concern over Secondary Education is expressed graphically in Figure 6.

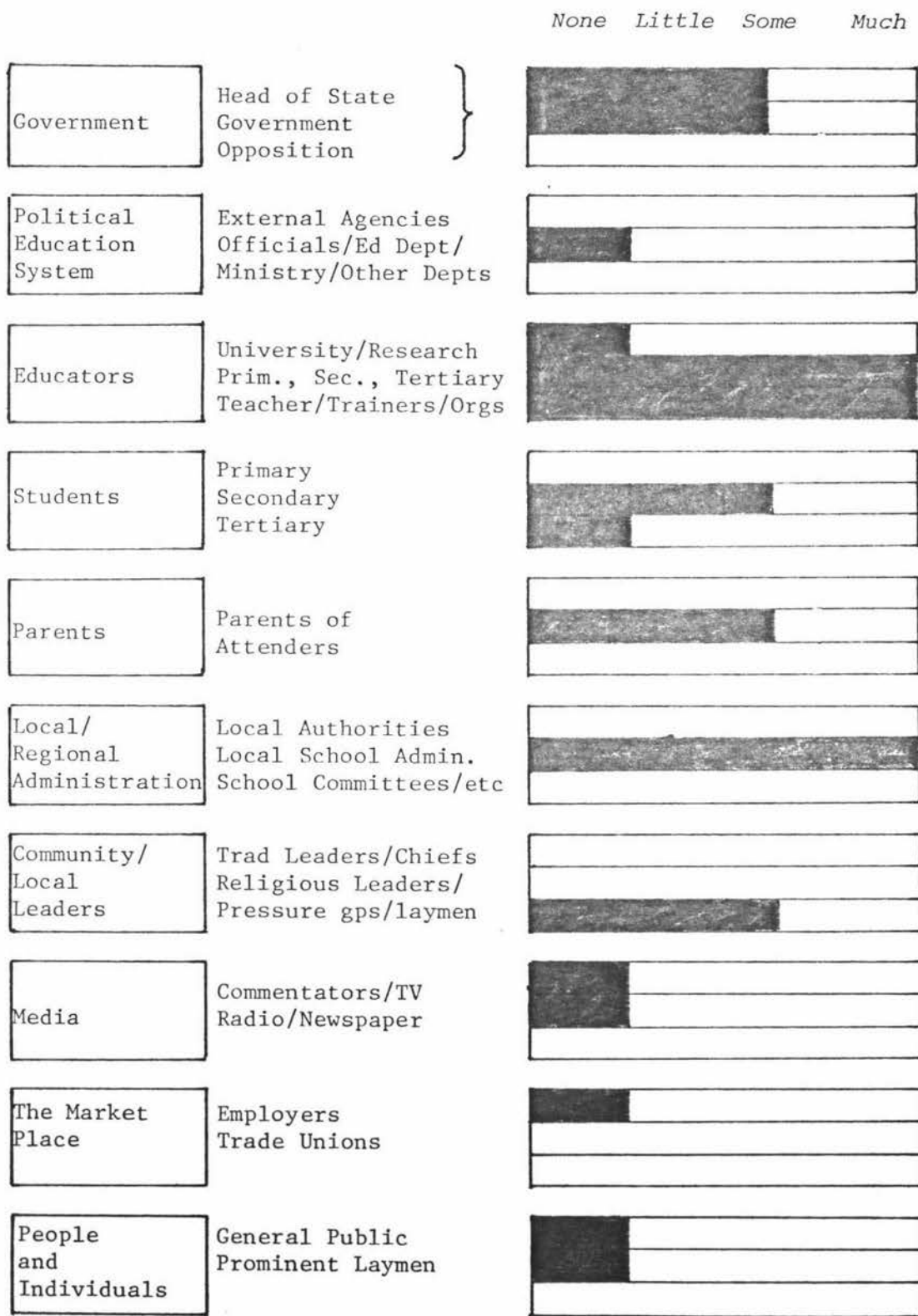
THE PLANNERS

Faced with such 'philosophical' issues, and as well, an increasing concern over the lead-time for putting schools in place, the Education Department decided to convene a meeting of experts to discuss the issue.

The conference was approved, both at Ministerial and Director-General level. The people involved included some Department of Education officers, some post-primary schools union representatives, several principals of primary and secondary schools, several inspectors of secondary schools, and two staff from a university and a Teachers College. There were some twenty-five people in all. The meeting was presided over by the Director of Secondary Education.

The mandate given to the group was to design a school building that would be appropriate as a prototype for secondary schools of the (near) future. The group could be seen as the source of the form of the prospective innovation. The composition is worth noting. The inference to be drawn is that the right of 'consumer' opinion to be represented was not officially recognised (Adams and Chen, 1980). This particular problem with its component, financial, architectural and contracting parts became a problem for educationists to solve exclusively.

FIGURE 6 : PUBLIC CONCERN OF GROUPS OVER SECONDARY EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND



The results of the conference appeared in a departmental publication, *Secondary Schools for Tomorrow: A new approach to design and construction* (1975). This booklet says of the initial conference:

"The outcome was a statement of professional requirements which would have to be taken into account in planning a new secondary school. Central to the group's thinking was the necessity to maintain each person as an individual within a group in a specially designed building, the Whanau house. These houses, a number of which make up the school, derive their name from the Maori, 'Whanau', the concept of extended family."

The idea of the planning group, and one which was central to their thinking at this stage was that the school social situation would be an:

"...extended family of students and teachers of various ages and stages who care for one another as the good family does." (Department of Education, 1975)

This would encourage group loyalty and extend the boundaries of the school to the neighbourhood and the community. The initial flow of events towards producing a new Secondary School Standard Plan is depicted in Figure 7. It shows the Decision-making from the initial idea of the Director of Secondary Education to the initial conference, the production of plans and their consideration. Also indicated is the 'gap' between the experts and possible community consensus.

The Government gave its approval to the new plans, and the ideas embodied within them. In his foreword to the report the then Minister of Education referred to the plans as:

"...a very exciting and stimulating response"

and later, to the report as a:

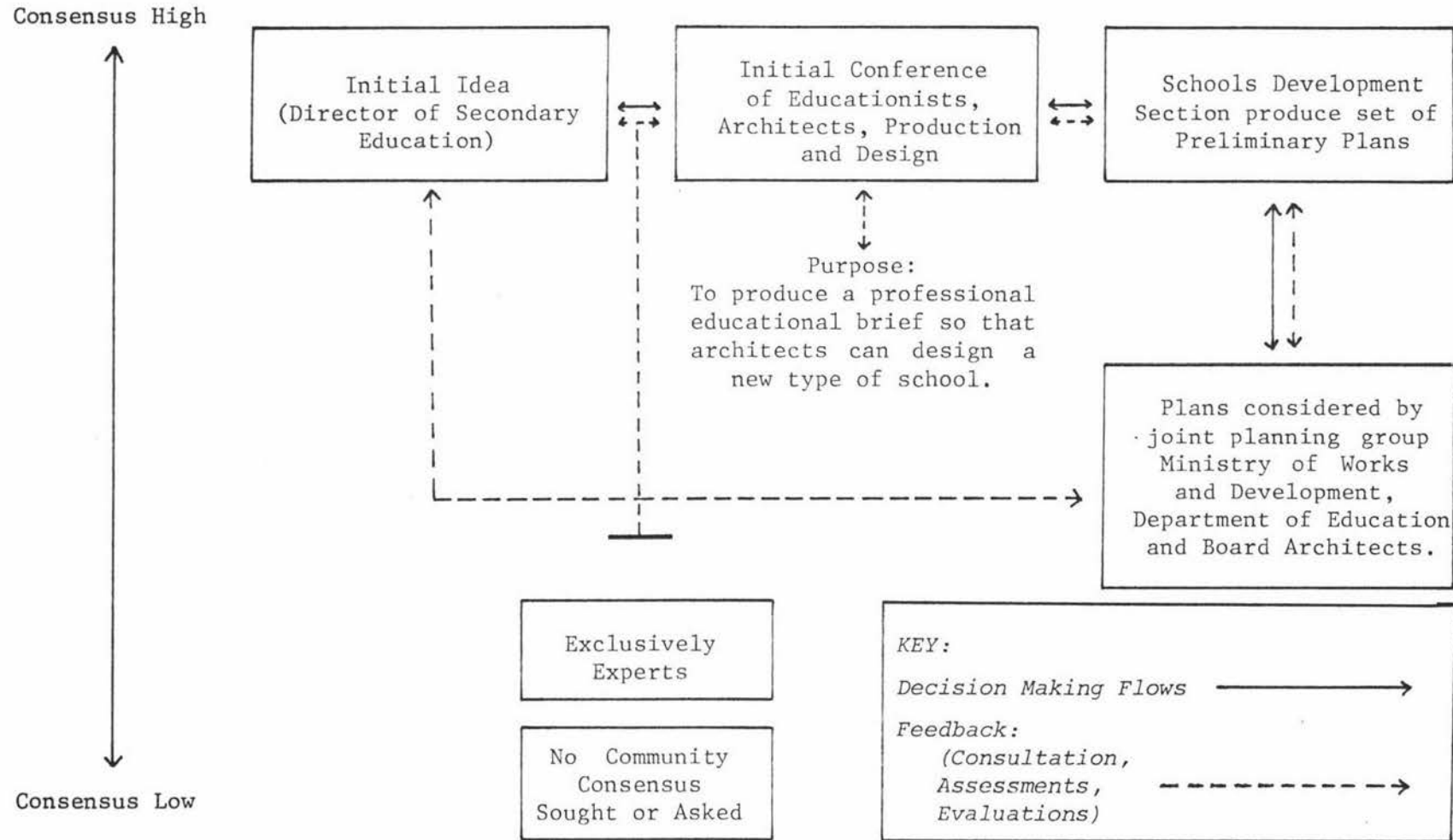
"...very significant statement on secondary education."

THE FIRST WHANAU SCHOOL UNIT

The first unit was built at the long established Penrose High School, Auckland, in 1976, or rather, commenced in October. The staff at Penrose started on the planning of the educational programmes at this time but by February 1977 it was evident that delays in construction would delay the opening. The pupils selected for the Whanau unit were absorbed into temporary accommodation and did not move into the unit until April of 1977.

The school design is not a traditional one. There are no corridors, but instead a cluster of Whanau houses, each housing up to 250 students from Form III to Form VII with their associated

FIGURE 7 : THE INITIAL FLOW OF EVENTS TOWARDS PRODUCING A NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL STANDARD PLAN (S80)



teachers. The 'house' consists of five rooms and two seminar rooms, each grouped around a common room. As well there is a resource room and a staff room. Between these rooms and the huge commons area is a kind of inside courtyard which is designed to act both as a buffer to noise as well as providing ventilation and a visually pleasant setting. The original ideas are given in Figures 8 and 9.

The whole concept was designed for flexibility, both in room spaces and in overall school size, which was thought to be an optimum of five Whanau houses surrounding the school offices and reception area, professional planning centre and library. The whole design made it easier for the community to visit and use the school.

MISCONCEPTIONS OVER A NAME

Adams and Chen (1980) commenting upon the name given to the new concept say that the name sought to symbolise the togetherness of the two dominant cultures in New Zealand - those of European stock and those of Polynesian extraction.

There was thus, consensus among the planners on the name. Both the *New Dictionary of Modern Maori* (Ryan, 1974) and the *Concise Maori Dictionary* (Reed, 1968) give the main (primary) meaning of Whanau as: be born, and, family (in a broad sense) (Reed) as a secondary meaning, and this choice of name was later to cause dissensus because of its symbolic significance in Maoritanga to birth and the family.

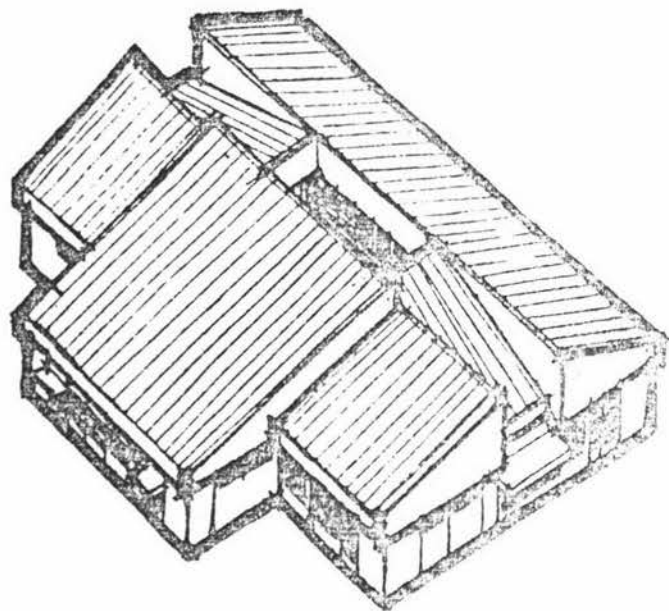
When the name was given and publicised it provoked two responses, both misconceptions, about the function and nature of the school. The first was caused by the connotations given to the name. Being Maori, some non-Maori (Pakeha) parents assumed that the new school would educate only in Maoritanga (things Maori). More significant however, was the reaction of the Maori community to the word Whanau itself.

Whanau literally means 'to give birth', but not just to an individual being. It signifies to the Maori, a continuation of the family and tribal blood lines and reaches back to the very nation (*iwi*) itself. The idea for the school name in fact, was an ideal choice, having regard as it did for the *traditional* Maori way of life, a life governed by elders and chiefs guiding by precept and example, by authority vested in tradition, but maintained by the *mana* (prestige) of the individual within an enveloping presence of *arohanui* or great love. These functions had their parallels in the envisaged life of the school. Thus:

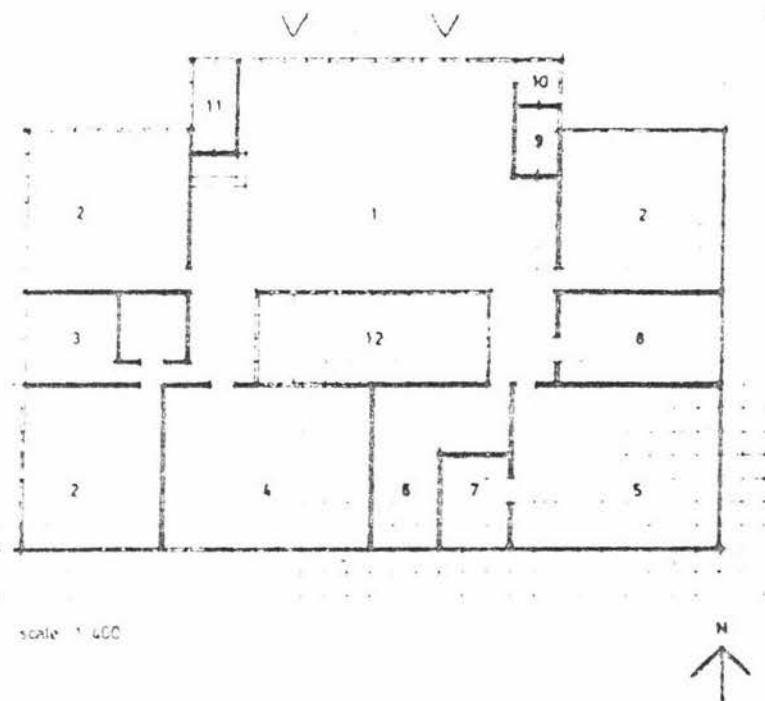
"Each day will include required studies, a wide range of options, and time for the student to work on his own or relax over coffee or a cold drink and talk

Figure 8: Block A: The Whanau House Classroom Block

The whanau house is entered via the Commons which is a large general purpose room. It also acts as a main circulation area and has provision for pupils' lockers. Associated with the entrance are the property office with its small refreshment counter, the Head of Department's office and a small interview room. On either side of the Commons area are classrooms, seminar rooms and a staff room. The long side of the Commons is bounded by a classroom, activities room, resources area, preparation area and a laboratory. Between these rooms and the Commons is an internal court which permits cross ventilation and acts as an acoustic buffer whilst providing a visual amenity for teachers and pupils.



Whanau House



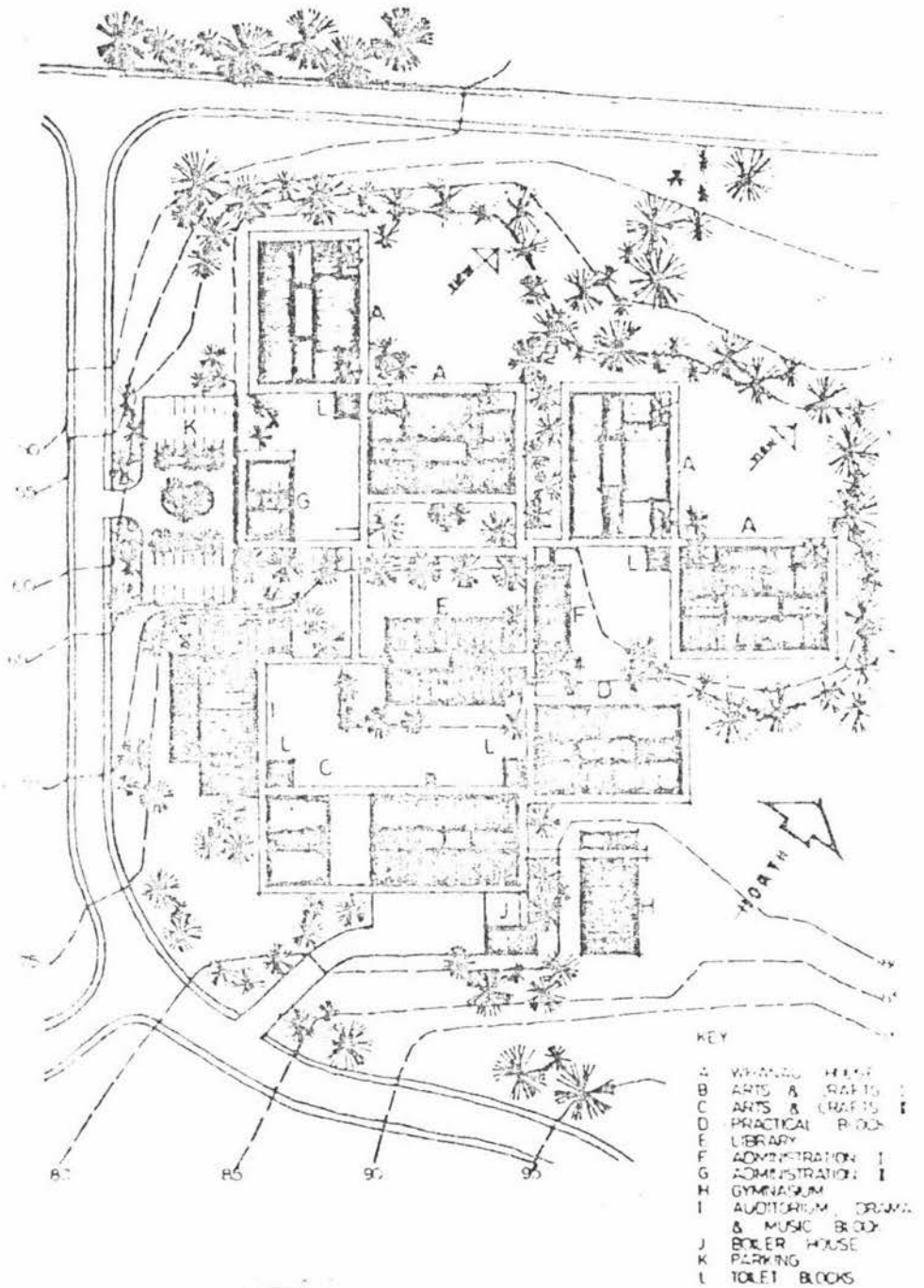
KEY

- 1 Commons Areas
- 2 Classroom
- 3 Seminar Rooms
- 4 Activities Room
- 5 Laboratory
- 6 Resources Room
- 7 Preparation Room
- 8 Staff Room
- 9 Head of Department
- 10 Interview Room
- 11 Property and Snack Bar
- 12 Internal court

Figure 9: Whanau House School

The site layout design is not intended to suggest a 'standard' form of arrangement.

Its purpose is to illustrate the degree of flexibility which can be achieved with the new block forms.



Source: Secondary Schools for Tomorrow
Rpt of Ed. (1975)

informally. Each pupil should feel that the day is tailored to his needs, not to a centrally improved and unyielding plan. There will be room for spontaneity. Sometimes a teacher will be with one pupil, sometimes with 25 and sometimes several teachers with perhaps 100." (Department of Education, 1975)

About this time too (1974-75) a previously muted and inarticulate movement by the Maori people for a place, as a people, in New Zealand society, was rapidly becoming both articulate and insistent. Maoris were searching for self identity within their own culture. Customs, long in decay - such as the protocol on the marae (tribal ground used as a meeting place) - were revived and restored, along with the meeting houses themselves. A new sense of Maori worth was abroad. It took its forms among other things, in a questioning of Pakeha violations of Maori custom and protocol.

Thus the use of the word 'Whanau' by a combined korero (a great deal of talk) of Pakehas moved members of the Maori community to a vocal and sometimes bitter reaction.

The word 'Whanau':

"...is not just a word to be bandied around, it is part of our remaining culture. If the spirit of Whanau in the Maori sense is not upheld, then I for one can have no part in it and I will have to resist vigorously the morally unjust way in which it seems it will be used."
(Extract from a paper by a specialist in Maori Studies, quoted in Adams and Chen, 1980.)

The discussion on the name 'Whanau', necessitated a rather lengthy explanation. It served to illuminate the repercussions which the most benignly designed decisions can bestir.

Figure 10 shows the flow from an initial planners consensus to a community dissensus and its subsequent retrieval by prompt action by the school in allaying Pakeha parents' fears as to the reason for the name and in conforming to the spiritual needs of the Maori community by attending to the dictates of Maori cultural protocol and custom.

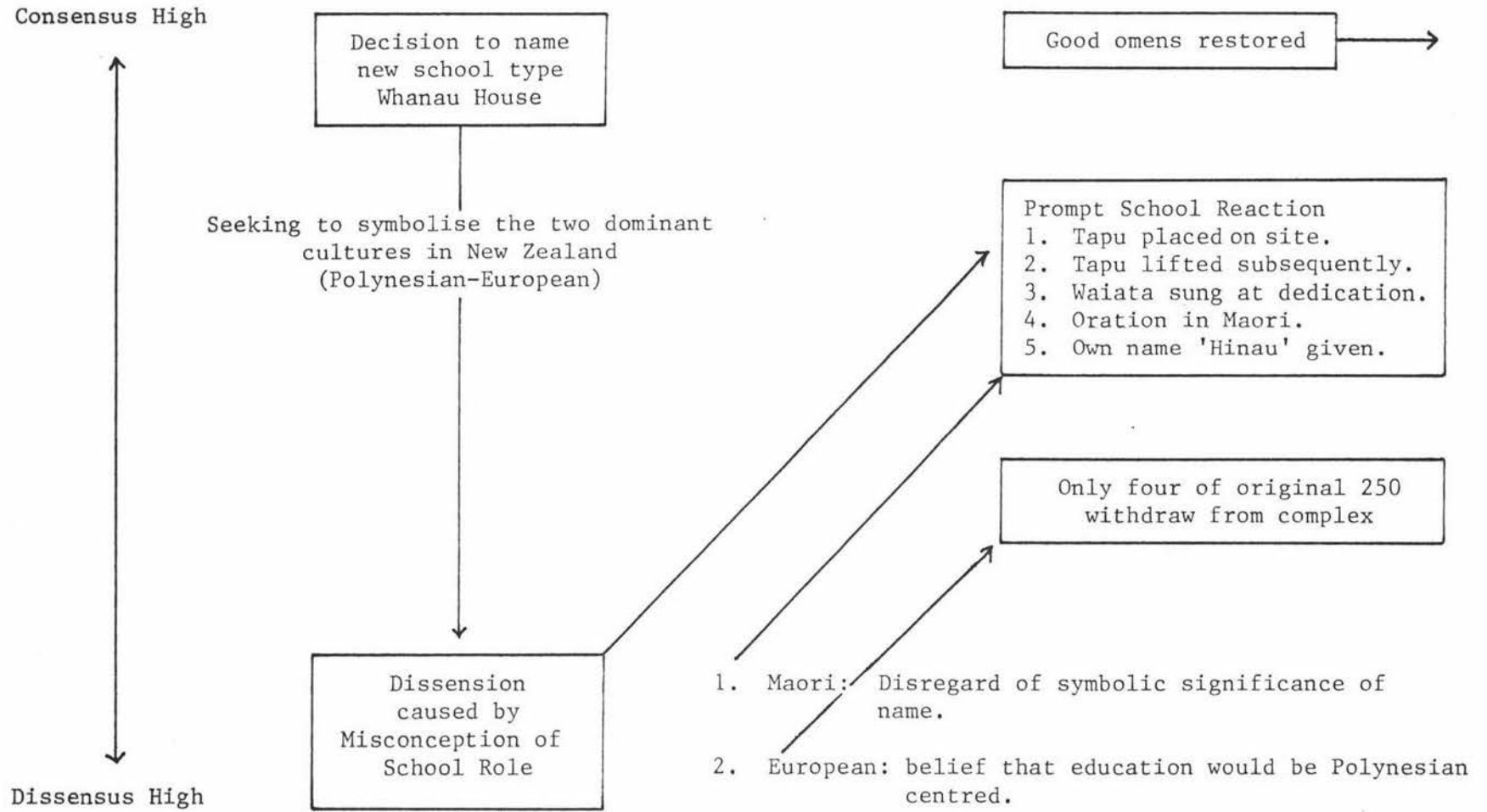
However, the general consensus among educators over the innovation was supportive of the departmental officials endeavours. This is particularly so, too, of the school (unit) attenders themselves, while the teachers and the school administrators supported

"...any considered attempts to improve school climate, and this included the Whanau experiment."

On the other hand, some dissensus became evident:

"...on the basis of affirmations by Maori leaders of the dangerous effects of change on their traditional way of life."

FIGURE 10 : CONSENSUS/DISSENSUS FLOW OVER DECISION TO NAME NEW SCHOOL 'WHANAU HOUSE'



Yet as the respondents point out, these changes had been proceeding for a considerable time. Adams and Chen (1980), also comment upon the temporary loss of morale among both staff and pupils due to the delays in opening the new unit. Employers are also rated in the dossier as being resistant to any changes but no reasons are given.

STAFF ATTITUDES

Early in the planning stages and well before the new block was completed the Principal had named the staff who would work in the Whanau House. These ten teachers met 'often and regularly' studying the philosophical documents already produced. They formed, at this stage, a highly motivated group.

At this time also a research study to evaluate the appropriateness or otherwise of the unit in educational terms, was set up. It comprised two university and one Education Department researchers, and a local secondary inspector. The ten appointed staff provided feedback information. Mention is made of the willingness of this original staff and the amount of work they were prepared to accomplish in order to get the innovation 'off the ground'.

The evaluation team using techniques of participant observation, tape recordings, time scheduled photography and interviews on a regular and systematic basis with both pupils and staff initially found both to be enthusiastic about their new situation. Consensus it could be said, was high. But, certain events within the new school contributed to a decline from this 'high' to a definite 'low'.

Adams and Chen (1980) describe it thus:

"Attitudes perhaps initially benign, perhaps latently hostile, began to harden negatively."

Many factors contributed. All of them due to other attitudes and decisions taken, over a period of time.

There were three identifiable group responses to the innovation, beside that of the local community ethnic groups:

- (i) that of the concerned parents;
- (ii) the teachers of Penrose High School; and
- (iii) the pupils of the school.

Parental concern centred upon discipline, educational opportunity and success in School Certificate examinations. This concern arose from the changes in conventional type schooling embodied in the Whanau House philosophy.

The teachers were, at first, enthusiastic about the situation, their colleagues and the personalised approach inherent in the philosophy for the Whanau House. Over time, enthusiasm became tempered by the disadvantages of always being on view; lack of privacy; and a constant stream of visitors. In sum, a general mismatch of expectations became coupled with an increased workload of administration and planning responsibilities. The appointment of a new principal brought changes in policy that affected the 'family' concept of the unit. Instead of being a 'family' the upper forms spent more time away in the main school. Teachers also moved over for classes in the main school. The original flexible time schedules became eroded. There was no 'carry over' of the intake of pupils to a second year. The Whanau staff were seen as elite and privileged by their *main school colleagues*.

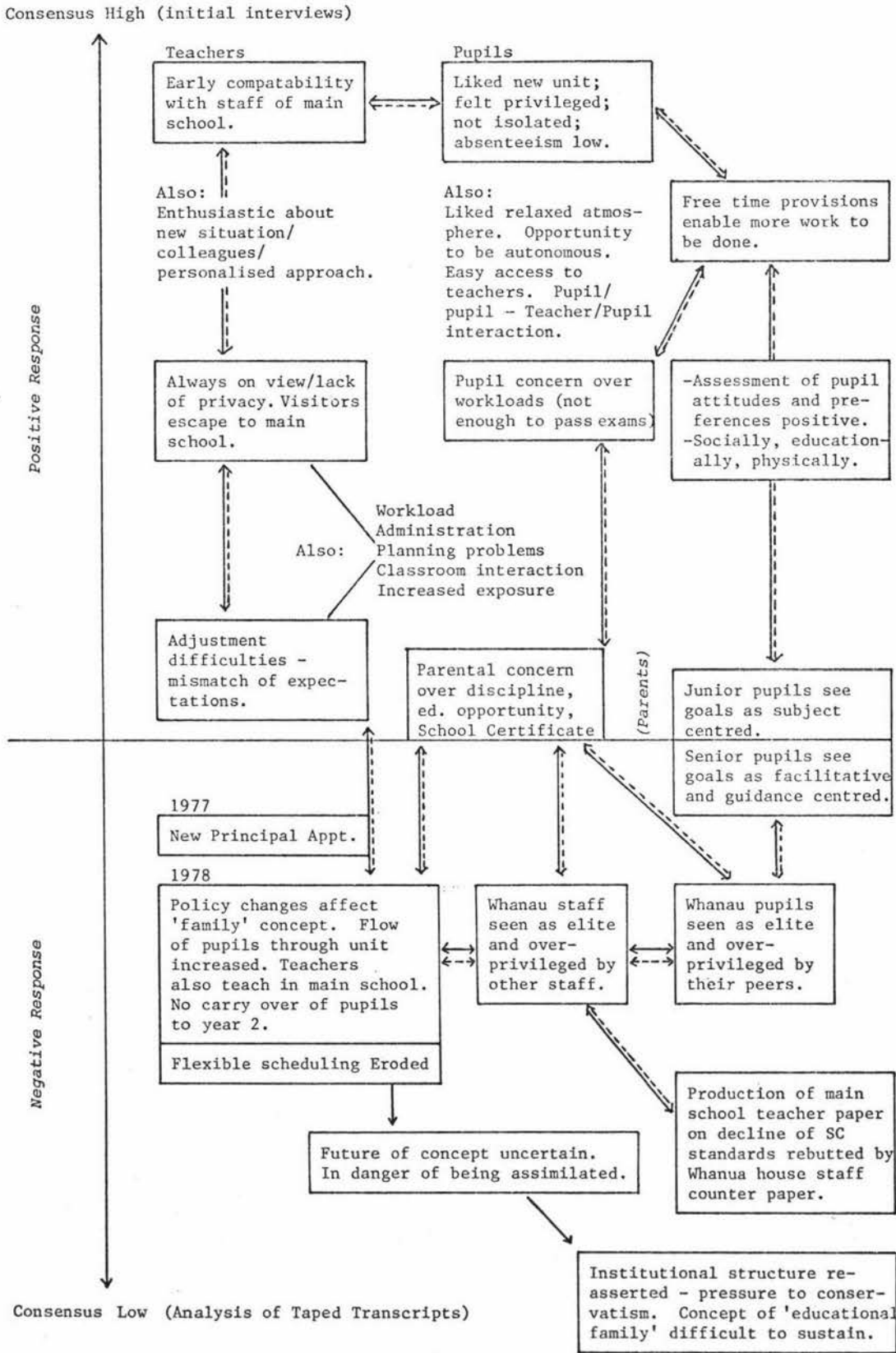
A paper produced by main school staff on the decline of School Certificate standards was rebutted by Whanau House staff in a counter-paper. Finally the institutional structure of a 'big' secondary school was re-asserted. The pressure was towards conservation. The concept of the 'educational family' became difficult to sustain.

The pupils too, in the beginning, were enthusiastic. They liked the new unit. They felt close to their peers and privileged. Absenteeism was low. The pupils liked the relaxed atmosphere, the opportunities to be autonomous, the easy access to their teachers and the great amount of interpersonal interaction taking place. 'Free' time was regarded as an opportunity to get more work done, but there was concern over the workload which by some pupils was seen as not enough to pass School Certificate. This view was linked with parental concern. The junior pupils in the Whanau saw their goals as subject centred. The senior pupils saw their goals as facilitative and guidance centred. Initially an assessment of pupil attitudes and preferences were positive, socially, educationally and physically. Like the teachers, the pupils were regarded as elite and over-privileged *by their peers*. The policy changes described led to the 'families' being weakened by 'options', necessitating moving to the main school for teaching. There was no 'carry over' from Form III to the senior forms. Thus the Whanau concept, as originally conceived, was eroded and weakened.

These are indicated in Figure 11.

It will be noted in Figure 11 that in 1977 a change of principal took place. Research, notably Smith and Keith (1971) have pointed out that when a change of personnel occurs, particularly well up the hierarchy, changes in policy and intent occur. This is natural enough. The new incumbent is not expected to act or react in the same way as his predecessor especially if he was not party to the earlier philosophising and planning.

FIGURE 11 : PARENT-TEACHER-PUPIL RESPONSE TO INNOVATIVE SITUATION IN WHANAU HOUSE UNIT



KEY: Decisions made, opinions held \longleftrightarrow
 Feedback: consultations, assessments, evaluations \dashrightarrow

EVALUATION

To date the trial is still proceeding. In the second year of operation (1978) a system of options by fourth, fifth and sixth formers affected the population resident in the unit markedly. These options had the effect of taking them out of the unit and the family atmosphere into the 'conventional' school for greater or lesser times during the school day. As this happened a new group of third formers was introduced to the Whanau house. The new group were thus unable to make the educational and social contacts with their senior peers so necessary to upholding and perpetuating the stated ideals. Effective evaluation of the innovation would need at least a three and possibly a four year cycle, and a reasonably static, resident population.

There are two similar schools under construction and due to open in 1980-81. One in Auckland and the other in Timaru. Two schools do not represent a general implementation of the innovation but they will undoubtedly form a more heuristic form of trial as *whole* schools than the single unit imposed within the Penrose campus did.

IN RETROSPECT

The Whanau house design started with a decision to plan at the highest level. Such decisions normally have a consensus base eventuating from the Minister himself, which tends to guarantee that an innovation will proceed more surely than an innovation that has humbler origins. In his foreword to the published proposal on the Whanau House School the Minister of Education referred to the problem areas that he saw being closely concerned with building production and design as well as with organisation and curriculum. These were, school size, the ability of schools to adapt to changing needs inside and outside the school boundaries, and the difficulties in ensuring that the school buildings were sufficiently flexible to meet new and changing patterns.

The Whanau house innovation attempted to meet these problems by agreement to act at the highest levels of educational policy-making, as a consultative exercise. In the early planning stage there was no intention of inviting comment from other than experts. Dissemination at the specification stage it was feared, would cause too much public debate over the basic design. Consensus, from the beginning, was strong among the lower echelon educators; the selected principal and the new teachers who would be entrusted with the task of turning the physical innovation into the 'reality' envisaged by the educational guidelines on, it must be stressed, the peculiar type of voluntary basis which is such a strong feature of New Zealand education. Policy may be laid down, and often is. Teachers do not have to subscribe to that policy. Ample evidence is available in the Whanau house project that the original ten teachers had a strong desire to succeed, under the new conditions, that was at a high level indeed.

This is as far down the socio-educational hierarchy, however, that the consensus and the decision-making was intended to proceed. The dossier respondents reiterated several times that the general public, interested lay people, community leaders and the like were not included in various stages of planning. It is significant too that the problems of economics and technique in building system terms played a large part in this attitude. While implementation of the educational philosophies was not seen as a problem, given willing staff, the problems of providing the Whanau units on time, and economically, would need to wait for solutions when construction of whole schools in different locations began, as they did in 1978.

The lack of information about policy and philosophy in the beginning caused discussion among the general public and agitation to affected pupils and parents in particular. This was not dissipated until the school itself acted positively and publicised, discussed and consulted with the affected populations, particularly the Polynesian community. It could be said that the dissensus caused by the lack of publicity did not dissipate until the feedback from pupils and staff permeated the boundaries of the affected societal structures.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDONESIA

Title:

MODULAR INSTRUCTION SYSTEM

*(A teaching-learning strategy developed in
the Developmental School Project.)*

Popular Name: None

This chapter sets out to describe and explain the Indonesian Innovation. First, the background of the innovation is discussed. Second, the need for an innovation is outlined. Third, the process of the innovation is examined in terms of decision making and consensus.

TIMETABLE

May 1970	Problem began to surface.
October 1973	More precise statements of the problems were formulated.
December 1973	Problem statements were discussed and sanctioned.
(March 1974	
(April 1974	Training for programmers.*
(May 1974	Discussion on ways in which modular programmes
(June 1974	were developed and put into practice.
June 1974	Review of the Modular Programmes* and Programme Design.
September 1974	Modification of the Modular Programmes and Programme Design.
January 1975	First attempts at trying out the Innovation.
January 1978	Revision of Modular Materials based on the first tryouts in Pilot Schools*.
July 1979	Second tryout of modular materials in Pilot Schools.
July 1982	Total evaluation of the Modular System.
July 1983	General implementation.

* *These terms are explained within the context of the Chapter.*

BACKGROUND TO THE INNOVATION

In size alone Indonesia almost beggars adequate description. The 13,000 islands of Indonesia would, if placed over the map of Europe and Asia in the Northern Hemisphere, stretch from London to China and from Stockholm in the North to Rome in the South (Beeby, 1979). Wide ethnic variations exist. There are some 250 languages spoken ranging from those spoken by stone-age tribesmen to those of the aristocratic sultanates and the westernised moderns of the capital, Jakarta. The educational problems are those of a poor country: over-crowding; lack of equipment; poorly trained teachers; almost universal expository teaching methods; unsuitable, irrelevant curricula; a high drop-out rate; unemployment among graduates and an Administration struggling to simply maintain the status quo.

Indonesia's total population was estimated at 137 million in 1973, and at the present two percent rate of growth (slowed down slightly as a result of intensive birth control measures) is projected to be 151 million people by the end of 1983, the end of the third Repelita, or five-year plan. At the beginning of Repelita III, i.e. 1979/80, the primary population was estimated at 24.2 million pupils, including 93.7 percent of all children between seven to 12 years old totalling 21.9 million. The present aim is to have 100 percent of the estimated seven to 12 year old population, totalling 22.0 million as well as another 3.9 million pupils under seven or over 12 years old, attending school.

POLICY STATEMENTS

The earliest policy statements for education were made in Statements of Objectives set out in Repelita I, the first Indonesian five year plan (1969-73). The emphasis was on economic development. A school system based on technical and vocational education was planned and budgeted for. Beeby (1979) points out that nowhere was there much evidence of serious and systematic thinking about the fitness of the whole school system, or any of its parts, to the needs of the country.

Repelita I however, spawned the National Assessment Project which had the task of:

- (1) identifying the problems likely to be met in framing a long term strategy for education;
- (2) analysing these problems; and
- (3) outlining the alternatives open to the decision-makers of the Department of Education and Culture for a long term strategy for education on a national scale.

The 'findings' of the Assessment were followed in the last year of Repelita I (when it became apparent, also, that earlier educational aspirations could not be met because of the poor state of the existing system), by a Statement by the Minister

of Education that the existing system was no longer suitable for Indonesia. A 'master design' was to be developed for the reform of Indonesian education. The Ministry of Education and Culture assigned the Office of Educational and Cultural Research and Development (BP3K) to plan and manage a Development School Project.

In a document published in March 1972 and entitled 'Policy Statement of the Minister of Education and Culture' the principles of the Indonesian Education System were outlined as follows:

- (1) *Education should support National development plans.*
- (2) *The education system should be reformed into 'developmental education'.*
- (3) *The vertical balance of the system should be related to manpower needs, absorptive capacity, the rate of economic growth and peoples aspirations.*
- (4) *The horizontal balance should be related to national development needs especially in science and technology.*
- (5) *Curricula should be devised which develop a respect for work as well as improved knowledge and skills.*

(UNESCO, I.B.E. May 1976)

In order to induce such change into the education system and cater, as well, for the existing population, some 57,000 classrooms need to be built, 37,000 existing classrooms need to be replaced and another 40,000 school buildings brought up to standard.

These objectives also require a programme to provide 105,000 new teachers and the retaining of some two million other teachers. To do this also, 250 million text books must be produced. The per capita cost for this in 1980/81 will be 524 billion rupiah (Rp) or some \$NZ 30.00 per head. (Presidential address to Parliament, 1980)

'PILOT' SCHOOLS

However, it is not only the magnitude of the task that is impressive, but also the logistic task involved. Clearly the task would become much easier if all the component parts were rationalised and their articulation co-ordinated. The innovation under present consideration is part of a large one that is concerned with arriving at a new organisational approach to the Indonesian system. This larger project is attempting to set up a trial education system in miniature on the assumption that if it works, it may be generalised to the wider system. To this end eight pilot comprehensive schools were started. These 'development' schools represented a major innovation in that they were based on eight years of primary and four years of

secondary education, thus eliminating the former junior secondary school. The comprehensive character of these schools meant in practice that they offered a range of specialised courses, which were for the most part, terminal courses, i.e. they did not lead on to tertiary education. The modular instruction component of this larger project represented an attempt to streamline the school curriculum.

THE MODULAR INSTRUCTION PROJECT

The term 'Modular Instruction' in Indonesian education refers to instruction conducted by means of a series of teaching-learning modules. In this system a term's curriculum in any one subject area is broken down into a set of manageable parts (called learning units) each of which is developed into a module. The modular system is designed to take advantage of all sorts of teaching-learning methods and materials in the sense that it is not limited to self-instructional reading materials.

During the lessons using the modular system, the students are expected to read through the materials and complete the activities suggested in their text. They are also expected to discuss their tasks and their findings in both small and large groups as well to complete worksheets and setwork exercises. The role of the teacher is to organise and manage the learning processes. He is not expected to be solely a deliverer of information.

The modular system of instruction was chosen, since this system would enable learners to experience learning activities designed by well qualified writers in various disciplines. This method would thus not be dependent upon the inadequate quality of teachers provided by the prevailing system of mass education. (Specification Comment, Innovation Dossier)

THE NEED FOR AN INNOVATION

Although the dossier timetable indicates that the problem began to surface in the middle of 1970 it was defined much earlier than that. It was the National Assessment of Indonesian education conducted in the early 1970s that revealed the quality of instruction in most of the nation's classrooms to be far lower than it should be. The methods used were generally

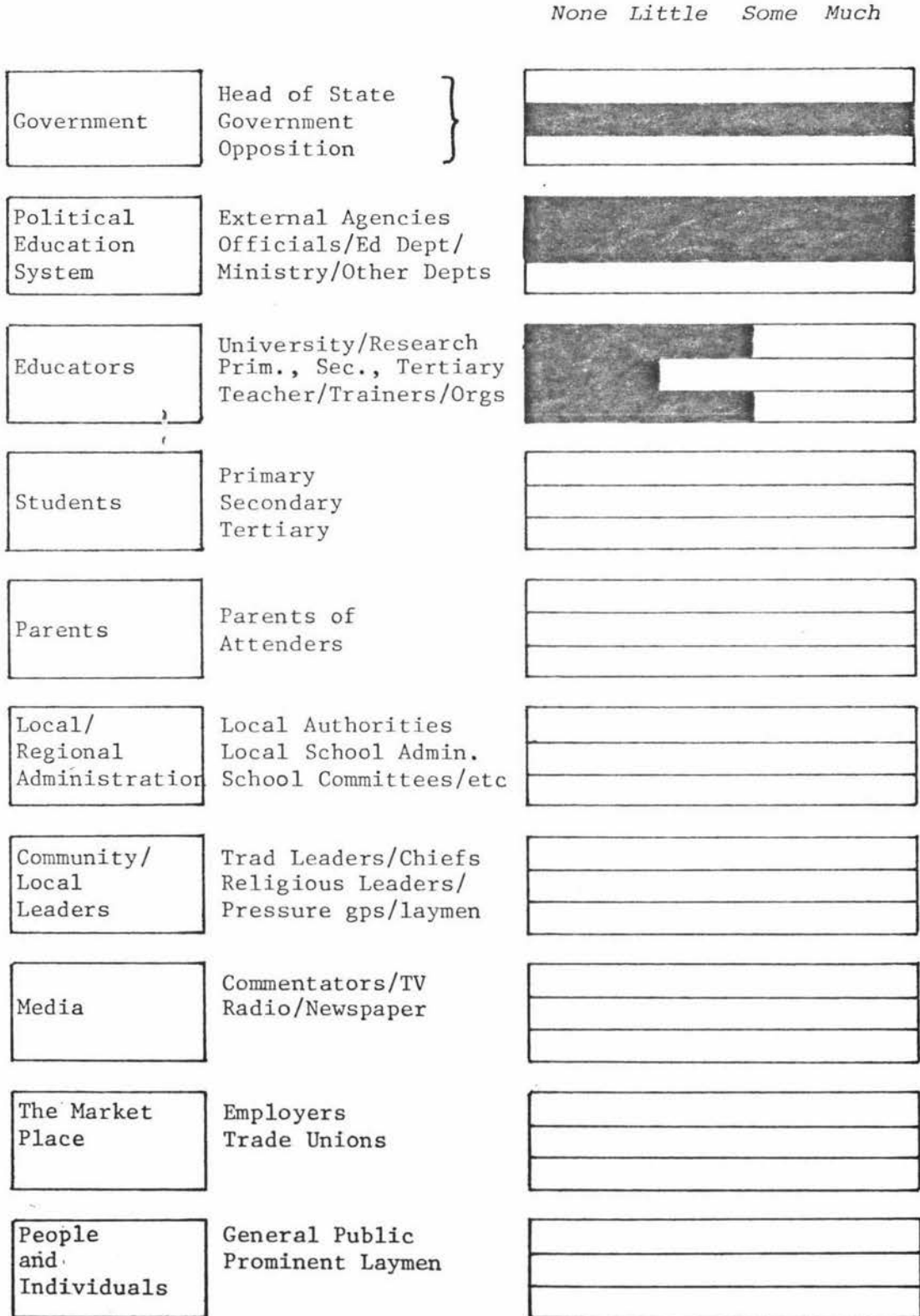
"not of the type to guarantee the transfer of knowledge from the teacher to his pupils".

The existing educational system (was)

"no longer suitable to the real needs of society".

However, in Indonesia, given the wide ethnic, geographic and social variations existing, concern at the quality of education did not have a high degree of concordance between the upper and lower groups in society. Awareness of the state of the educa-

FIGURE 12: THE EXTENT OF CONCERN EXPRESSED PUBLICLY IN INDONESIA
WHEN THE PROBLEM WAS REVEALED



tional system was confined to the *uppermost* groups in the hierarchy. Concern at the basic problem, because of reports such as the National Assessment emanated from the Government, the political education system and educators only. The respondents' considered reply to the question on the amount of public concern shown is clearly indicated in Figure 12.

Nowhere are students, parents, regional and/or local administrators mentioned, or indicated as being concerned. In terms of the purposes of this study there is thus seen to be a high degree of consensus among the higher echelons of the Indonesian education system as to the need for a definite form of innovatory action.

These are the most powerful groups in the hierarchy. The relative power of these groups and the high degree of concordance between these same groups and the innovative idea they have 'floated' will therefore, it is assumed, influence the *process* of the innovation. In this context, deemed critical to the evolutionary process of decision making, are the relationship of concordance between the *idea* of the innovation and the hierarchy of the social groups.

THE BACKGROUND TO TOP LEVEL CONSENSUS

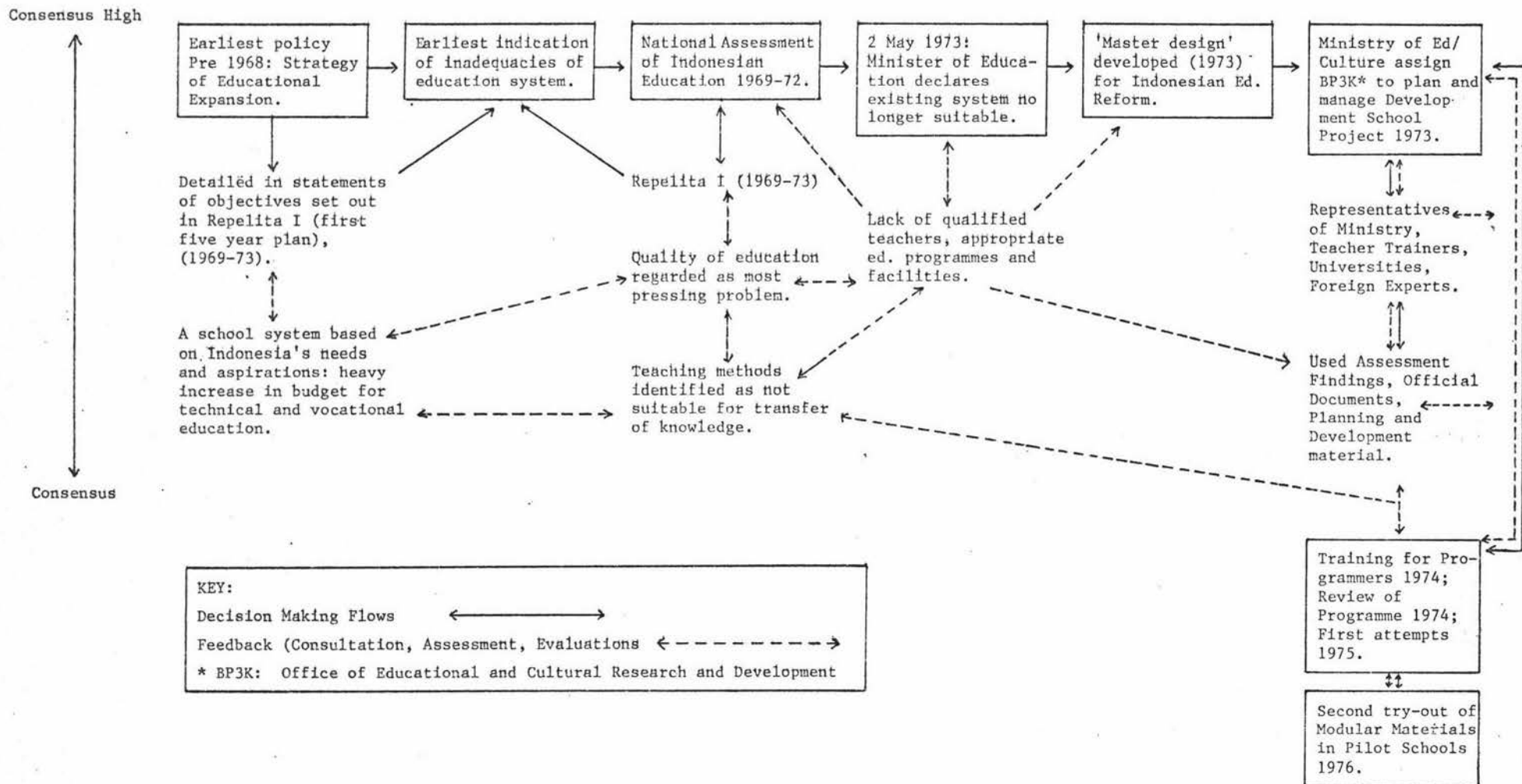
In retrospect then, the events leading towards the production of a Modular Instruction System were enunciated by the earliest policy statements before 1968 in a strategy for educational expansion commencing with Repelita I. The National Assessment of Indonesian education (1969-72) identified, analysed and outlined both the problems and alternatives available to the nation. The sorry state of the system, especially as regards quality of education was publicly acknowledged in 1973 by the then Minister of Education and a 'Master Design' was developed in that same year for educational reform which involved the Office of Educational and Cultural Research and Development (BP3K) in planning and managing a Development School Project which 'set up' the Modular Instruction System the following year. Figure 13 shows this process and indicates the high level of consensus at Government-Ministry-Educator decision making level.

THE SPECIFICATION OF THE MODULAR INSTRUCTION SYSTEM

According to the Dossier the Specification phase of an Innovation can be regarded as distinct. It is concerned specifically with the designing of the innovation itself. This phase is examined here.

Those responsible for identifying the need, and making the proposal for the innovation, were officials in the Ministry, the Government, external agencies, teacher trainers and university personnel. The same groups were also concerned with the actual decision-making that led up to the actual decision to select the proposed innovation as an eventual solution.

FIGURE 13: THE INITIAL FLOW OF EVENTS TOWARDS PRODUCING A MODULAR INSTRUCTION SYSTEM IN INDONESIA



It follows also that these same groups were judged (by the informants from Indonesia) to be favourable to the selection of the innovation at the time. School administrators were seen as neutral to the proposal but a new cohort, prominent or interested laymen, were judged to be favourably disposed towards the innovation. In Jakarta there is a strong concentration of people with modern ideas on the improvement of schools. Thus Jakarta is the logical place for the setting up of innovations in Indonesia. These remarks are vindicated when the extent to which the various groups in society were kept informed about the specifications of the innovation before it was put into practice are perused. The Government at *this stage* were kept informed to some extent, the External agencies, Ministry and allied Departments were, of course doing the specifications, and so were, ipso facto, informed to a considerable extent, as were the Universities concerned, and teacher trainers, but of the other societal groups only the local school administrators were aware of the specifications being designed. Figure 14 illustrates the extent of information disseminated. The official reason for specifications not being brought to public attention was the thought that it was 'too early' to disseminate the ideas being developed.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW SYSTEM

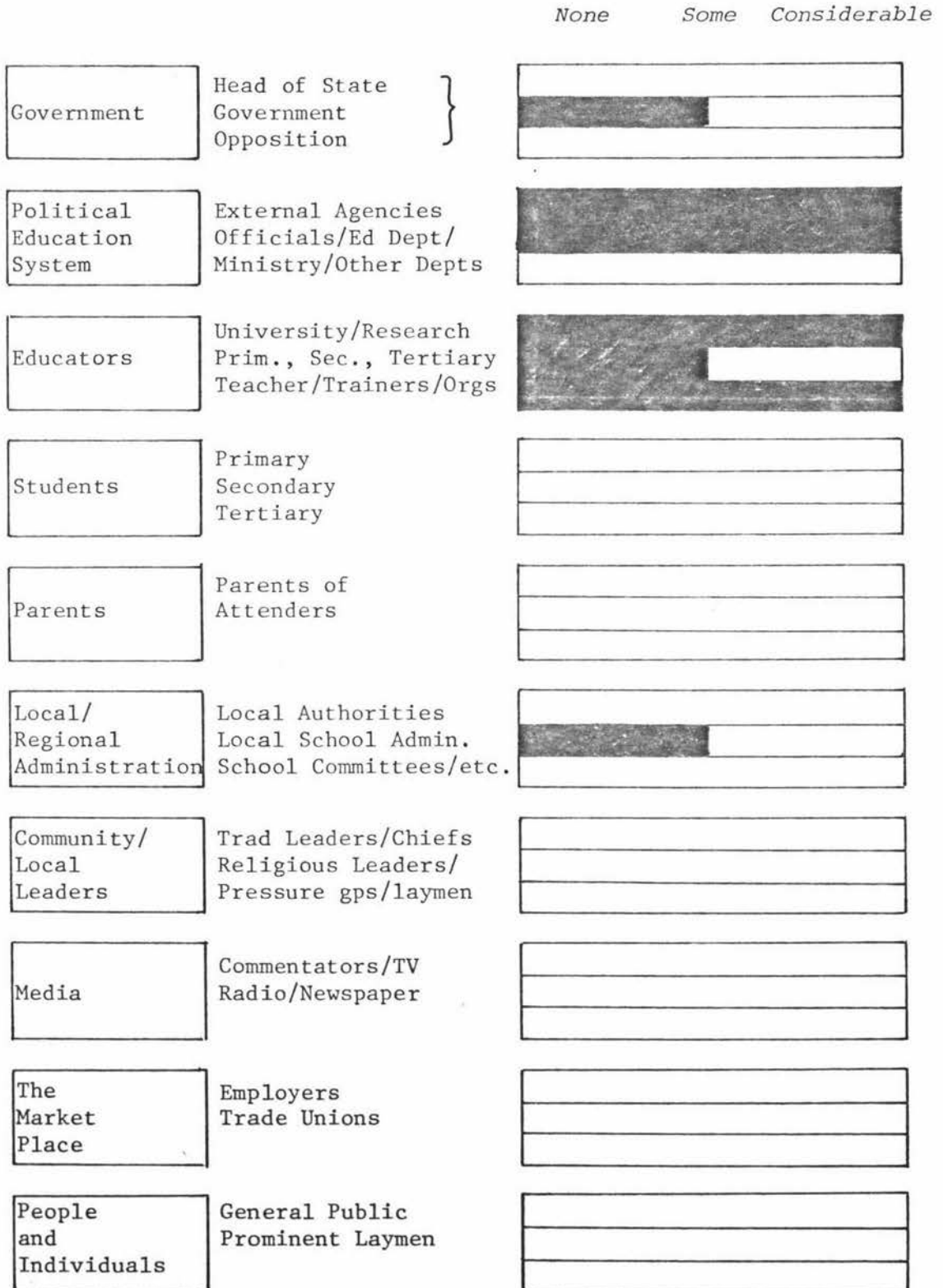
The development of the new teaching-learning system was accomplished through a series of seminars and workshops which contained:

- (1) Education and curriculum specialists from BP3K and teachers colleges.
- (2) Subject matter specialists from teachers colleges and prominent universities.
- (3) Professionals from other units within the education ministry.
- (4) Staff of the development schools.
- (5) Foreign experts.

These seminars and workshops were relevant to the present study because there were a number of papers written specially on the 'why' and 'how' of developing modular systems which could be used as guidelines for the Module Writers themselves.

There is thus, little doubt that the innovation engendered a fair amount of discussion at levels lower than that of Government, Ministry, Teachers College and University. Social networks working as they do would guarantee discussion of the innovation if nothing else. Unfortunately the dossier for Indonesia is short on comment for each of the three phases of the innovation and while, as mentioned above, interested lay people were checked off as favourably disposed to the innovation, there was nothing to indicate why or how.

FIGURE 14: THE EXTENT TO WHICH ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO KEEP THE VARIOUS GROUPS IN SOCIETY INFORMED



The module writers were given opportunities to undergo overseas training in module development during which time they acquired sufficient of the materials needed for accomplishing their task within the context of the innovation. Overseas travel brings sections of society, travel agents, banking personnel, passport officials, etc., into an 'awareness network' but it would be stretching probability too far to assume or even conjecture that by these sort of contacts awareness of the innovation was created. Any assessment of any kind of consequential consensus would therefore be unwarranted.

The great body of opinion on the dissemination of innovations supports the view that interested parties need to be given the opportunity to be as fully involved as possible in not only planning, but in evaluation of changes that innovations would engender. (This aspect will be referred to in greater depth in the final chapter.) The extent to which the societal groups are adjudged supportive of, or resistant to social change in general is shown in Figure 15. According to Figure 15, those concerned with the innovation are very supportive of change in general while traditional chiefs and religious leaders are rated, resistant. Only the media spokesmen stand apart from the rest of society and are rated as very supportive of change.

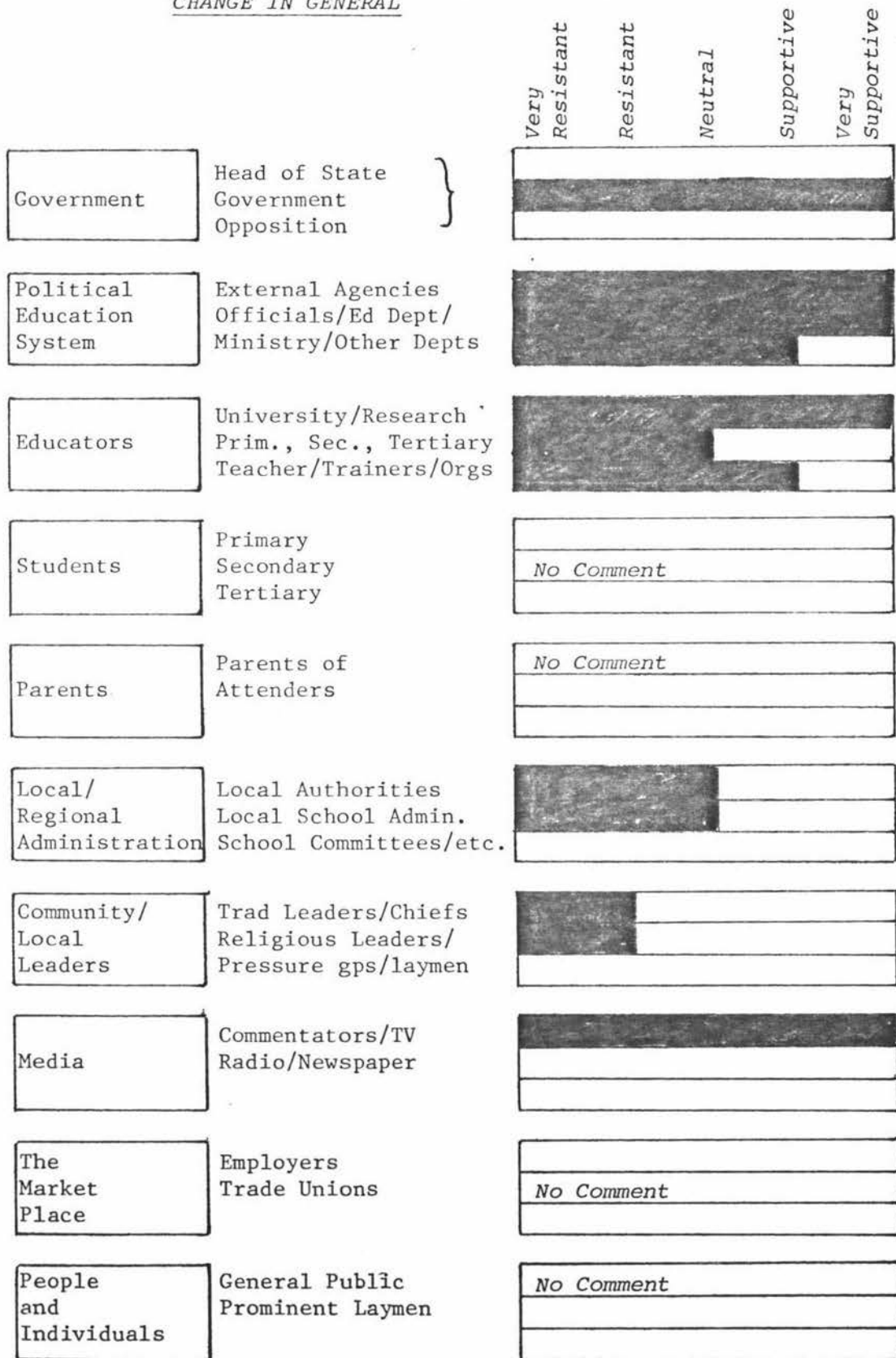
THE EARLY OPERATION OF THE INNOVATION

So far the decision making/consensus sequences have been maintained at the highest possible levels, that of Government, international agencies, university, teachers college and selected teachers with certain professional expertise. The setting for the operation of the innovation is urban and within the boundaries of selected teachers colleges throughout the country. The affected pupils are for the most part, offspring of professional people. The evaluators of the innovation have been teacher trainers, officials in the concerned ministries and experts from the external agencies concerned. Apart from the external agencies, evaluation can be regarded as internal.

In 1977, however, others were brought into contact with aspects of the innovation. Some of the 'good' modules were distributed to some schools outside the pilot schools. The reason was to find out how well this new system would operate in the ordinary school setting - a necessary forerunner to general dissemination by the end of Repelita III in 1983.

The activities were purposely kept within rigidly limited boundaries, and, the trials outside those boundaries were also strictly limited by a general administrative agreement to keep the trials as a pilot project until its worth was ascertained. A total evaluation was planned at the end of the second tryout of the modules in 1979, and were to take the form of occasional visits by officials, reports and inspections by experts, a general critique by the foreign advisers - all constituting both formative and

FIGURE 15: THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOCIETAL GROUPS IN INDONESIA ARE JUDGED TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF, OR RESISTANT TO, SOCIAL CHANGE IN GENERAL



summative evaluations. There was to be as well, a form of evaluation called contrastive evaluation which consisted of a description of both the strengths and weaknesses of each modular design based on the process as well as the outcome information.

A whole-hearted attempt to establish modular instruction in a few schools (as well as the pilot schools), *will* reveal both strengths and weaknesses. By the end of Repelita III the upper hierarchy should be able to see whether the expected successful outcomes will be anywhere near occurring for any number of a myriad possible reasons. The results of the summative evaluations will be reported to the Government through the Minister of Education as a basis for making the final decision as to the future of the modular system.

The decisions used in implementing the innovation have been both cautious and logical. It started from a major statement of public policy with the whole prestige of the Government behind it and then engaged in a series of successive refinements of problem after problem until the decisions necessary for producing a curriculum appropriate to the conditions were arrived at (Adams and Chen, 1980). It is unlikely that the innovation, for the above sound reasons, will suffer the fate of so many innovations. The promise of rewards is very great, and particularly for the groups involved; the module writers, the evaluation group, the administration group, the guidance and counselling group, the teachers and administrators, and of course, the pupils themselves.

Up to 1978, three years or so after the first attempts at trying out the modular system, on the basis of evidence available, the slow downward dissemination of information on, and awareness of, the new ideas had become evident. The dossier reports that a supportive consensus was abroad among the parents of school attenders, the affected school attenders, teachers, school administrators, teacher trainers and university personnel. This is a select group which includes the media representatives, but by dissemination and social networking would have to include people unconnected with the development schools.

CHAPTER SIX

MALAYSIA

PLANNING QUALITATIVE INNOVATIONS IN EDUCATION

Initial Title:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTEGRATED CURRICULUM FOR THE
FIRST THREE YEARS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING

Revised Title:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMPROVED CURRICULUM FOR THE
FIRST THREE YEARS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLING

This chapter, like the three preceding chapters, sets out to describe and explain, within the framework of the Innovation Dossier, the Malaysian innovation.

First, a brief historical and educational background is presented. Second, the timetable for the innovation is outlined. Third, the innovation is described in sequence. Fourth, the decision making/consensus elements are discussed and the indicators of consensus tabulated.

PREAMBLE

The delicate ethnic balance that is characteristic of contemporary Malaysia is of particular significance to the present chapter for two main reasons. In the first place the innovation itself is part of a larger plan to use education as a device for melding together a whole society and redressing power/privilege inequities. In the second, because of its inter-ethnic group consequences the innovation itself is likely to be susceptible to public opinion. Whether consensus among the concerned societal groups is achieved or not, therefore appears to be significant, for, in terms of the stated Parsonian position taken in this study, this innovation in particular presents a unique opportunity to consider, not only the idea of an essentially Malaysian curriculum transmitted in the language of the indigenous people, but such concerns as cultural values and the importance of various roles and regulative norms in each society affected by the innovation. These aspects of the drive towards a normative consensus, have major ramifications for the whole concept of consensus in decision making also.

The considered innovation is one of a number in the process of development in Malaysia, and is part of a concern to upgrade the quality of education in general and rural education in particular. The 'Keystone' statements which divulged the need/disposition structure of Malaysian education as far as this innovation is concerned were the findings of the Committee set up under the chairmanship of Dr Abdul Majid b. Ismail¹ in 1969, which had three objectives, mainly concerned with social and cultural life on campus. The pertinent part of the report for this study pertains to the various recommendations that the Committee made, having, as they did, their sources far from the halls of tertiary education.

The Report suggested that academic criteria should not be the future basis for admissions to the University of Malaya, and that because of the inherent low socio-economic and rural status of the Malaysian students a radical kind of 'headstart' programme was needed (to counter the high secondary dropout rate²) particularly at the kindergarten and primary levels. The three major factors in low Malay educational achievement were seen to be:

- (i) low economic status,
- (ii) a predominantly rural habitat, and
- (iii) the allied lack of educational facilities in this situation.

Since 1957, when the Alliance Government came to power, the government has continually striven to foster the Malays oneness as a

¹ Report of the Committee appointed by National Operations Council (NOC) to Study Campus Life of Students of the University of Malaya (Majid Ismael Report), Kuala Lumpur 1971.

² *Kajian Keciciran (Dropout Study)* Ministry of Education, Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur 1973.

political, cultural and linguistic entity by its control of the national school system and by financial and material aid to Malays, particularly in rural areas to give them the best possible chance to succeed against the more aggressive educational attitudes of the Chinese and Indian societies in the country.

The following pages set out to explain the historical and educational backgrounds leading to the setting up of an innovation to develop an improved curriculum for the first three years of primary schooling.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Malaysia, like Indonesia, has emerged from out of colonialism after a wartime occupation by an invading power. Unlike Indonesia, Malaysia did not have to fight for its independence but was granted it by Britain in 1957.

Malaysia has still many of the institutions left by Britain, particularly in government, its education system and a British 'way of life' enjoyed particularly by the upper stratum.

The early British were less concerned with territorial ambitions than in sharing with other colonisers the rich spice trade of the whole South East Asian region through its East India Company. Later, the emphasis on crops like coffee and sugar grown on large plantations required the protection of this investment. The area was divided between the Dutch, who held Indonesia, and the British who occupied the Malayan peninsular. The traditional rulers, the Sultans, were left in power over their subjects but 'protection' was quite firmly in the hands of the armed forces and the bureaucracy of Britain.

To produce these plantation crops, as well as to work in the various mineral exploitations the British imported labour. Many thousands of indentured workers were brought from China¹ and India on such a scale that, particularly in Western Malaya the indigenous population became a minority in their own land (Buchanan, 1967). Thus the colonial power created the mixed or plural society that is strikingly evident in Malaysia today. The 1977 demographic data reports Peninsular Malaysia as supporting 5.65 million Malays, 3.71 million Chinese, 1.10 million Indians and 0.08 million other races, including Europeans and indigenous peoples. Of the Malay population about 80 percent are rural. (See Figure 16 for those and other details.)

The Federation of Malaysia thus is a complex amalgam of peoples

¹ Not all Chinese labour was indentured. Many came as part of a large scale migration from the coastlands of southern China.

FIGURE 16:

MALAYSIA—KEY DATA 1977¹

AREA: Malaysia (Peninsular Malaysia 50,806; Sarawak 48,050; Sabah 28,725)	127,581 square miles	
POPULATION		
Malaysia (Peninsular Malaysia 10.54 m, Sarawak 1.12 m, Sabah 0.87 m)	12.53 million	
Peninsular Malaysia (Malays 5.65 m, Chinese 3.71 m, Indians 1.10 m, Others 0.98 m) ...		
Average growth rate (1976-80)	2.7% per annum	
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (constant prices in brackets)		
Public Consumption	\$30,500 million (20,600)	
Private Consumption	21% of GNP (19%)	
Public Fixed Capital Formation	51% .. (53%)	
Private Fixed Capital Formation	11% .. (9%)	
Exports of goods and services	14% .. (11%)	
Imports of goods and services	54% .. (45%)	
Gross National Savings	51% .. (37%)	
Gross National Savings	27% ..	
NATIONAL INCOME, 1977:		
Total Income (Public Sector 22%; Private Sector 78%)	\$28,550 million	
Per Capita Income	\$2,280	
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (1970 constant prices)		
Agriculture (Rubber 9%, Palm Oil 6% of GDP)	\$18,470 million	
Manufacturing	29% of GDP	
Construction	16% ..	
Wholesale and Retail Trade	5% ..	
Transport and Communication	13% ..	
Public Utilities	7% ..	
Public Administration and Defence	3% ..	
Public Administration and Defence	8% ..	
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE		
Revenue	\$7,515 million	
Operating Expenditure	\$7,160 ..	
Development Expenditure	\$3,000 ..	
Foreign debt servicing ratio	3.9%	
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS & INTERNATIONAL RESERVES²		
Current Account	+\$ 870 million	
Capital Account	+\$1,448 ..	
Basic Balance	+\$2,317 ..	
Net International Reserves (6½ months of estimated 1977 retained imports at end August 1977)	\$6,783 ..	
Net change in International Reserves (increase)	\$ 550 ..	
INTERNATIONAL TRADE		
Gross Exports (Rubber 50%, Palm oil 64%, Tin 36% of world total in 1976)	\$15,200 million	
Gross Imports	\$12,640 ..	
Balance of Trade	\$ 2,560 ..	
MONEY AND BANKING		
Money Supply (Currency 49%; Demand deposits 51%)	\$ 6,408 million	
Quasi Money	\$ 9,355 ..	
Private Sector Liquidity	\$15,760 ..	
Commercial banks' prime lending rate (w.e.f. 2-6-77)	7½% per annum	
Malaysian Ringgit (one) = 0.35 SDRs and US\$0.40 (end August 1977)		
PRICES (Peninsular Malaysia):		
	<i>Index</i>	<i>% Rate of change</i>
Consumer Price Index (1967 = 100)	156	+5.2
of which, Food (weight = 46.8%)	168	+4.8
Import Price Index (1970 = 100)	210	+6.5
Export Price Index (1970 = 100)	170	+6.8
EMPLOYMENT		
	<i>Thousands</i>	
Labour force	4,509	
Employed (Agriculture 1,990, Manufacturing 480, Government 563)	4,209	
Unemployed	300	
MEAN HOUSEHOLD INCOMES, 1973 (Peninsular Malaysia):		
	<i>\$ per annum</i>	
All households	4,164	
Rural households	3,108	
Urban households	6,432	

¹ All 1977 data are latest estimates.

² Net figures.

thrown together into a 'melting pot' created primarily by the Western European's search for raw materials, markets and profits.

THE PERCEIVED NEED FOR RACIAL UNITY

The need for racial unity was realised early in the new nation's history. The fledgling nation was wracked by a long civil war (1948-1960). The problems then were communal as well as economic. The post-World War II Malayan (indigenous) population was almost wholly rural in composition and feudal in structure. The immigrant population was, and still is characterised by being urban based and highly acquisitive by nature. It is an uneasy, and potentially explosive complexity of peoples (Buchanan, 1967).

LEGISLATION FOR NATIONAL UNITY

In 1971 the Malaysian Parliament promulgated the Constitutional Amendment Act. This stated:

"in the interests of security and public order matters which pertain to citizenship the national language (Bahasa Malaysia), the 'special position' of the Malaysia and the Sovereignty of the Rulers,"

were not to be questioned in public.

This Amendment had been made to the constitution because of the traumatic effect, on the country (after serious reverses suffered by the ruling Alliance Party), of an ugly series of communal riots which took place in Kuala Lumpur on 13 May 1969. These riots had the effect of dissolving the national parliament and the setting up of a National Operations Council to rule temporarily in its place.

Amid the tension, 1969 saw the second Malaysia Plan published. It spelled out in unequivocal terms, the necessity for communal integration and harmony among the races. The foreword to the Plan by the former Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein stated that:

"The objectives, priorities and strategies of the Plan have all been shaped by the over-riding need to promote national unity."¹

The second Malaysia Plan was aimed in its emphasis towards economic development as the basis on which to secure national unity.

¹ Second Malaysia Plan 1971-9175 (Kuala Lumpur 1971) Chapter 1, paragraph 2.

This was the New Economic Policy. It basically had two objectives, both of which were intertwined:

- (i) The reduction and eventual eradication of poverty;
- (ii) The restructuring of Malaysian society by reducing and eventually eliminating the identification of race with economic function.

THE NEED FOR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

The Review of this Plan also stated that the indigenous peoples would enjoy the

*"creation of a commercial and industrial community that, within one generation (would enable them to own) and/or manage at least 30 percent of the total commercial and industrial activities of the country in all categories and scales of operation. To do this there would be an expansion of education and training facilities to reduce existing inequalities in the incomes between 'income and racial groups'."*¹

THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND TO THE INNOVATION

In early colonial times (eighteenth century) the government made it policy that the language of commerce would be English. To this end education in English was offered to the children (sons) of the Malay aristocracy. Very rapidly the material advantages were grasped by the indigenous population of upper class Malays, and a kind of multi-socio-cultural language stratum appeared, of English for the English, English for the upper classes, Malay for the ordinary people and Chinese and Tamil for the immigrant peasants.

There is no suggestion that this differentiation was not acceptable *at the time*. It was logical, fair, and also (for the British), did not violate or interfere with any customs or cultures. In any case, each ethnic group by definition, regarded itself as unique, and distinct from the others, which it undoubtedly was. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the English language schools were open to all who wished to attend. The cultural or vernacular schools were attended by Malay, Chinese and Tamil (each to his own), as a means of preserving both cultural and self identity.

¹ Outline Perspective Plan (1971-1990) chapter 4 of Third Malaysia Plan (1976-1980); Mid Term Review of Second Malaysia Plan (Kuala Lumpur 1973).

This was the situation up to the onset of World War II. Britain, as has been stated, granted independence to Malaysia in 1957. The following paragraphs are intended to trace the background politico-educational history leading up to the innovation, in order to emphasise its inherent objective of producing ultimate educational and social equality.

TOWARDS A NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Report on the Committee on Malay Education (1951), the Barnes Report¹, was significant because it made the 'milestone' recommendation that a National School System should replace the old differentiated, colonial based system. It was this report which opened the way for Parliament to eventually introduce the Malay language as the National medium of instruction. In 1955 a reorganised, Malayan dominated political party (Alliance) won 51 of the 52 seats in the national elections. Independence became a reality.

One of the first tasks of the independent government was to appoint an education committee to examine education in Malaya, and study means of establishing a national system of education,

"having regard to the intention to make Malay the national language of the country, while preserving and sustaining the growth of language and culture of other communities living in the country."

This was the 1956 Abdul Razak Report² which incorporated much of the intent of the earlier Barnes Report by stating that the national educational policy

"must be to bring together the children of all races under a national educational system in which the national language is the main medium of instruction."

This report was the basis for all of the subsequent educational decisions of the government and was to have profound effects on the education of the nation's multi-ethnic population of children. Parents could choose which medium of instruction they wanted for their children at primary level but beyond this there would be no examinations in Chinese or Tamil. Malay was to be the official national language and the main medium of instruction, with English as a 'parallel' option.

In 1960, the Educational Review Committee (in the Rahman Talib Report) backed the findings of the Abdul Razak Report. They saw the educational system to be best served by being equally Malay

¹ Report of the Committee on Malay Education (Barnes Report) Kuala Lumpur, 1951.

² Report of the Education Committee 1956 (Abdul Razak Report) Kuala Lumpur (chapter 1).

and English as to language of instruction (at all levels). There was however, a series of recommendations which were designed to make Malayan the eventual university language. In 1967 the Government passed the National Language Act which made Malayan the language to be used for official purposes.

In June 1970, a Ministry of Education decision based on the National Language Act to change (from 1971) all first-year primary education to instruction in Malaysian. This is planned to be complete in 1983 for the whole system up to pre-university level.

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS

The major events that occurred in Malaysian education show two quite definite trends:

- (i) The gradual emphasis on the elevation of Malays and the Malaysian language in the country's education system; and
- (ii) The level of decision-making occurring from colonial times until the innovation commenced at the level of
 - (a) legislative action; and
 - (b) Ministry promulgation.

In terms of the purposes of this study the levels of decision making up to the origination of the innovation did not apparently have a high degree of concordance between the upper and lower strata of Malaysian society. There is also, little evidence of concordance between ethnic, cultural and social groups. The drive towards true nationhood through education originated within, and was confined to, the uppermost groups in the hierarchy. Consensus among these same groups; the most powerful; Government (Parliament), Ministry and Education officials, must also be seen to be high in relation to the need for an innovation which would use education as a device to meld a pluralistic society into 'one' people.

The decision by the Ministry in 1970 to make all education in the medium of bahasa Malaysia was accompanied by a policy of making education accessible to all children of school age. The 'real' problems leading to the identification of the innovation were thus seen to be by the dossier respondents:

- (i) The discrepancies of educational standards between urban and rural areas;
- (ii) The differing rates of success between ethnic groups;
- (iii) The need for a general upgrading of the schools' system in management, supervision, pupils materials and classroom equipment;

- (iv) The high teacher-pupil ratio in urban areas and the lower numbers but multi-class situations in rural areas.

A committee of officials was appointed by Cabinet to make suggestions for countering what was known to be

"general aspects of educational inadequacy in the System that resulted in lack of incentives for pupils to succeed in school".

The Ministry officials began to think *in terms of quality of education.*

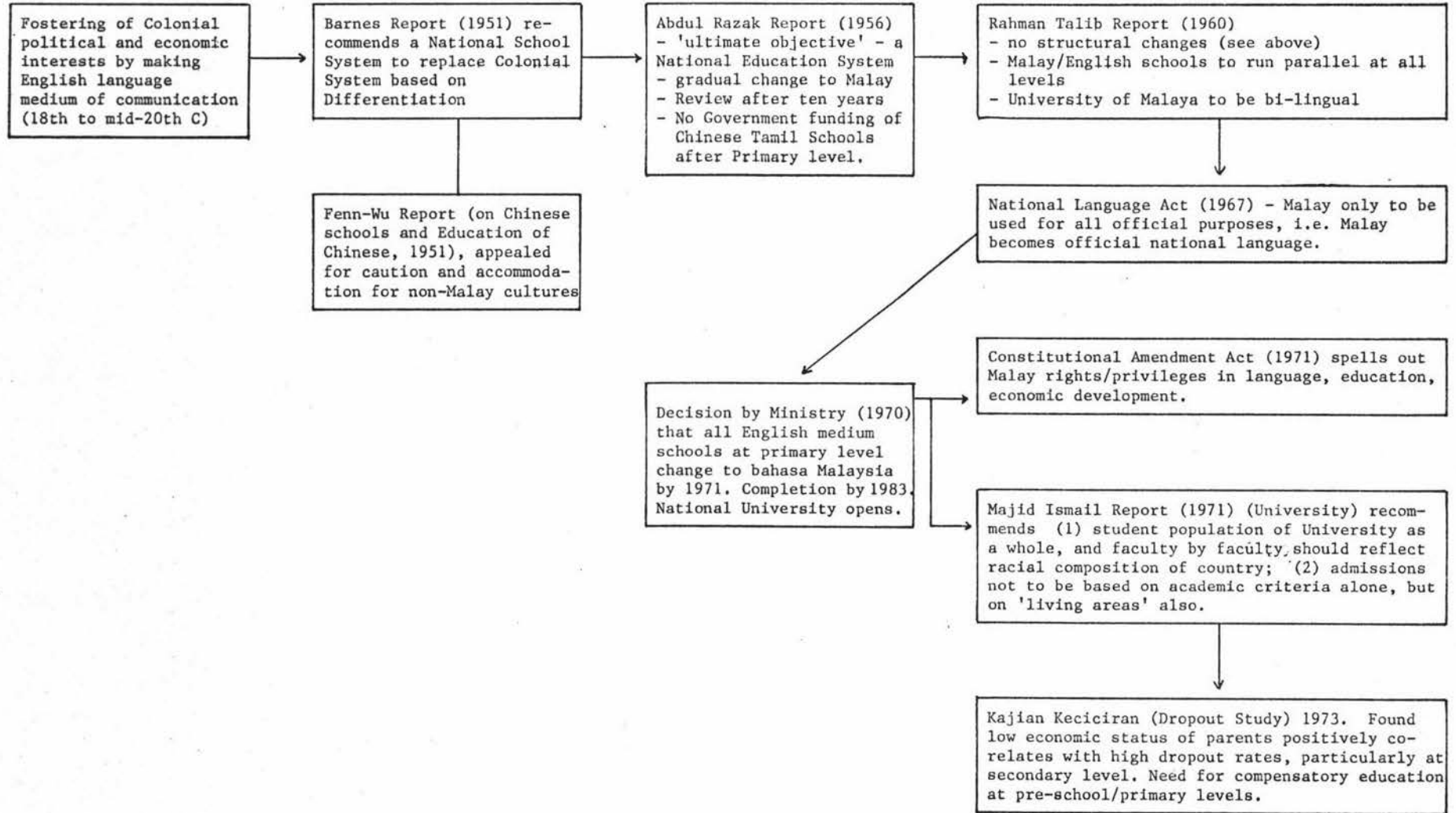
The events (Acts and Reports) that occurred in Malaysian education from earliest colonial times is presented in Figure 17. The figure traces the events chronologically from the teaching of English as the medium of commerce, to the first report (Barnes, 1951) that recommended a National School System to replace the old colonial system; the Abdul Razak Report (1956) that advocated a gradual change to the medium of Malay; the Rahman Talib Report (1960) that recommended parallel instruction in both English and Malay and the first Act of Parliament, the National Language Act (1967) that made bahasa Malaysia the official language. This Act was followed by an Education Ministry decision to change all instruction in Malaysian schools to bahasa Malaysia by 1983. The Constitutional Amendment Act (1971) spelled out Malay rights (i.e. the indigenous people's) in language, education, and economic development. The Majid Ismail Report, also of 1971, while a university based report on university campus life, was important for its identification of the reasons for the poor performance of indigenous Malays educationally and led directly to the Dropout Study (1973) which called for compensatory education at pre-school/primary level. This study led in turn to the proposal of the innovation, that is the subject of this chapter, by the Curriculum Development Centre.

THE INNOVATION

The Malaysian innovation is an attempt to introduce a new integrated curriculum for the first three years of schooling. It is, as has been stated, part of a larger plan to use education in a many faceted way. One of these facets points to the eventual emergence of a unified nation, both culturally and socially. Another facet aims at eventual political stability without the present stresses of community and economy. A third facet is to aim for an (admittedly elusive) future environment which is conducive to all that is good for a united nation; an environment characterised by tolerance, accommodation and adjustment (Adams and Chen, 1980).

This innovation is, in effect, in practical terms, attempting to

FIGURE 17: THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN MALAYSIAN EDUCATION UP TO THE ORIGINATION OF THE INNOVATIONS IN THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT CENTRE



exorcise the colonial past. New, less formal teaching methods are being tried within the framework of new, less prescribed syllabi based on modern, integrated approaches to each subject area.

The timetable for this innovation is now outlined.

THE TIMETABLE

The innovation to improve the curriculum for the first three years of schooling got under way early in 1973.

UNICEF, based in Bangkok offered finance for several viable curriculum projects in Primary Education to be undertaken by the Ministry of Education in Malaysia. The Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) proposed for consideration the above innovation. By mid-1973 a detailed proposal was prepared, which was approved by both the Government departments concerned and UNICEF. In January 1974 a Project Unit was set up in the CDC. In May 1974 an overall preliminary design was developed by the CDC. This was designed to develop, with formative evaluation, improved curricula for Standards 1 to 3 between June 1974 and the end of 1978. However, progress was slow and a new revised schedule was introduced to coincide with the arrival of foreign consultants in January 1975 (i.e. UNICEF).

The project leader (from UNICEF/UNESCO) arrived in January 1975 and two other members of the primary team were appointed. The seven primary schools to act as pilot or laboratory schools were identified. Preparation began for developing Standard Two curriculum materials. In July of 1975 an 'exposure' course was held for 60 participants, teachers and principals who would be the trial teachers.

By July it was expected that the necessary steps towards improvement would have been formulated, as well as the guidelines prepared for the Project staff in the Laboratory Schools, and work begun in the laboratory schools with Standard Two. This was to be followed over the rest of 1975 by in-service training of Project staff and co-operating teachers, and a review of the years work in the laboratory schools.

In October 1975 the project team went on a study tour to England to study good classroom practices in British schools. Progress was slow, as in January 1976 the project leader accepted another appointment. The remaining two members and the pilot schools carried on, mainly with material development. Through 1976 the plan called for a continuation of the Standard Two work, the modification and improvement of the approaches where necessary, the identification of some 20 pilot schools, in-service training and experimentation with new furniture and design in the laboratory schools.

The whole planned sequence turned out to be far too ambitious and in 1976 a further revision of the plan was made. Instead of

dealing with the classes in sequence, the new revision was to develop the curriculum materials for Standards One, Two and Three simultaneously.

The sequence was planned in detail in monthly stages, right through to December 1979, by which time a summative evaluation of the total three-year improved curriculum was planned for presentation in Standards One to Three.

In August 1976 a final 'exposure' seminar was held for 80 Standard Two teachers. In January 1977 a new project leader took office, who was chosen because of his experience in curriculum work. A further three teachers joined the project team, making six members in all. These six, in co-operation with the seven laboratory schools, produced teachers guides, pupils materials and designed classroom furniture and equipment.

By 1978 workshops and seminars were being held monthly for the pilot school teachers. Careful selection was made, of 22 pilot schools to spearhead the use of the new materials. Formative evaluation was carried out throughout 1978 on the progress of the laboratory schools and throughout 1979 on the progress of the chosen pilot schools. By 1980 it was planned that a summative evaluation of the project and the presentation of a project report would be made to a decision-making committee of the Ministry of Education for an authorisation to implement the improved curricula in Malaysian schools.

The innovation is now described in sequence so that the decision making/consensus elements within each phase may be better understood.

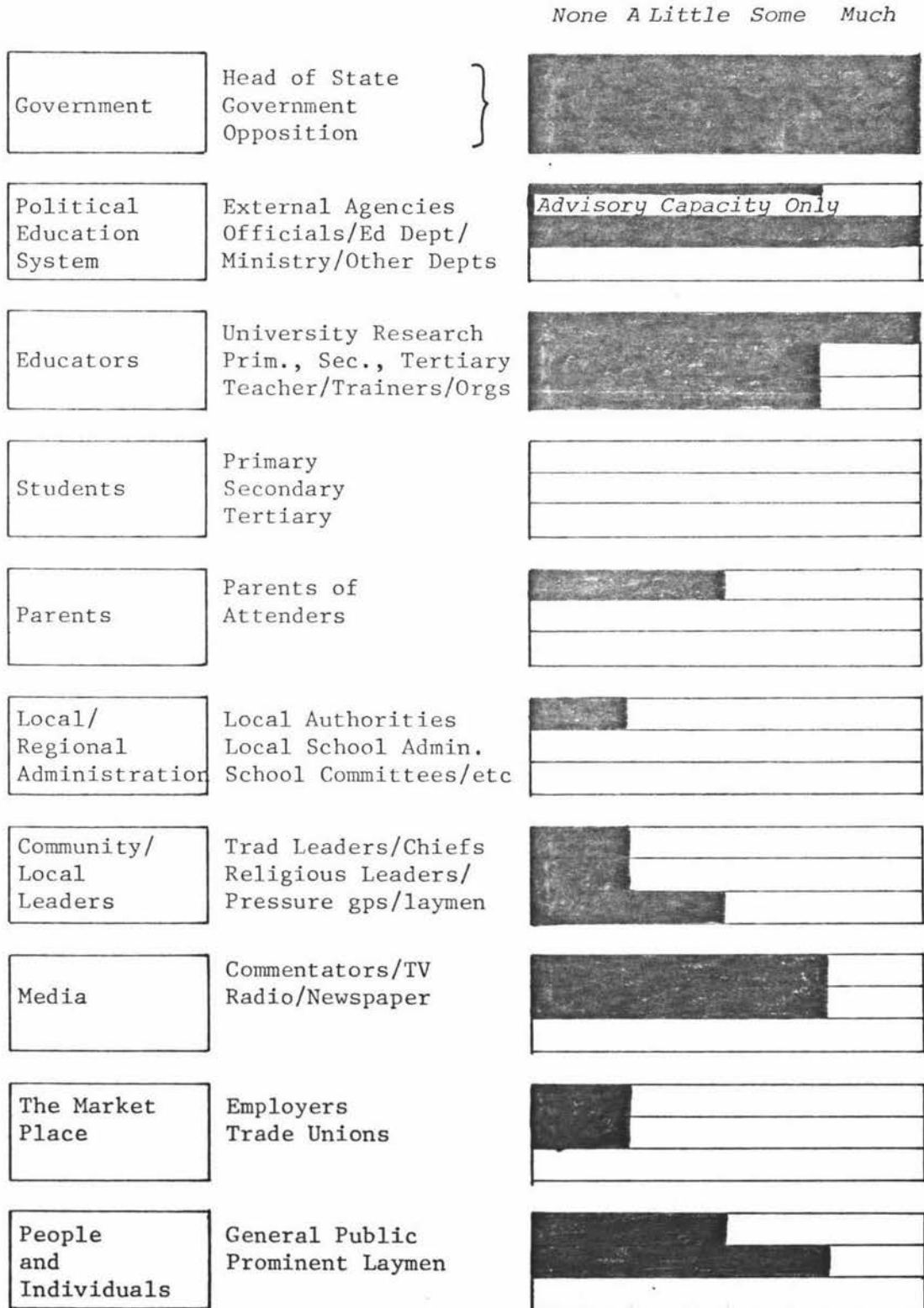
THE ORIGINATION OF THE INNOVATION

The extent of awareness and amount of public concern over the situation had been embodied in policy statements in each of the three Malaysia Development Plans (1965-1970, 1971-1975, 1976-1980). They were repetitious in their concern for:

- (i) The socio-economic balance between the ethnic groups;
- (ii) Regional imbalance;
- (iii) Traditionally orientated colonial educational practices which did not meet the needs of Malaysian Society.

At the time (1973) that the innovation was mooted the concern shown publicly by the various groups in society were judged by the respondents to the dossier to be as indicated in Figure 18. Figure 18 shows that consensus as to actual conditions are seen to be high at the Government, Ministry and educator level. The political climate at the time would ensure that the necessary decisions would be taken with political blessing at the level of

FIGURE 18: THE EXTENT OF CONCERN EXPRESSED PUBLICLY IN MALAYSIA
WHEN THE PROBLEM WAS REVEALED



the political education system (Ministry and Education Department). This indicates concordance between high level groups.

Commenting upon the rationale for the innovation the respondents to the dossier report that because of the multi-racial society involved it is natural (at this early stage) for the four major ethnic groups 'to have slightly different perceptions' from those of the Central Government. That seems perhaps, an understatement. There is some evidence to suggest (Tham Seong Chee, 1979) that objections were in depth and multi-ethnic. However, the dossier respondents comment no further than is indicated above.

In this respect the evidence of the extent to which the various involved social systems were regarded by the respondents as supportive of or resistant to attempting to remedy the problem at the time is presented (see Figure 19). This is a composite figure which combines support/resistance to remedying the problem with the considered extent to which the same social systems (groups) are resistant to social change in general. It will be seen by the cross-hatching used that the bars are identical for both considerations.


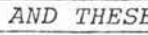
The decisions made in this figure show both a very high degree of consensus among the powerful groups; Government, the political education system, educators, the local and regional educational administration, and the media. Of all the social groups, only the primary students are neutral! Consensus is high among secondary and tertiary students, parents and significantly, the traditional and religious leaders, as well as the employers, trade unions, and the general public.

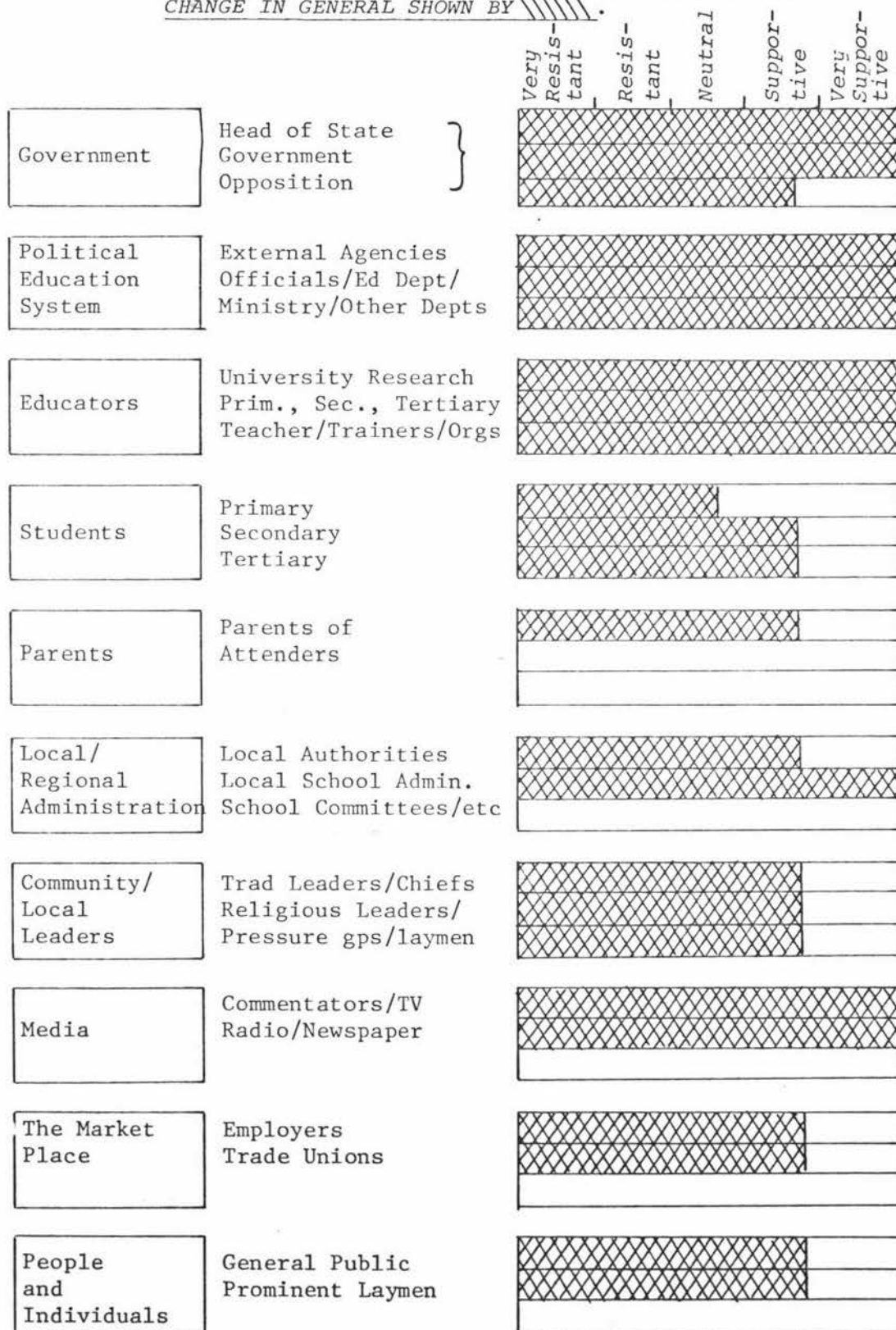
There is thus, both in support for the remedying of the perceived problem, and in support for change in general, a high degree of concurrence, or concordance between the higher and lower echelons, of both the education system and the various social groups at large. This concordance is crucial (for the purposes of this study) to the success of the innovation.


The assumption made here is that the relative power of each group and the degree of concordance between group and innovative idea will influence the process of the innovation. In this context, deemed critical in the evolutionary process of decision making are the relationships of concordance between the idea of the innovation and the hierarchy of the social groups.

THE SPECIFICATION PHASE OF THE INNOVATION

The decision to innovate was made by the officials in the Ministry of Education in conference with the agents of UNICEF/UNESCO. Teacher trainers, university personnel and the government were to some extent involved, but the great mass of the general public,

FIGURE 19: THE EXTENT TO WHICH GROUPS IN MALAYSIA WERE SUPPORTIVE OF OR RESISTANT TO REMEDYING THE PERCEIVED PROBLEM SHOWN THUS  AND THESE SAME GROUPS RESISTANCE TO CHANGE IN GENERAL SHOWN BY .



parents, pupils, employers, traditional and religious leaders, the media, prominent laymen and the political opposition were not involved at all. Nor were these groups involved in any way with the specification design. (The project is partly financed by UNICEF which, in consultation with the Economic Planning Unit in the Malaysian Prime Minister's Department and the Ministry of Education, decides upon the amount of financial aid.) The lack of low level decision-making opportunity was partly countered by the amount of publicity given to the innovation at the specification stage. Newspaper articles, speeches, leaflets, large and small public meetings were held to bring the proposals to public attention. The dossier respondents do not indicate where, or to what extent these means were used. They do indicate that of all the societal groups concerned; teacher trainers, university personnel, officials in the concerned ministries and UNICEF, were very supportive of putting the innovation into practice while teachers, administrators and officials in other ministries were regarded as neutral, although at the time the informants regarded the extent of support/resistance to social change in general as exactly the same as shown for the origination stage of the innovation shown as  in Figure 19.

THE EARLY OPERATION PHASE OF THE INNOVATION

It has been shown in the Originational and Specificational stages of this innovation that decision-making was confined to the upper echelons of Ministry and Government. Once an innovation proceeds beyond the planning stages and into its operational stage there is a transitional period where prospective consensus boundaries, which up to that stage have been confined to the political education system and the educators, for the most part at tertiary level, expand to include the decision-making orbit of those who must put the innovation into operation.

The seven primary schools selected are known as laboratory schools. These are the schools within which the project team of six works with the curriculum development materials they have produced. In this sort of two-stage strategy it is helpful to the success of the innovation if the teachers selected are enthusiastic and have a desire to further the aims of the innovation. In this case 21 classes in grades one, two and three were selected in and around the city of Kuala Lumpur, and all within half an hour's drive from the Curriculum Development Centre.

The selection of pupils was as follows: No Tamil language schools, or Chinese language schools were included in the Laboratory Schools, thus confining the trial to Malayan medium schools only. However, a further 22 schools had been selected as 'trial' schools once the curriculum materials were ready for trial. These schools were to try the innovatory methods during 1979-1980 and were to have included a 'whole' population as the intended target population.

The respondents do not make any reference to the ethnic composition of the intended target population. In replying to the section which points out the general concern of Member States of UNESCO to attempt to reduce educational and other disparities existing within their countries they identify topography, the population distribution and socio-economic variations as having been taken into account during the specification design of the innovation but do not specify these being of concern for Malaysians. Other factors such as ideology, political, religious, folkways and belief variations were not considered at all, but while the innovation is specifically for the first years of schooling it is stated as well to being designed to cut across categories such as sex, social class, ethnicity, religion, politics, economics, geography, health and nutrition.

There can be no doubt that the innovation is one of a series of determined efforts to come to terms with the enormous problems encountered in the Malaysian system by the Ministry's decision (following upon the recommendations of the Rahman Talib Report of 1960 and the subsequent National Language Act of 1967), to change all English medium schools to that of bahasa Málaysia (1970), thus completing the whole political series of decisions which began with schooling in four separate mediums and ended with schooling in one only. From the foregoing, it is not intended to imply that the medium of instruction was the purpose of the innovation.

Such a system being progressively put into practice in a two-stage, i.e. pilot/general sequence, takes the decision-making function of the participants downwards from the political education system level to that of the educators themselves, but ultimately to the 'front line' level of classroom teachers. At this stage the variation in attitudes from willing to 'do nothing' or consensus to dissensus asserts itself. The innovatory methods, and materials are talked about by the affected pupils at home, and depending upon the degree of communication about the innovation desired by the upper hierarchy the media has a powerful function in moulding the influence and direction of public consensus.

Thus consensus/dissensus becomes a function, ultimately of the market place and the general public. To a degree, the acceptance or rejection of any innovation depends upon the kind, and accuracy of the information disseminated. In the Malaysian case the downwards dissemination of the innovation was kept to Malayan medium schools and the teachers concerned with that medium as a means of instruction, for a start, but was to have extended to the intended target population in a sample of 22 trial schools. This implementation will have the identical effect, stated above, of making more people, of more than just the one ethnic group aware and thus decision-makers by discussion, and the associated galaxy of social processes that disseminates and comments upon information received. In the Malaysian innovation

the main concerns are within the school and the classroom, and particularly concerned with educational and organisational practices, as well as with social relationships. It is here that responses to the decisions made are most likely to be picked up by the practicing teachers over a period of time.

DECISION MAKING/CONSENSUS INDICATIONS

In the innovation the more prominent indicators of consensus that could be identified as the innovation unfolded were:

- (i) The problem was agreed upon *as a problem* by political forces many years before the innovations were attempted by the Curriculum Development Centre.
- (ii) Political decision-makers saw the medium of instruction as the instrumental reinforcement towards securing the objectives of both communal harmony and integration in a plural society.
- (iii) The educational system was generally seen, at political level, to be the means to attain this objective over a period of years.
- (iv) The medium of instruction was, by right, agreed upon at political level, as the language of the indigenous culture.
- (v) A series of statutes, based on the recommendations of educational reports dating from before independence up to 1973 saw the medium of instruction reduced from four to one (bahasa Malaysia) by political consensus. After 1969, born out of fear of racial strife, the clearly seen need of eliminating the identification of race with economic function was pursued.
- (vi) At Government level through three Development Plans (1965 to 1980) there was a general political consensus that there were socio-economic imbalances between the ethnic groups, regional imbalances, and an outdated colonial educational system.
- (vii) Among the political decisions made to redress these imbalances the formation of a Curriculum Development Centre was of paramount importance.
- (viii) The development of an integrated curriculum was agreed to be of high priority to bring together the children of all races under a national educational system in which the national language was to be the medium of instruction.
- (ix) There was a general consensus at tertiary level and up to political level that an outside agency (UNICEF) be invited to guide and help finance the innovatory process.

- (x) A two-stage innovatory process was agreed upon comprising an initial pilot set of schools, followed by a trial set of schools embracing the plural communities of Malaysia.
- (xi) There is within the dossier a stated consensus by the respondents that the innovation must succeed or be terminated.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVENTS AND CONJECTURES

The last four chapters have been concerned with the description and examination of decision making, with a particular emphasis on consensus in the process of innovation. Two countries dealt with can be described as developing and two as developed. They are each, however, widely divergent and display different organisational patterns.

This final chapter sets out to examine the decision making consensus events which occurred within the process of each innovation as it was described within the framework of the Innovation Dossier for each country concerned.

Each of the innovations are still extant to a greater or lesser degree. None of them, to date, can be said to have either succeeded or failed (or disappeared). Within the dossiers, and in addition to the questionnaire format, ample room was provided for comments by each group of respondents. These comments, scrutinised in company with the formal checklists, have yielded certain insights into problems encountered within each innovation in the general field of educational innovation. In the chapter these insights are presented as conjectures, rather than propositions, or findings, in an attempt to elicit a modest understanding and an explanation of the function of consensus in the innovative process.

This thesis set out to make an examination of decision making, with a particular emphasis on consensus in the process of innovation. The overall purpose of the study has been to gain an understanding of the function of consensus in the innovative process. It would be useful, at this point to restate the meanings of each of the salient terms used throughout the study.

Consensus throughout has been regarded in its normal sociological context as; agreement and acceptance, by members of each social group, on values, beliefs, sentiments, norms and goals. Dissensus is regarded here as the obverse of consensus. Concordance refers to agreement and acceptance (as for consensus) *between* specific (but interdependent) groups in each society, within the Parsonian view of a normative relationship.

DATA GATHERING

The data base for the present study was, in the main, the dossiers used in the investigation. The dossiers contain an array of questions that bear on the problems associated with planning and implementing the four officially selected educational innovations that are studied in this work.

Each dossier was examined, item by item, phase by phase, for an indication, in some recognisable way, of consensus (or dissensus) among the societal groups, on the particular aspect of the innovation being considered. A 'recognisable way' was indicated by the position the respondents placed their ticks in relation to a given question. For example, in the Operation phase of a given innovation, a question is asked, concerning the extent to which the groups in that Society were favourable to, or opposed to, the innovation at a certain stated time. Ticks (in the appropriate places) indicating that a group was very supportive, was regarded as consensus *for that aspect* of the innovation among the particular group ticked. A further indication was given in the space set aside in each dossier for the respondents to comment on their considered decision¹. Thus, the framing of certain questions permitted second order deductions to be made about the general conditions of consensus and concordance.

There were twenty such questions in all, within each dossier. These are presented as Figure 20. This figure requires explanation:

Each *question* asked in the dossiers that fulfilled the criteria

¹ A sample item from the dossiers is given in Figure 2, page 8. A representative sample of the range of dossier formats will be found in the Appendix.

explained above were listed and numbered and set out in Figure 20 as *statements*. There is no connection between the numeral column in the figure and the dossiers. The numeration has two purposes:

- (i) to list the twenty questions; and
- (ii) to provide a key for the analysis of the consensus patterns of decision making during the studied phases of each innovation, by reference to the appropriate numeral in a later figure.

Several pairs of numbered questions are bracketed. The brackets simply group those dossier questions which contain the antithesis of the first question of the pair. The second of the paired questions generally, but not always, indicated dissensus among a group or groups.

The twenty selected dossier questions were next checked in given numerical order, in each dossier, for each innovation, in the following way: Number 1 in Figure 20 represents a question asked in the Origination phase of each dossier on page 4 (1.4). It asks:

Were the groups listed below, or vocal representatives of them, displaying concern publicly over the problem at the time?

The respondents for Nordrhein-Westfalen for example, after (as instructed in the dossier) considering every alternative offered, responded in the appropriate places on the checklist that much concern (from a choice of *Much, Some, A Little* and *None*) was shown by the Government, prominent individuals, the media, community leaders, officials in the Education Department, officials in other Ministries, the parents of school attenders and by the pupils themselves. This response was taken to mean that there was consensus among each of the above societal groups, as to

- (i) the *existence* of a problem; and
- (ii) *concern* over the existence of the problems.

Each group was then listed in a somewhat simplified hierarchy. The headings for each group are the same as those used in the dossiers except that they have been reorganised into a hierarchy with Government at the top and the general public at the bottom. This format tends to make analysis easier.

The numeral 1, was placed *under* a column headed, Nordrhein-Westfalen, and *beside* the appropriate group in the listed hierarchy.

The same strategy was used for each country and each question. The result is a matrix containing all the selected dossier statements represented by the numerals 1 to 20. This matrix is presented as Figure 21. This figure requires some further elucidation. Concordance between groups may be identified by inspection. For example, concordance between groups in the Malaysian innovation, as an indication of publicly expressed concern

FIGURE 20: (a) THE TWENTY QUESTIONS FROM THE INNOVATION DOSSIERS
INDICATING CONSENSUS/DISSENSUS IN DECISIONS MADE,

and

(b) THE KEY TO DOSSIER QUESTIONS ARRAYED IN FIGURE 21.

NUMERAL

1.	Those groups or their representatives which showed concern publicly over the problem at the time it first appeared.
2	Those groups which, once the problem appeared, took initiatives to deal with it.
{ 3	Those of the groups which showed consensus for remedying the problem.
{ 4	Those groups which indicated dissensus about the remedies for the problem.
{ 5	Those groups which showed a consensus about a need for social change in general, at the time the problem began to be considered seriously.
{ 6	Those groups which were resistant to social change in general, at the time the problem began to be considered seriously.
7	Those groups which had the greatest direct involvement in the decision making process that led up to the actual decision to select the proposed innovation as the potential solution.
{ 8	Those groups which showed consensus as to the selection of the particular innovation at that time.
{ 9	Those groups which showed dissensus over the selection of the innovation.
10	Those groups which were directly involved as participants in the design of the innovation's specifications.
11	Those who determined the details of the specification of the innovation.
12	Those kept informed about the specifications before they were put into practice.
{ 13	Those groups which were supportive of the innovation at the time it's specifications were completed, or when it was first put into practice.
{ 14	Those groups which were resistant to the innovation at this time.
15	Those groups which will be, or were, reported to directly on the results of any evaluation of the operation of the innovation.
16	Those who had either an important role, or a direct influence on any modifications made to the innovation before general implementation.
{ 17	Those who showed strong support (consensus) for the innovation after the trial period and before general implementation.

Cont'd

NUMERAL	KEY TO DOSSIER QUESTIONS ARRAYED IN FIGURE
Cont'd.	
18	<i>Those who showed resistance to (dissensus) the innovation at No. 17.</i>
19	<i>Those groups which were rated as supportive fo social change in general at the end of the evaluation of the innovation.</i>
20	<i>Those groups which were resistant to social change in general at the time of No. 19.</i>

over the problem when it first surfaced is shown between Government and the media (by identification of numeral 1 against the listed groups), and also between such disparate groups as educators and the media (Numeral 1 also).

Dissensus is indicated by numerals that are ringed.

When 'reading' Figure 21 the information sought must first be identified as a particular numbered statement in the key list in Figure 20, and then found by inspection of Figure 21, or, noted as a numeral under the column headed with the name of the particular country and found, also by locating the statement against the selected numeral in Figure 20.

The latter method is useful for identifying the 'weighting' of decisions made. For example it is noticed that number 8 is listed a total of ten times, in all, under Nordrhein-Westfalen. Inspection of Figure 20 shows that number 8 is concerned with the Specification Phase (see note under *N.B.* on the right-hand side of the figure) and that it indicates those groups who agreed upon and accepted the selection of a particular innovation at that time. In Nordrhein-Westfalen these groups comprised the whole of society.

AN ANALYSIS OF CONSENSUS/CONCORDANCE EVENTS

We now turn to a consideration, in terms of the purposes of this study, of the relationship between concordance between specific groups in each society and the nature of the innovation, and also the degree of consensus among those same groups.

A perusal of Figure 21 reveals, initially and broadly some trends:

- (i) The greater number of decisions made at Government, Ministry and Educator level in comparison with those

FIGURE 21: CROSS-EXAMINATION ANALYSIS OF CONSENSUS/DISSENSUS PATTERNS OF DECISION MAKING DURING THE ORIGINATION, SPECIFICATION AND OPERATIONAL STAGES IN EACH INNOVATION.

	Indonesia	Malaysia	Nordrhein-Westfalen	New Zealand
Government	1 2 3 5 7 8 12 13 15 17 19	1 2 3 5 7 8 12 19	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 13 16	1 2 3 5 12 15 17 (20)
Political Education System	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 19	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 19	1 2 3 5 (6) 7 8 10 11 12 13 16	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 11 13 17
Educators	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 11 12 13 15 16 (18) 19	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 12 13 15 16 17 19	1 2 3 5 (6) 7 8 (9) 10 12 13 (14) 16	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 11 12 13 15 17 19
Students	16 17	3 5 16 19	1 3 5 8 (9) 12 13 (14) 16	1 3 13 15 17 19
Parents	17	3 5 (18) 19	1 3 (6) 8 12 13	1 3 5 12 13 15
Regional/Local Ed. Admin.	12 15 16 17	1 2 3 5 8 13 15 16 17 19	1 2 3 (6) 7 8 (9) 12 13 (14) 15 16	1 2 3 7 8 10 13 15 17 19
Community/Religious/Traditional Local Leaders	(6) (20)	3	1 2 3 12	3 5 (6) 12 19 (20)
Media	5 17 19	1 3 5 12 16 19	1 2 3 5 7 8 10 13 16	5 12 15 19
Employers Trade Unions		3	1 2 3 5 (6) 7 8 12 13 16	(6) 19 (20)
Public/Individuals		1 3 5 16 (18) 19	1 2 3 5 (6) 7 8	1 3 5 12
Others	(6)	3	2 3 5 (6) 8 (9) 12	3 5 17 19

N.B.

Numerals 1 to 6 cover the Origina-tion Phase;

Numerals 7 to 14 cover the Specifi-cation Phase;

Numerals 15 to 20 cover the Operation Phase.

Ringed figures indicate resistance to, or dissensus among.

made by groups lower down the hierarchy in Indonesia and Malaysia, in contrast to Nordrhein-Westfalen and New Zealand.

- (ii) The greater number of decisions made overall (by totals) in Nordrhein-Westfalen (98) and New Zealand (75) compared to those in Malaysia (69) and Indonesia (52).
- (iii) The absence of dissensus among groups in Indonesia (4), Malaysia (2) and New Zealand (5), (by totals).
- (iv) The relatively large amount of dissensus throughout the groups in Nordrhein-Westfalen (14).
- (v) The similar cluster of decisions in each country made by Government, the Political Education System, Educators and Administrators.

THE APPARENT REASONS FOR BROAD TRENDS

The reasons are found partly within the Innovation Dossiers and partly from the literature that comments on each country's educational and political system. Thus,

for (i) A marked characteristic of educational decision making, principally, but not exclusively, in developing countries, is the tendency for decisions to be made about education by Governments and Government Ministries, with little or no reference to the educational consumer. The reasons are many. The usual reasons given are the 'good' of the country and logistic convenience. Others are the overall need for national unity, which is seen to be attainable through the education system, cost, and the speed of expedition. In both Indonesia and Malaysia the governments are seeking to inculcate an acceptance of, and a compliance with, the prevailing political system (Presidential Address to Parliament, Indonesia 1979). Both have the problem of detaching disparate communities from distinctive cultural and religious affinities in order to effect a sense of national identity (Wilson, 1977).

For (ii) A plausible explanation for the greater number of decisions made overall within the innovations for Nordrhein-Westfalen and New Zealand is the greater degree of freedom to make decisions groups in each country enjoys. This explanation is deceptively attractive to democrats. Both Indonesia and Malaysia are democracies also. In any country which enjoys even reasonable freedom of speech the societal groups seldom greet changes in education with universal applause. Pressure groups proliferate. There is always disagreement over what constitutes 'good' education (Coombs, 1975). The most likely explanation is found

in the need seen in 'emerging' countries to launch educational innovations in order to join and compete with the 'developed' nations of the world. In this case, little, if any consensus is sought from groups below those of Government and educational policy makers.

For (iii) Indonesia reported dissensus among some teachers just before the trial period of the innovation and resistance to change among the traditional, religious and community leaders. Malaysia reported resistance only from the general public and parents before general implementation, while New Zealand identified resistance to social change in general from elements within Government, among traditional tribal elders and from the employers at different points in time. Only Nordrhein-Westfalen noted resistance and dissensus among groups 'across the board'.

This was confined to groups who were resistant to social change in general, to the innovation itself, and those who indicated dissensus from among the teachers, students, administrators and others over the *selection* of the particular innovation. The reasons lie in the number of societal groups which tried to participate in the decision making process. In New Zealand it was not *intended* to include any other groups than Government, Ministry and Educators. In Indonesia and Malaysia the perceived need to forge a unified nation state from widely diverse populations mitigated against wide dissemination of innovative proposals.

For (iv) Dissensus among groups in Nordrhein-Westfalen were partly a result of general national concern and partly because of the attempts by practically all concerned groups to find a solution. Disagreement as to what constituted a 'solution' was rife. The school leavers themselves varied greatly in their response while within the education system some teachers opposed teachers in favour of the innovation. This dissension involved school and school as well.

For (v) The reason for the similar number of decisions made by the upper end of the hierarchy have been partly explained above. Each innovation showed clearly this inclination. In Nordrhein-Westfalen both Government and Legislature acted swiftly and in concert to legislate for a further year at school for its apprentice leavers. The logistics of the move were left to the Administrators. The schools were left to decide for themselves what to do. Consensus was limited to the few teachers who were given responsibility to look after the programme.

In New Zealand the Whanau house design started with a decision to plan at the highest level. It remained at this level as a consultative exercise. The reason:

Concern that too much public debate would cause alterations in the basic design. However, besides consensus among the upper hierarchial groups strong consensus for the idea was evident at lower levels (the selected principal and the chosen teachers). There was concordance between the vitally concerned groups.

In both Indonesia and Malaysia the decisions to innovate were made at the highest levels for the general good.

The speed of movement from phase to phase of the innovation is significant in each country. In Nordrhein-Westfalen from Origination to Operation took two years. In Indonesia the whole innovation through all its phases covers 13 years. New Zealand, from the first educational conference, planned a limited implementation after six years while Malaysia began its Origination phase with the formation of its Curriculum Development Centre in 1973 and a planned final evaluation of progress and a decision to implement in 1981 - a total of eight years. Urgency it seems is therefore *not* the prerogative of 'developing' countries only.

CONCORDANCE/CONSENSUS PATTERNS

The evidence of Concordance between groups and Consensus among groups was noted as follows:

Concordance between specific (but interdependent) groups may, as previously stated, be identified by inspection. An example for Malaysia was given. In Indonesia consensus among the top hierarchial groups and concordance between them was shown in their common concern for the problem at the time it first appeared.

Concordance between groups other than at the highest levels may be seen for example, in all four innovations. Students were seen to have had an important role, or a direct influence on any modifications made to the innovation before general implementation, showed strong support for it at the Operational Phase, and were supportive of social change (Numbers 16, 17 19, Figure 21).

The regional and local educational administrative groups showed concordance with the highest levels particularly in Malaysia, Nordrhein-Westfalen and New Zealand. These groups were expected to undertake the operation of the innovation, even if they took a modest role in its Origination and Specification.

The role of the media, too is easily identified. In each country the media showed usually strong consensus for the need for change but in the case of Indonesia and New Zealand figured mainly as supportive when the innovations were optional.

In terms of the purposes of this study the panorama of numerals in Figure 21 show, for the four countries, a general high degree of concordance between groups at the highest levels and the

nature of the innovation.

The influence of the power behind these groups is such that; innovation may be mooted, planned and determined at the highest levels in education; (that) at this highest level the degree of consensus for a particular innovation maybe high among the decision making groups, and concordance may be high between the innovative idea and these same groups. These factors, in turn, have a powerful influence, by virtue of power exercised, benignly or purposively (or for whatever stated reason) on the process of the innovation. The *critical relationship* is that which exists as concordance between the hierarchy of the social groups and the idea/nature of the innovation.

Innovation processes, from origination to specification in this study were commenced by the upper hierarchies and left to the educational groups to put into operation and maintain their impetus. Those expected to deal with the reform had no voice in shaping it. They were simply expected to make it work.

The actions taken by the highest levels (and those wielding the most power), the Government, the Education and other concerned Ministries, Educator and Administrative levels show a marked similarity across the upper ranks in Figure 21. They differ only in detail in each of the four innovations and in each of the phases of each innovation. These actions are listed in Figure 22.

It may reasonably be surmised that these groups in an educational system are doing, in fact, what is expected of them, that is, to advance the cause of education generally. Each of the countries studied has a different kind of democratic system of parliamentary government. Each is subject, more or less, to the checks and balances of a party system and an enfranchised electorate. It can be argued that if innovations do not proceed from this higher strata of the system they would have even less chance of gaining universal adoption than 'grass roots' innovations springing from the classroom itself and for the most part destined to remain part of the local scene without the benefits of the power of the administrative system to diffuse them.

It can be said of the four innovations, that the changes they are attempting in the educational system had their causes outside the system. Both Indonesia and Malaysia originated their innovations as part of a national policy, while that of Nordrhein-Westfalen was forced by a groundswell of public concern. Concern too, was shown in New Zealand for the impersonality of 'big schools' from outside, as well as from within the system.

It must be kept in mind that innovations, especially during the Origination, Specification and Operational phases, are usually concerned with a tiny microcosm of the concerned population - especially where a two-stage (pilot) approach is used, which consists of officials, educators, teachers and selected pupils,

FIGURE 22: ACTIONS TAKEN AT GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY, EDUCATOR AND ADMINISTRATION LEVELS FOR THE FOUR INNOVATIONS.

Action Taken	No.	NR-W	NZ	Ind.	Mal.
(a) Showed concern publicly over problem when it appeared.....	1	✓	✓	✓	✓
(b) Took initiatives to deal with the emerged problem.....	2	✓	✓	✓	✓
(c) Desired to remedy the problem.....	3	✓	✓	✓	✓
(d) Saw a need for social change in general.....	5	✓	✓	✓	✓
(e) Were involved in the decision making process that led up to the actual decision to select the proposed innovation as the potential solution.....	7	✓	✓	✓	✓
(f) Agreed upon the selection of the particular innovation.....	8	✓	✓	✓	✓
(g) Participated in the design of specifications.....	10	✓	✓	✓	✓
(h) Determined the details of the specifications.....	11	✓	✓	✓	✓
(i) Were kept informed about the specifications before they were put into practice.....	12	✓	✓	✓	✓
(j) Supported the innovation when it was put into practice.....	13	✓	✓	✓	✓
(k) Received direct reports on evaluations of the operation of the innovation.....	15	✓	✓	✓	✓
(l) Supported the innovation after its trial period.....	17	✓	✓	✓	✓
(m) Supported the idea of social change in general at the end of the evaluatory period.....	19	✓	✓	✓	✓

KEY:

- No. Number of Decision (from list in Figure 20).
- NR-W Nordrhein-Westfalen
- NZ New Zealand
- Ind. Indonesia
- Mal. Malaysia
- ✓ Indicates action taken in that Innovation

with the usual network of communication lines from them to the 'outside' world. Such innovations are not able to sustain, by themselves, the new and the exciting which they inject into a school system (Beeby, 1979). The way of ensuring that the initial impetus survives and grows is by a massive influx of the new curriculum rapidly and widely among the target population, particularly the concerned teachers. The modules, or integrated units, should be complete with teachers' manuals and accompanied by the appropriate equipment. In-service training should be sustained throughout the innovation. Expense should ideally be no object (Owens, 1970).

INNOVATIONS AT 'TEACHER' LEVEL OF A HIERARCHY

Innovation of this kind often have 'spin-offs' in the form of innovatory deviations by the teachers concerned, or the local professional administration. Teachers can often make small, useful and often significant changes in the set innovatory programmes. If these are noticed they can sometimes be adapted and disseminated in the evaluatory media which should still be functioning for the innovation.

This is an aspect of the 'grass roots' which is rarely able to plan, originate, specify, operate and implement on anything like the scale of those of the central authority. It is however, these, often tiny operations and initiatives within a system, which sometimes cause changes in the quality of education. Tiny innovations are valid innovations. Consensus at either Government or populace level is not necessary. What is necessary is political stability. Debeauvais (1974) in a critical article surveying the literature on innovations castigates the attitude of both field researchers and governments for their lack of attention to local innovations

"which differ in several respects from pilot innovations which are designed to be followed up by educational reforms at national level"

because they have different goals from the official programme. If such adaptations are ignored they will eventually cease to function. Ideally nationally instigated innovations should allow for the participation of all the social groups involved. The failure of so many innovations poses for governments and educators alike a challenge to develop innovation systems which can facilitate change as a permanent feature of education systems.

DECISION MAKING FOR INNOVATIONS

This section of the chapter attempts to:

- (i) discuss, and
- (ii) comment on decision making, and
- (iii) the decisions made at certain phases of the four innovations.

A study of a cross-section of educational innovation in emerging countries by Havelock and Huberman (1977) noted the general *ambition* of their projects. They isolated three common features:

- (i) The shortness of time in which massive changes affecting the whole society were to be carried out.
- (ii) An insufficient infrastructure to service a project of such magnitude. (That is lack of trained personnel, shortage of administrative staff, poor communications, embryo decision-making channels, a high turnover of key people.) The Malaysian innovation faltered at the point where its director accepted another position. All of these factors help to lead to...
- (iii) A great number of unexpected events in the course of the innovation.

At the implementation stage of an educational innovation, where large scale decisions are made, large numbers of informed and trained personnel must be mobilised. Finances, on a larger scale than usual must be utilised efficiently and without wastage. The administrative system, its bureaucracy and decision-making systems must expand with the scale of the implementation or it will frustrate progress with a backlog of decisions requiring to be made.

These decisions are, usually, that people, regardless of cultural traditions, will learn quickly, change their attitudes and values, and adapt to new rules and work patterns. All of which are expectations which people at the 'grass roots' level do not have of themselves nor others of them.

This 'high risk' strategy (Havelock and Huberman, 1977), has both ambitious goals and potentially great rewards, but the introduction of pervasive change into a system is always accompanied by a large number of unanticipated events, neither they nor their consequences being predicted. Huberman (1973) posits that there is generally an inverse relationship between systems which attempt rapid and massive innovations and the depth/mobility of the organisational infrastructure which is meant to have the function of absorbing or dealing with unintended outcomes. The respondents for Nordrhein-Westfalen had no worries that their system was sufficiently absorptive to accommodate the extra apprentice loading, and that in a highly decentralised system. The weakness in centralised systems tends to be in operations that depend for their success on identifying the growing points in an extended system and on a flexibility of administrative style that can stimulate initiative and a sense

of commitment in individuals of widely varying abilities. These qualities are very rare in a centralised system (Beeby, 1979).

Dalin (1970) considers that in every innovative exercise there are three kinds of grouping:

- (i) those who decide;
- (ii) those who benefit;
- (iii) those who have to change.

In the four innovations studied the 'deciders' have been the government, the concerned ministries and the planning educators. Those who benefit have been seen directly as the children in the target populations, or a combination of children, teachers and to a minor extent, particularly in New Zealand and Germany, administrators as well. Those who have to change are children, but to a far greater extent the expectation is that the teachers will have to change. There is a great deal of literature available in the field of decision-making, all of which refers in some way to the extent to which teachers (in educational organisation) ought to participate with administrators in the central decision-making process. There is a general consensus in this literature (Griffiths, 1959; March and Simon, 1958; Owens, 1970; Mouzelis, 1967) that shared decision-making is the most efficient means of ensuring acceptance of organisational decisions and the onward 'surge' of the innovation after the early stages have been passed.

The innovations studied here are not yet at the stage where trends in this direction are available for study. The particular nature of the New Zealand and West German innovations which do not deal so much with curriculum change and experimentation are more concerned at decision-making/consensus level with administrative changes. It appears that administrative changes have a more direct effect, in these two innovations, on actual student movement than they have on the quality of classroom practice. They concern largely time at school, and buildings design rather than syllabi design or the content of teaching or of learning. The difference within consensus levels, was that the New Zealand administrators deliberately kept 'consensus' to themselves, while the German administrators were acting at the behest of a 'groundswell' of general consensus to act for a common, community good. Both these systems' innovations were marginal as far as effect on the whole system was concerned. Mention has been made of the West German ability to innovate without basic structural change. In New Zealand the new design was peripheral to mainstream student flow and should the whole innovation be abandoned in the future the administration can, and no doubt will, use the space for traditional education without affecting the structure of the system.

TENTATIVE CONJECTURES

The information gleaned by the researcher within a dossier is limited. He is restricted to the considered opinions of respondents removed in time and place from the events they are describing, within a rigidly prescribed format.

The limits of information gleaned are in direct proportion to the amount of comment on each question given by the respondents.

These comments, scrutinised in company with the more formalised checklists have, however, yielded certain insights into problems encountered within each innovation in the *general* field of educational innovation. They are presented here as tentative conjectures rather than as tentative propositions or propositions or findings. In terms of the method employed throughout this work they are deemed both qualitative and illuminative, consistent with the emphasis placed upon description (and analysis) of the consensus and decision making events occurring in the process of each innovation. It is within these somewhat 'fluid' boundaries that they are offered.

Nordrhein-Westfalen

Thus, from the study of Nordrhein-Westfalen the following tentative conjectures emerge:

- (i) Political, economic, social, moral and religious pressures have the power and ability in the form of a kind of combined consensus to exert their particular influences upon Governments so that an innovation is set in motion.
- (ii) Public pressure is able to force politicians, particularly the party in power, to act swiftly and in concert to legislate for an educational solution to an economic problem.
- (iii) Pressure to act quickly means that results are expected quickly.
- (iv) Time allowed for an innovation under conditions of expediency and political pressure is usually insufficient for proper planning and implementation.
- (v) Consensus is always two-edged. While concern for a problem can be universal, its value base is rarely so.
- (vi) Consensus expressed in verbal form by concerned groups does not necessarily mean the acceptance of personal consequences. There is always some resistance to any change at all.
- (vii) The selection of an innovation occasions the most varied reaction from those most affected by the proposal.
- (viii) Of all the pressure groups in society the media has the most powerful influence in moulding the influence and direction of public consensus.

- (ix) The range of consensus among those most affected by an innovation extends to the limits of the continuum.
- (x) Assessment of the amount of consensus and value changes that occur over the time span of an innovation is particularly difficult, if not impossible to assess because consensus is a result of discussion and other more subtle social processes.
- (xi) The speed of a reaction to any aberration within the time span of an innovation is in inverse proportion to the level of decision-making which handles that aberration. (The slowest reaction occurs at Ministerial level.)

New Zealand

From the New Zealand innovation the following conjectures arise:

- (i) An innovation can be implemented at the highest level within an educational hierarchy without consultation/ planning anywhere but at that level.
- (ii) Where innovation is of an architectural nature too wide a discussion at the specification stage may give rise to dissension and may prejudice the development of the architectural design and the decision to implement it.
- (iii) Change of key personnel during the course of an educational innovation tend to change the course of that innovation by decision-making that tends to cause dissensus about/in the original concept.
- (iv) Later policy changes in an innovation tend to dilute the original aims of the innovation.
- (v) Consensus for an innovation at political/ministerial/ departmental level gives greater impetus to that innovation than a similar innovation emanating at 'grass-roots' level.
- (vi) Decisions made within an innovation that concern minority cultural groups will inevitably cause dissension unless consultation takes place at all stages of the innovation with those groups.
- (vii) The smooth passage of an innovation is not necessarily guaranteed by constant decision-making/publicity and feedback.
- (viii) The various cohorts in an educational population will support any innovation which attempt to improve school 'climate' expressed through innovative buildings and surroundings.

Indonesia

From the innovation, the following conjectures arise:

- (i) A government of an 'emerging', 'developing' or 'pre-developed' country is much more likely to launch educational innovations because of the need they see for their country to join and compete with the 'industrialised' 'developed' nations of the world.
- (ii) In this case, little, if any, consensus is sought below that of governmental and educational policy-makers.
- (iii) Where pilot, or developmental schools are used to try out an innovation, adjustment will be made in the case of public dissensus (protest) where the composition, duration, and long-term objectives of controversial courses is concerned (Beeby, 1979).
- (iv) The provision of money and material benefits to any system does not necessarily mean real improvement in that system.
- (v) Injections of money and material benefits into an education system will certainly mean that the expectations of the consumers of education will rise.
- (vi) Innovations conceived and consummated at the highest levels in an educational system will disseminate downwards through the system (with inevitable changes) eventually.

Malaysia

From consensus patterns, and the dossier generally, it is possible to construct the following tentative conjectures:

- (i) In a plural society the kind of educational system depends on whom holds the political power.
- (ii) Education in a plural society is shaped ultimately by the educational and racial background of those politicians in the ruling elite.
- (iii) Compensatory educational programmes designed to lift the educational performance of one ethnic section of a population may tend to be misunderstood as elitism by the other communal groups.
- (iv) The medium of instruction in education has the most powerful influence upon the transmission of culture and the preservation of communal values, attitudes and symbols. The use of one particular medium of instruction in a plural society may have either an

assimilatory or deintegrating effect depending upon the degree of communal resistance.

- (v) Linguistic diversity in education may be seen to be compatible with the ultimate attainment of national unity.
- (vi) An integrated curriculum approach to educational instruction, regardless of language, is when well planned, well executed, using appropriate materials, a powerful force for good in modern education practice.
- (vii) If the stated steps to implement the innovation are adhered to, there is no political interference, and the flow of materials and trained teachers is maintained, the innovation, in time, should succeed.

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APPENDIX

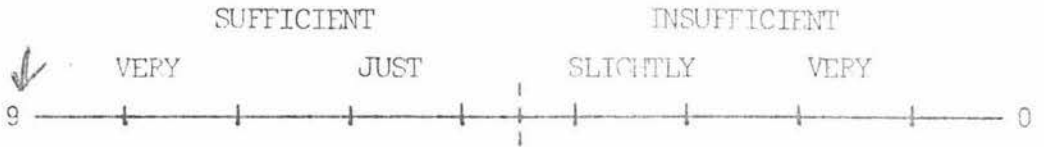
SAMPLE SPECIMENS FROM THE IIEP INNOVATION DOSSIER

A specimen page from each phase of an innovation is presented to illustrate the wide range of questions designed by the participants in the original project.

Q. Given that the problem (situation) may or may not have been accurately identified, nonetheless, at the time(s) when any attempts were made to do so:

PLANT

2.A Were there sufficient buildings and other physical plant made available for the task ?



2.B In order for the problem identification task to be undertaken efficiently, was the plant (including locale) of appropriate quality ?



2.C What degree of confidence do you have in the assessments made in 2.A and 2.B above (tick one in each row):

	GREAT CONFIDENCE	CONFIDENCE	REASONABLE CONFIDENCE	LITTLE CONFIDENCE
2.A	(✓)	()	()	()
2.B	(✓)	()	()	()

COMMENT

At this stage of definition of edue purpose plant not partic correct. In fact a meeting venue & organs was selected which definitely was conducive to effective debate.

One of the concerns expressed by the Member States of Unesco is to attempt to reduce educational and other disparities existing within their countries.

The reduction of such disparities may occur as it were accidentally or deliberately. If it is to occur deliberately, then some of the causes of disparity have to be identified and countered.

Q. To what extent have the specifications of the innovation so far been deliberately designed to take into account discrepancies 'caused' by any of the regional or sectional variations listed below ?

	TO GREAT EXTENT	TO QUITE AN EXTENT	TO SOME EXTENT	NOT AT ALL
GEOGRAPHICAL VARIATIONS :				
TOPOGRAPHY	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
CLIMATE	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
RAW MATERIAL DISTRIBUTION	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
SOCIOLOGICAL VARIATIONS :				
IDEOLOGY	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
SOCIO-ECONOMIC	(X)	(X)	(✓)	(X)
POLITICAL	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
RELIGIOUS	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
FOLKWAYS / BELIEFS	(X)	(X)	(✓)	(X)
ECONOMIC VARIATIONS :				
PRESENT RESOURCES	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
FUTURE RESOURCES	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)
OTHER: SPECIFY				
.....	()	()	()	()
.....	()	()	()	()
.....	()	()	()	()
.....	()	()	()	()

COMMENT: NEXT PAGE, PLEASE

The extent and nature of the involvement of interested parties in the innovation sometimes influences the degree of support the innovation subsequently receives.

Q. For any innovation there have to be 'workers' (to do it), and recipients (to benefit). There may also be evaluators (to judge it). To what extent, if any, were those listed below directly involved in the different roles ?

	RECI-PIENTS	WORKERS	EVALUA-TORS
01 THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL	(X)	(X)	(X)
02 PARENTS OF 'SCHOOL ATTENDERS'	(✓)	(X)	(X)
03 AFFECTED SCHOOL ATTENDERS	(✓)	(X)	(X)
04 TERTIARY AND SEN. SEC. STUDENTS	(✓) (X)	(X)	(X)
05 TEACHERS (INC. TEACHER ORGANIZATIONS)	(✓)	(✓)	(✓)
06 SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	(X)	(✓)	(✓)
07 TEACHER TRAINERS	(X)	(X)	(X)
08 UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL	(X)	(X)	(✓)
09 OFFICIALS IN THE ED. DEPT. (MINISTRY)	(X)	(X)	(✓)
10 OFFICIALS IN OTHER MINISTRIES	(X)	(X)	(X)
11 TRADE UNIONS	(X)	(X)	(X)
12 EMPLOYERS (INC. ASSOCIATIONS)	(X)	(X)	(X)
13 LOCAL AUTHORITIES	(X)	(X)	(X)
14 OTHER 'INTERESTED' ORGANIZATIONS	(X)	(X)	(X)
15 TRADITIONAL LEADERS (CHIEFS, ETC.)	(X)	(X)	(X)
16 RELIGIOUS LEADERS	(X)	(X)	(X)
17 OTHER COMMUNITY LEADERS	(X)	(X)	(X)
18 MEDIA SPOKESMEN (JOURNALISTS, COMMENTATORS, ETC.)	(X)	(X)	(✓)
19 PROMINENT OR 'INTERESTED' LAYMEN	(X)	(X)	(X)
20 THE GOVERNMENT	(X)	(X)	(X)
21 NON-GOVERNMENT POLITICIANS (OPPOSITION)	(X)	(X)	(X)
22 THE HEAD OF STATE	(X)	(X)	(X)
23 EXTERNAL AGENCIES/EXPERTS (E.G. WORLD BANK, UNESCO, ETC.)	(X)	(X)	(✓)
24 OTHER: SPECIFY	()	()	()

COMMENT: NEXT PAGE, PLEASE

Because of the connection between values and behaviour, the success of an innovation depends to some extent on the changes in values and behaviour that are required.

Q. Given that innovation entails change, which of the groups below might reasonably be expected to have to change: (i) their practices and (ii) their ideas about what is educationally good or bad, desirable or undesirable ?

		PRAC- TICES	IDEAS- VALUES
01	THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL	(x)	(✓)
02	PARENTS OF 'SCHOOL ATTENDERS'	(x)	(✓)
03	AFFECTED SCHOOL ATTENDERS	(✓)	(✓)
04	TERTIARY AND SEN. SEC. STUDENTS	(✓)	(✓)
05	TEACHERS (INC. TEACHER ORGANIZATIONS)	(✓)	(✓)
06	SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	(✓)	(✓)
07	TEACHER TRAINERS	(✓)	(✓)
08	UNIVERSITY PERSONNEL	(x)	(x)
09	OFFICIALS IN THE ED. DEPT. (MINISTRY)	(x)	(x)
10	OFFICIALS IN OTHER MINISTRIES	(x)	(x)
11	TRADE UNIONS	(o)	(o)
12	EMPLOYERS (INC. ASSOCIATIONS)	(o)	(✓)
13	LOCAL AUTHORITIES	(o)	(o)
14	OTHER 'INTERESTED' ORGANIZATIONS	(o)	(o)
15	TRADITIONAL LEADERS (CHIEFS, ETC.)	(o)	(o)
16	RELIGIOUS LEADERS	(o)	(o)
17	OTHER COMMUNITY LEADERS	(o)	(o)
18	MEDIA SPOKESMEN (JOURNALISTS, COMMENTATORS, ETC.)	(o)	(o)
19	PROMINENT OR 'INTERESTED' LAYMEN	(o)	(o)
20	THE GOVERNMENT	(✓)	(✓)
21	NON-GOVERNMENT POLITICIANS (OPPOSITION)	(o)	(✓)
22	THE HEAD OF STATE	(✓)	(✓)
23	EXTERNAL AGENCIES/EXPERTS (E.G. WORLD BANK, UNESCO, ETC.)	(o)	(o)
24	OTHER: SPECIFY	()	()
25	()	()

COMMENT: NEXT PAGE, PLEASE