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THE JOB OF MANAGING IN ADULT EDUCATION: TEAM APPROACHES

by

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative field study in education management compares five collective adult education managing teams by applying a form of cultural analysis to data from repertory grids, meetings records and adult education programmes. Changes in managerial work(after Mintzberg) and managerial interpretative systems(analogous to Schon's "reflective practice") are traced over a year, as is the interrelationship of innovation, collaboration and balance in the production and maintenance of adult education programmes after Mee and Wiltshire's 1978 typology.

The relationship of managers' goals to managerial work was found to be remote, though the effect of goals on projects initiated by managers was clearer. Managers' evaluation of their work focussed on process, not product. Team member learning, the development of joint analyses of the work in new teams and changed analyses in established teams, were documented, along with team receptiveness to internally-initiated change via a system for obtaining agreement which aided in accommodating to new circumstances. Methods for team intercommunication were established. The process of producing and maintaining adult education programmes showed evidence of collaboration, balance, and innovation.

Effectiveness is found a useful sensitising concept for managers evaluating their own work, for which basic methods are suggested. The relationship of these managerial investigations to practitioner and participatory research is explored, and suggestions for enhancing objectivity when participant observation is used as a research method are made. The relationship of effectiveness indicators to each other -- termed "quantum" effectiveness -- is suggested for research by managers into managerial and organisational effectiveness to aid managerial and organisational development.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A - ABE team
ABE - Adult Basic Education
ACACE - Advisory Committee for Adult and Continuing Education
AE - Adult Education
ALBSU - Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit
BERA - British Education Research Association
BEMAS - British Education Management Association
BLG - Bradford Literacy Group
BRASS - Bolton Royd Student Association
C - Centre team
CNAA - Council for National Academic Awards
DES - Department of Education and Science
DoE - Department of the Environment
E - East team
EASA - Educational Advice Service for Adults
ESL - English as a Second Language
ESOL - English for Speakers of Other Languages
FEU - Further Education Unit
fte - fulltime equivalent(students or staff)
HOC - Head of Centre
HOD - Head of Department
HOS - Head of School
HMI - Her Majesty's Inspectorate
ICAE - International Council for Adult Education
LA - Local Authority
MBO - Management by Objectives
MSC - Manpower Services Commission
NACRO - National Council for Care and Resettlement of Offenders
NSA - National Students Association
O - Outreach team
OECD - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RAC - Regional Advisory Council
REPLAN - programme to promote the development of education
    opportunities for the unemployed.
RSA - Royal Society of Arts
SCOPE - course package for unemployed people(MSC).
SSR - staff-student ratio
T - team member prefix
TA - Training Agency(see MSC)
UDACE - Unit for the Development of Adult/Continuing Education
WFT - Write First Time, literacy newpaper
WOSS - ESOL stitching skills course
WYOLF - West Yorkshire Open LEarning Federation
YHAFHE - Yorkshire and Humberside Association for Further and Higher
    Education(see RAC)
YTS - Youth Training Scheme(see MSC)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This field study contrasts and compares teams managing adult education in a northern English city. Managing by team is relatively rare in English adult education and, through the teams' activity, the advantages and disadvantages of team structures for organizing adult learning opportunities in a complex organization can be seen. Behind the urban and organizational setting and working jointly lies the assumption that a coherent system of education for adults should be developed both for adults themselves and for larger economic, social and political goals. Teamlike structures seem tailor-made for the linking and liaising which aid the development of a lifelong learning system.

Any field study is a series of adjustments of plans to events, and this one is no exception. The thesis which follows presents the research basis for understanding such a study(Chapter 1), the urban, institutional and individual background for the teams and their work(Chapter 2), the methods available and those used(Chapter 3), the study's results(Chapters 4, 5 and 6) and their implications(Chapters 7 and 8).

This introduction discusses 1) adult education, 2) management, 3) managing adult education, 4) teams managing adult education, and 5) effective practice in order to explain how we might explore 6) effectiveness of teams managing adult education. We build, little by little, a picture of the managerial situation of the teams upon which this study focusses, by assembling insights from adult education, management, team and organizational studies.

1.1 Adult education

Adults themselves have always organized their own learning, as hobbies, home repair and many a small business testify. Alan Tough has estimated that each adult conducts an average of eight learning projects lasting in total 700 hours every year(Tough, 1976, 1983ed). Adults join learning networks, too, as part of their ordinary activity in churches, trades unions, community organizations, political parties, clubs and interest groups. This "informal" education can be recognised by the "willing and conscious involvement of the learner in

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the educational process"(Withnall, 1988, 453). Specialist educational institutions are not necessarily involved, though they may accredit this learning in their own courses.

The expertise gained by conducting individual learning projects and participating in learning networks is part of the "rich life experience" that adults bring to formal learning(Rogers, 1971, 1977ed, 68) and one reason that the "unstructured or community approach"(Groombridge, 1982, 6) to adult education can convene learners to interact with "what generations of democrats and scholars and others have bequeathed them..."(Lovett, 1983, 148-149). Sometimes what Groombridge calls "informal adult education" does not look like study at all, but rather learning in the process of achieving social goals of value to participants(Groombridge, 1983). A new voluntary organization, increased participation in local life or movement to more formal education are equally likely results of this community education process, which may be assisted by educational institutions.

In most local authorities, there are a number of institutions which provide courses for adult learners. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD) estimates that six to eight million British adults used some kind of part-time education or training in 1970; about a million more had joined them by 1980. At least two million of these adults were in what the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education(ACACE) calls local authority "non-vocational adult education"(ACACE, 1982). In 1978, Mee and Wiltshire characterised typical non-vocational adult education as parttime, ungraded, evening programmes of courses in crafts, arts and physical skills lasting for about two terms -- roughly 20 weeks.

The Seventies were a boom time for non-vocational adult education, with the Russell Report(1973) presenting the potential of well-organized educational opportunities for adults, and recommending local collaborative councils for the development of adult education, systematic attention to educational advice, and expansion to meet the educational needs of the "disadvantaged". Central support for adult literacy, adult training for the unemployed(channelled through both the Department of Employment and the Department of Education and Science), skill updating for the employed, work with ethnic minorities, increased the variety of opportunities available(Charnley

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and Stock, 1988). Charnley and Stock state that the number of adult
learners remains more or less the same as the figure they cite for
1982/3 -- about 2,800,000 --- though the amount of "general" adult
education has decreased, as many new learners are on specially funded
projects. They define adult education as

> "courses provided by adult education centres, community
> centres, youth clubs, residential colleges, maintained
> or assisted by local authorities, university
> extra-mural departments, and the Workers Education
> Association."(Charnley and Stock, *op. cit.*, 38)

The phrase "adult education" has referred to university extramural
and responsible body liberal adult education for many years(Peers,
1958, 1959ed). Tight's definition of liberal adult education is one
with which non-vocational adult educationists would agree:

> "...the process by which men and women(alone, in groups
> or in institutional settings) seek to improve
> themselves or their society by increasing their skills,
> knowledge or sensitiveness."(Tight, 1983, 5)

This definition includes individual and network-based learning as well
as organized learning settings. It is amplified by Bostock and
Seifert(1986, 19) who add Harold Wiltshire's identification of "adult
education experiences" which are

> "phases or episodes of education which occur during the
> rest of the life-span and which...are publicly provided
> or supported."(Wiltshire, 1980, 1)

Extra-mural and responsible bodies, too, have both profited and
suffered from central initiatives in the Seventies and early Eighties:
"compartmentalised, specially funded areas of education to which the
Government gives priority", as Cann(1986, 259-60) puts it, "has
created a system of divide and rule which has effectively killed off
liberal adult education". Changes like this are seen as opportunities
by others like Lieven(1987, 230) who wish a "genuinely plural society
in which funding [would be] available for a true diversity of
organizations with differing aims" or Westwood(1988, 446) who sees
adult education as "a space for alternative traditions where other
discourses can be maintained and where a diversity of cultures can
thrive".

Direct sponsorship from the Department of Employment through
various strategies adopted by the then titled Manpower Services
Commission(MSC), itself a child of the boom, offered training
opportunities to the 16 to 19 age group during the Seventies, partly

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by funding existing educational institutions to provide courses to MSC guidelines. As the decade closed, plans to train adults for employment emerged, and, in the late Eighties, the renamed Training Agency is establishing its own courses for unemployed adults, often outside existing educational settings with plans to move to industrial control of this work. This, too, is adult education, though it is criticised for an overly straightforward definition of what unemployed adults need to know, termed the "new vocationalism"(Cohen, 1984) and directed to the world of work.

During the decade of expansion, Lawson(1975, 111, 114) concluded that "...there is no discrete identifiable set of activities to which the phrase 'adult education' refers". Graham Mee(1980) suggested that adult educators did not even belong to an identifiable profession, if profession means mustering skills based on theoretical knowledge, training and qualifications appropriate to the job, plus a code of conduct and goals of the service agreed and maintained by a professional organization.

Unifying ideas did exist, however -- continuing education from ACACE as "systematic learning, wherever it takes place...[a] process continuing throughout life"(ACACE, 1982, 1-2) or, from the OECD, as a stage of educational provision, like initial or higher education, in a system for lifelong learning. "Recurrent" education was seen as a temporary strategy for getting to lifelong learning(Griffin, 1985) -- "a system of coordinated, recurrently provided opportunities for structured forms of learning throughout, and concerned with, the whole of life" in Flude and Parrott's terms(1979, 75). Flude and Parrott and others suggested starting to set up such a system by alliance of current providers and users.

This continuing education or lifelong learning system will include opportunities for adults never available before, as massive central Government funding channels information and support for vocational learning through the Training Agency(formerly the Manpower Services Commission). Universities, polytechnics and colleges will have more places for adults(and more reason to attract them) as the post-school population of young students declines. The 1988 Education Reform Act, by loosening Local Education Authority supervision of educational opportunities for children and adults will further

diversify the institutional base which provides educational and vocational learning for adults. According to Keith Hampson MP, speaking in 1987, the principles behind Conservative reforms of education in the Eighties were three -- " a desire to centralise down the line with reference to responsibility"; "...to switch the emphasis from the 'broad brush' to effectivity -- money has to be more directed"; and "contracting", that is, "let people and institutions do their own thing -- tender[bid] for all of it." This Conservative combination of control and competition makes cooperation imperative for coherent and broad-based local systems of adult education.

In the future, then, more opportunities and more organizations offering them mean more linking to make sure that an adult seeking education or training gets what s/he wants or needs, regardless of age, or, as the new Director of National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education put it in September, 1988:

> "...if we are to plan effectively for a society in which adults re-enter education and training on a recurrent basis, to contribute to the economic regeneration of society, and to extend and enrich their lives, we need to seek a greater degree of coherence and a common sense of policies and priorities in our planning for the education of adults."(Tuckett, 1988, 99)

Adult educators, whatever the difficulties of defining the field as a whole or even in part, have a role to play as managers working to establish comprehensive learning opportunities for people after they leave school. The job of managing adult education seen in this context is a complex one because of the number of different providers with different aims, varied sources of finance, and the effect of Government intervention both legally and financially, let alone changing learner perceptions of their own requirements. If a lifelong learning system is to work by alliance, then those who might unite are constantly changing. Managing educational opportunities for adults involves working with adults to understand what their requirements are, collaborating with other providers to build an integrated system of provision, and arranging to modify this system as new needs from adults and new requirements from local and national policy arise.

In the next section, some approaches to describing management will be discussed with examples, when possible, from the education management and team literature. We aim to find a way to use these

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insights to understand more about managing educational opportunities for adults in the complex and changing UK context.

1.2 Explanations of managing

> "Problems are abstractions extracted from messes by analysis; they are to messes as atoms are to tables and charts...managers do not solve problems, they manage messes."

Ackoff's vivid description(cited in Schon, 1983, 16) dramatises managing as a disorderly process. Support comes from Mintzberg's survey of managerial work studies, mainly American in origin. Managers do much work at an "unrelenting pace", their activity is characterised by "brevity, variety and fragmentation"; they prefer live action and verbal communication -- talking, meetings, seeing people face to face; and typically have much contact with people outside their own managerial units(paraphrased from Mintzberg, 1973, 1980ed, 45-46).

It's possible to observe managers and see what they do. For the UK, Rosemary Stewart(1982, 99) suggests that "it may be fruitful for the development of our understanding[of management] to change the focus from leadership to managerial work and behaviour." It's not always clear what these observations of managers mean -- observations must be 'explained', in a technical sense. Explanatory models applied to managing can be conveniently if inaccurately termed structural, functional, social-psychological, or contingency.

Structural explanations focus on how the organization is put together and how this affects managerial work. For example, Cavanagh's(1983) staff in an FE college, cut off by low status from information to act as they thought appropriate, use the informal groups they belong to to improve their ability to affect the institution. Matrix management systems are designed to spread information more widely and to increase the number of potentially satisfying working situations for an employee(Ferguson, 1980). Instituting matrix management could well affect how Cavanagh's informal groups behave. Lessons about organizational design are learned from structural explanations, but they are not necessarily independent of functional insights, as this example shows.

Where a manager is located in his/her organization matters. Heads of Department in colleges are administrators, not academic

leaders(Twyman, 1985). This is not surprising if we compare the industrial middle manager's job with that of the college middle manager, but appears contradictory if we look at further education institutions' major aims which tend to be about learning and social benefits to complex communities.

Functional explanations of managing deal with organizational role, that is, what use the manager is to the organization. Webb(1981) sees Head of Department functions in colleges as major "forces for cohesion", as they are administrators responsible for various forms of bureaucratic control, facilitators clearing a way through the college's processes and liaison workers inside and outside the institution(cited in Twyman, 1985, 338).

Characteristics of managerial jobs change with managerial level according to Mintzberg(1973, 1980ed). Though all managers share the work characteristics with which we began this discussion, senior managers tend to do more representing of the organization outside it, lower level managers more crisis handling and negotiating. At lower levels, too, the work tends to exhibit more brevity and fragmentation, and there tends to be more role specialization by function, for instance, a sales manager would concentrate more on interpersonal activities, a production manager more on decision-making with regard to work flows.

Managerial 'style' is a social-psychological way to view managerial action -- as the manager uses what s/he is to inform what s/he does. Some group management structures are formed by managers whose preferred style is sharing responsibility(Patten, 1981). What is termed "delegation" can have the same effect, though perhaps not the same cachet. Style brings managerial choice into explanations of managing.

Managing can also be seen as a changing set of imperatives that demand organizational, as well as individual solutions. Dynamic or contingency models are favoured for this, like Stewart's "demands, constraints and choices" which define a managerial situation(1982, 97). She concludes that managers have more choice than the fragmentation of their work suggests.

Consultants hired by firms to improve performance sometimes use a convening approach based on contingency modelling, asking middle-level

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managers to assess their own and their organization's strengths and weaknesses for different situations to arrive at more self-conscious managing. This seems to be the approach taken by Reilly and Jones(1974), Patten(1981) and other teambuilders, and to a certain extent by evaluators like Patton(1981).

Perhaps the visibility of failure offers another focus for examination -- crisis management. Change is less drastic crisis, though change studies must grapple with the fact that there are no stable managerial situations. Schools form useful settings for change studies because a school can be small enough to itself make a unit of analysis, though many of these are about encouraging the adoption of planned change by individuals on the way to implementing innovations, which takes longer(Sayles(1966) cited in Glover, no date). Kanter(1983, 1988ed) has suggested that participative structures are characteristic of large successful American industries, with one criterion of success that of taking advantage of opportunities brought by change. Her successful firms use innovation which she defines as "the process of bringing any new, problem-solving idea into use"(*op. cit.*, 20)

All these approaches to the work of managing are also ways of finding out what to look at to explain managing. Approach and unit of analysis condition conclusions, and conclusions, when assembled across studies, lead to what we know about managing. Observations, explanations and assemblies of explanations are all further affected by why we think we're doing it at all. Crudely, some people think we ought to study managing because it's there, like any other physical or social phenomenon, and a reasonably important one at that. Others think that we study management to improve it, like the organizational development and creative evaluation specialists acting as consultants to firms mentioned above.

I have described adult education as a diverse body of providers of educational opportunities for adults who are part of what could be called a developing system of lifelong learning. This research's series of explanations of what adult education managers do when they work in teams will combine insights from structural, functional, and contingency model studies, as well as from the change and teambuilding literature. The unit of analysis will be the team managers, their

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geographical and organizationally-defined areas of responsibility and their working context; the major focus within that will be the work of managing. Though the methods used to examine the teams are those of open-ended investigation -- a "because it's there" approach, conclusions will be drawn applicable to making the work of managing by team more effective.

1.3 Managing adult education

Lacking an agreed definition of adult education, and recognising the variety of structures providing educational opportunities for adults, we find ourselves in some difficulty when we try to talk generally about adult education managing.

Impressionistic descriptions of what adult education managers do echo the managerial "mess" described by Ackoff. Williets(1982, 187) describes "a complex network of relationships" involving paid and voluntary staff; students with many different motives; colleagues "complementing and competing"; a variety of premises; uncertain funding; ill-defined aims, objectives and boundaries of work; other duties, for example, youth work; and a conviction that an "open-ended" approach is essential to adult education. Newman's(1979) roles for the adult educationist -- entrepreneur, wheeler-dealer, administrator, manager, animateur, troubleshooter, expert on method and campaigner -- though not put forward as inclusive, emphasize the developmental and disturbance handling aspects of the job. The major problems from Mee and Wiltshire's survey published in 1978 are financial constraints, sharing and borrowing facilities, questionable status of adult education and its fulltimers, role conflict, especially in joint posts, the balance between administrative and educational work and conflict between job and family. The varied demands and constraints, in Stewart's terms, of adult education managing take pride of place in these descriptions. What common threads can we draw from them?

Adult education middle managers plan and carry out a programme of classes and informal groups. They tend to be in the lower parts of organizational structures, in frequent contact with users of the service and the world outside. Below the manager, whatever institution houses him/her, we would expect to find students, teachers(many of them parttime), caretakers, technicians, administrative staff and the occasional fulltime specialist in a

method of work or a subject. Much adult education is in the public
sector, where managerial activity relates to broad social aims rather
than concrete maintenance of a system or explicit profitable product.
One way to look at the structures around this manager is to define
him/her as a mediator, or broker, between those s/he serves and those
who depute him/her to do so. Figure 1.3.1 places the manager in this
kind of position, using Mintzberg's managerial roles to identify at
least ten kinds of activity undertaken by adult education managers,
with an illustration of each.

Like all managerial work, adult education managing is varied.
The demands of the job, that is, to get out a programme and to
maintain it, and its constraints, for instance, funding restrictions,
obscure the considerable choices which adult education managers appear
to have. Some of these are implied in Newman's developmental roles --
animateur, wheeler-dealer for instance. Top-down change endemic in
the history of adult education would seem to offer opportunities for
adult education entrepreneurs. The adult education manager as a
programme producer and the public as programme consumers who must be
satisfied imply an organizational model that stresses a bottom-up
entrepreneurial role. A similar perspective places educational
success at the product end of the analogy, raising the profile of the
monitoring role, as learner progress must be chronicled as evidence of
that success. This is one of the themes of recent DES guidelines for
judging efficiency in further education(DES, 1987), an example of yet
another change in the world of education for adults.

We have found that adult education managing work is hard to
define except in terms of Stewart's contingency model, which only
suggests broad foci for observation. It appears that, in order to
understand whether these teams were effective adult education
managers, we will first have to identify what that work was.

We do know, however, that what goes on in managing adult
education is strongly affected by two kinds of change -- that
necessary to build a flexible service on the basis of user
requirements, and that enjoined by alliances with other providers as
local systems of lifelong learning develop. Here lies the potential
for teams managing adult education.

PROVENANCE OF EVENT

ROLE:	From above	From below
Leadership roles		
figurehead	Will you sit on the open access working group?	...and we think you should ban him
leader	Your staff must have some idea on what training they need.	...and then she gives us a half-hour break...
liaison	Can you talk to the WEA about their use of our buildings?	Do we have to meet in a corner of the canteen?
Informational roles		
monitor	Pass the DES statistics on to the School Administrator.	I know I haven't added up my register. How do you do it?
disseminator	Pass this memo on, please?	Why have you given me this?
spokesperson	If you just take this issue to the Board of Studies...	You ought to something about this.
Decisional roles		
entrepreneur	Write an Urban Aid proposal, please.	My friend has a steel band and could teach drum tuning.
disturbance handler	Can you ask the Bishop to exorcise the alternative religions class?	I'm not coming back if you exorcise me.
resource allocator	You have £10,000 to spend.	We could do with an advanced floral art.
negotiator	We have a new course that will just fit into your 9:45 to 11:15 slot.	Why do we have to clear out immediately after class?

Figure 1.3.1: Sample events coming from above and below the adult education manager with the roles they represent. Source of roles: Mintzberg, 1973, 1980ed, 59.

1.4 Teams managing adult education

Handy(1976, 1983ed) summarises individuals' uses for groups --
developing a sense of belonging, defining themselves in relation to
others, getting support for their own goals and sharing in a common
activity for its own sake. In the college context, Turner(1980) says

that informal groups can control existing members, socialize new members, provide an alternative status structure and communicate not only information, but social support. In a later article(Turner, no date), he adds that team membership increases members' knowledge of the whole institution and reduces members' isolation. Legon's(1981) study of a working party in a school lists benefits like individual development in that members learned to appreciate others enough to collaborate with them and, on the basis of this trust, take chances that led to increased efficiency. In a context of no promotion, morale was also maintained.

The shared agreement about how things work developed by a group can benefit an organization if group norms and organizational goals coincide(Handy, 1976, 1983ed). So, leaving management aside, groupwork, or intervention in groups, or teambuilding can benefit organizations even if no participation in management is envisioned. Some techniques for training groups to work together are sophisticated indeed, though most appear to have been applied in training for management, perhaps by the American firms mentioned by Patten who have set up teams at all levels for

> "...increasing goal attainment and motivating employees
> to utilise their energy and efforts in a concerted
> direction."(1981,2)

The definition of team shared by teambuilders is "a relatively permanent work (group) comprised of organizational peers and their immediate supervisor"(Reilly and Jones, 1974, 272, and cited by Turner and Patten) though definitions can be as wide as Stewart's(1982, 96) "group that meets regularly to discuss the work of a particular organizational unit". Huse(1975, cited in Patten, 1981, 104) categorises teams by their relationship to the organization's structure: teams can be groups reporting to a higher supervisor or they can be convened to do a specific but temporary task. They can be groups involving employees with common organizational aims, or employees whose roles are interdependent, and even groups who have no formal links in theory but whose "collective purpose is to achieve tasks they cannot accomplish as individuals." What matters, of course, is the team's brief which can be any or more than one of the following: distributing work, managing or controlling work, solving problems and taking decisions, coordinating and liaising, collecting

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information, testing and ratifying others' decisions, conducting inquests, processing information, resolving conflicts, committing or involving individuals(Handy, 1976, 1983ed).

In particular, when "difficult coordination among highly skilled experts" is required, teams are generally believed to be useful. The quotation is from Mintzberg(1973, 129) and is agreed by Stewart, Dyer, Turner, Reilly and Jones and even Handy. Belbin combines this with the other major criterion for using teams, though for a business context:

> "The decision-making business has to embrace changing technology, competition that is international as well as domestic, and the administrative problems of running a company in a world that is becoming increasingly complicated. The lone helmsman, whatever his ability, is prone to mistakes and oversights which reflect the limitations of his knowledge and experience. The management team has become the stable alternative..."(1981, iv)

For especially when organizations must deal with change, teams appear to "have a potential of adaptability with a high degree of receptivity to new ideas and new ways of operating", as Turner says of educational contexts(no date, 54). This cooperative view of coping with change contrasts starkly with the adult education manager as hero we met a few pages ago. Kanter's extensive study of successful American firms emphasizes this further:

> "...corporate entrepreneurs produce innovative achievements by working in collaborative/participative fashion: *persuading much more than ordering*(although threats, direct orders, or pressure from a bigger boss might be used as a last resort); *team building*, including creation of formal task forces or committees, frequent staff meetings, frequent sharing of information, use of regular brainstorming sessions; *seeking input from others*, including needs of users, suggestions from subordinates, review by peers; *showing political sensitivity* to the interests of others, their stake or potential stake in the project; and, last but not least, *willingness to share rewards and recognition.*"[punctuation from Kanter, 1983, 1988ed, 237]

Kanter speaks from the entrepreneur's perspective. Alan Stanton(1989), in his study of a collective management team based in a voluntary organization, talks about the same kinds of issues in cooperative terms. One of the key processes he identifies, for instance, is "co-learning"(*op. cit.*, 211-15) in which team members work together to "build judgement"(*op. cit.*,210). The emphasis here is on working together rather than being convened by a manager who, in Kanter's terms, persuades, builds teams, gets input from others and is

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politically sensitive. Stanton would probably agree that all the skills of Kanter's manager are necessary ones, but would argue that they are attributes taken on by a team, not by a leader who brings his/her recalcitrant workforce along. For Stanton, a sensible goal is a "referential"(*op. cit.*, 100, 248) way of working together, as opposed to a "deferential" or "oppositional" mode, and one goal of team activity is the team practitioner as learner(from clients). Both analyses, however, are about the teamworking process, wherever the intiative lies, and illustrate the relationship of teams and change.

David Glover(no date) speculates on why teams and change seem natural bedfellows: perhaps, after Sayles(1966), teams are a setting within which agreement can be reached about change, reducing its threat to individuals because they know what it implies for them. Teams, after Wilson(1966) may be a way to get the agreement so necessary to implementation of change. And finally, teams may be one way to achieve the "free redefinition of organizational tasks" and "problem-solving across authority boundaries" that Burns and Stalker(1961) suggest make their "organic" institutions more successful in their dealings with change. Kanter echoes this final point in her distinction between segmented and integrated organizations -- the latter is characteristic of her innovative firms.

Teams can, however, fail. Reilly and Jones(1974) argue that teams need a "charter" or reason for working together, a recognition by members that they are interdependent, a commitment to working as a group and accountability to the organization to which they belong, or else blockages will form that make effective teamwork difficult. Of the blockages summarised in Table 1.4.1, "lack of understanding and agreement of group process" were mentioned by Turner, Dyer, Handy, and Patten, with "problems with interpretation of the charter" coming a close second in frequency(Stewart, Patten, Handy).

Members: -wrong mix of people with regard to skills

Relations within
the group: -interpersonal difficulties
                            -lack of commitment to team working
                            -lack of a positive 'climate' for team working,
                               e.g., trust, constructive criticism, appropriate
                               leadership

Working processes: -lack of understanding and agreement on group
                               processes
                            -lack of clarity in work roles
                            -lack of clarity in communication and
                               decision-making
                            -low economy(much energy needed to keep things
                               going)

Relation to the
organization: problems with interpretation of the "charter"
                               -lack of organizational clarity which confuses
                                  accountability and leads members to neglect
                                  own work and have difficulty determining
                                  necessary team jobs
                               -misidentification of which function is being
                                  performed(when group is multifunctional)
                               -varied perceptions of tasks to be performed
                            other problems with the organization, including
                               -attitudes of other people, especially those
                                  just above the group
                               -unsureness of how group fits into the
                                  organization
                               -how the group sees other groups and
                                  competes/conflicts with them

Table 1.4.1: Blockages to successful teamwork. Sources: Turner, no
date, 101, 108-109; Patten, 1981, 85; Handy, 1976(1983), 147, 151;
Stewart, 1962, 51,54; Dyer, 1977, 7

So groups can be useful for members, and for organizations which
need to collaborate and to respond to change. It appears that groups
form within organizations anyway, and that those who run organizations
need to recognise groups' influence on members' work, whether they are
interested in giving groups organizational power or not. If groups
are to manage, and from now on, these are termed "teams", then
attention must be paid to the demands and constraints which teamwork
implies, for, in Turner's(no date, 109) terms, "a team approach to
management is not something to be undertaken just for the sake of it".

A case has been made earlier for the desirability of change and
collaboration in the development of a system for lifelong learning, of
which something like adult education will be a part. Secondly, even
if adult educators did not organize to build this system, pressure
from users within and masters from without would make the adult
education management situation one of constant change. Third,
providers of education for adults in any locality must work together,
for no one can meet all the learning requirements presented by its

users. Finally, adult education units are made up of specialists
whose backgrounds influence how they view people learning. No one
specialist can see the whole as well as a union of specialists may be
able to do. It seems sensible to look closely at teams as adult
education managers.

1.5 Effective practice

According to Cameron and Whetten(1980), the most widely used
models to encompass the "total meaning of effectiveness" are the goal
model, the system resource model, the internal processes/maintenance
model, the strategic constituencies model and the legitimacy model.
The first three use systemic aspects of organizations to measure and
describe relative effectiveness. The constituencies model is a matter
of deciding which constituency's or combination of constituencies'
goals should be used to judge organizational effectiveness. The
legitimacy model judges effectiveness on what the organization's
public thinks. Like the system resources model, it brings in an
organization's relationship with the outside world, while the goal and
internal process models stress what's going on inside. The
constituencies model considers both, as some constituencies are
internal, and some external.

Constituencies link to the participant-interest models of
organizational effectiveness described by Keeley(1984) --
relativistic, developmental/evolutionary, power and social justice are
how he describes the alternatives. He advocates an impartial
"harm-minimization" approach when bringing in social justice as part
of a process of judging organizational effectiveness -- "the value
focus shifts from primary goods to (the avoidance of) primary
bads"(*op. cit.*, 18).

Models matter in designing appropriate effectiveness research,
but so does system complexity. Weick and Daft(1983, 74) ranked
models of effectiveness by system complexity(Table 1.5.1). The
"diversity and seeming confusion in the effectiveness literature are
not pathological", but a reflection of the assumptions underlying the
organizational models used by researchers, e.g., productivity for
"control system" perspectives, system resource and goal approaches to
identify criteria for "open system" assumptions,
flexibility/adaptability for "growth systems".

Model	Effectiveness Issues	Measurement
1. Framework	arrange elements resource deployment	admin ratio direct/indirect labour
2. Clockwork	stability, movement toward equilibrium	retention, absenteeism accidents stability turnover
3. Control system	reaction to controller, feedback loops, organization as "tool"	satisfaction motivation productivity efficiency compliance reward structure
4. Open system	acquire/transform resources, survival, seek goals	resource acquisition, survival, profit, goal achievement
5. Growth system	growth and adaptation, interplay among subunits	growth, innovation, adaptability, integration
6. Differentiated system	specialized information reception, nervous system, choice processes, multiple and ambitious goals	interpretation of environment, decision processes, information management, goal consensus
7. Symbol processing system	high-order human characteristics: self-awareness, symbolism, meaning	organizational self-awareness language processes, affective dimensions, cause maps

Table 1.5.1: Effectiveness models and criterion measures(in ascending order of organizational complexity). From Weick and Daft(1983, 73).

We are now trying to understand the relationship between organizational types and how each might judge effectiveness. Mintzberg's 1983 distinction between two of his five organizational types, the professional bureaucracy and the "adhocracy", helps us here. A professional bureaucracy, like a hospital or a college, is a system designed to let the practitioners(doctors or teachers respectively) get on with their job with minimal interference. Committees and academic boards allow consultation about the fit of the systems to the islands of professional practice they support(what goes on in operating theatres and classrooms, in these examples). The key part of the organization is its operating core -- doctors and teachers -- and the way it is coordinated is by standardization of skills before members join, in these examples by extensive training.

This professional bureaucracy contrasts with an adhocracy, in

which support staff are the key part, and mutual adjustment their major coordinating mechanism. Adhocracies characteristically liaise throughout their structure, exhibit small functional groupings and tend to be selectively decentralised. These are organizations which Mintzberg says are busy adjusting to their environments, perhaps analogous to Kanter's integrated(rather than segmented) systems. Mintzberg says that environments can be simple or complex, stable or dynamic. More dynamic environments breed more organic structures, and more complex environments, more decentralised structures. What matters for effectiveness, however, is the 1) fit of the organizational design to the environment and 2) "internal consistency among design parameters", here interpreted to mean that the organization must, at very least, understand that it is adapting its structure to the functions it sees necessary.

But whatever the model and system characteristics, other factors also affect judgement of organizational effectiveness. Some of the information must come from organization participants, and it is not always clear what they mean when they talk about the quality of what they do. For example, different criteria for effectiveness may be used by members during different phases of a managerial unit's life cycle -- creativity/entrepreneurship, collectivity, formalisation and control, elaboration of structure, according to a literature survey compiled by Quinn and Cameron(1980). Students in Cameron and Whetten's(1981) simulations appeared to shift from individual to organizational canons of effectiveness as their "organizations" developed. Their positions in the simulated organizations affected their observations, and they thought it important to assess input and output at different stages of the life cycle, though their concern to evaluate internal processes was always relatively high. This patterned complexity appears to be corroborated by Gladstein's(1984) field research, in which the perceptions of group members were not necessarily related to effective performance as she measured it in her questionnaire-based study. In her field study of 100 teams, high sales figures did not necessarily come from groups who reported that they felt their group working processes were effective.

The role of organization members in judging effectiveness seems most central in the evaluation literature, where members of an

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organization work with an evaluator to identify barriers to effectiveness and surmount them. This is called "formative evaluation" by Patton(1980, 71), and is facilitated by evaluators paid by the organization. It appears appropriate to public sector evaluation, according to Mohr(1983, 234), but he observes that "sometimes you can't tell whether a goal-free proposal is a definition of effectiveness or a means of attaining it". Formative evaluation only works if done in company with those who will be implementing what it uncovers. "Frame analysis" from psychiatry, in which "bounded phenomena" are extracted to look at participant awareness of frames and concommitant assumptions, yield participant-based views of effectiveness that are not necessarily comparable to others, according to Schon(1983), but are useful for understanding participant definitions of whatever they're involved in. Interpretative systems held by organization members, as described by Weick and Daft(1983, 83-86), can themselves be more or less effective, and a way of judging organizational effectiveness using such criteria as taxonomy complexity, pressures for minimal consensus and others.

An organization's members are affected by many different factors when they attempt to judge effectiveness, so their unvarnished judgements must somehow be construed. In formative evaluation, as part of an agreeing and planning process, legitimacy of member insights is accepted. When compared to each other, insofar as this is possible, member evaluations as interpretative systems are acceptable for examining effectiveness.

Individual insights are relevant to this study from another point of view. McLaughlin in his 1987 summary of findings from the US implementation literature, says that "policy-directed change ultimately is a problem of the smallest unit"(op. cit., 171). In other words, what the smallest unit sees as significant affects local application of nationally agreed policies for change. According to McLaughlin, implementation of change is no longer a matter of "transmission" of desirable policies or "incentives" for adopting them or "authority" to impose them, but a process of "bargaining and transformation".

Much of this discussion so far is based on viewpoints gleaned from studies in the business world. According to Mohr, public sector

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organizations' objectives, constraints and side effects are best
judged by the "political process, not original theory or programmme
evaluation"(Mohr, 1983, 229). This implies a legitimacy model of
effectiveness. But Inglis' description of Weber's "handbook" for
bureaucracy reads like a list of goal model effectiveness criteria
with a bit of participant-interest thrown in:

> "...bureaucracies must have a purposive rationality
> expressed first, in the equitable treatment of all
> clients, secondly, in an efficient knowledge of the
> files and perfect accuracy of record and retrieval,
> thirdly, in anonymity in the referral of cases and an
> infallible routinization of their handling, and lastly,
> a clear subjugation of means to ends, of process to
> aims and objectives."(1985, 135)

According to Schneider(1983, 46), "survival" models of
effectiveness are inappropriate in the public sector. These
organizations are stable and do not necessarily compete, as
bureaucratization renders them relatively independent of each other.

Educational organizations, public though they be, suffer from the
presence of contradictory preferences regarding effectiveness, for
example, Cameron's(1981) college principals poised between
responsibility to the community and academic performance, two
different domains(or constituencies) with different criteria of
effectiveness. Solutions to this problem, according to Cameron and
Whetten(1983, 15), include trading off one set of preferences against
another; "satisficing" -- fulfilling all preferences to a limited
extent; or "sequencing" by giving each domain a little in
turn(Lindbloom, 1959, for the first solution, Cyert and March, 1963
for the others).

Choice of models for analysis, system complexity, control of
information received from organization members and the public/private
sector distinction influence any data collection which purports to
deal with relative effectiveness in managing. Insofar as
effectiveness models developed for entire organizations can be used
for parts of one, this research views its teams' setting as a
"differentiated system", whose effectiveness issues are likely to be
"interpretation of environment, decision processes, information
management and goal consensus" after Weick and Daft(see Table 1.5.1).

The teams upon which this study focusses are adhocratic
structures in a professional bureaucracy, in Minzberg's terms. If

their environment is both dynamic and complex, as other adult education managerial settings appear to be(insofar as we can say), then they appear to be appropriate structures for their job. For now, we must look more closely at what the adult education field might see as criteria for effectiveness.

1.6 Effectiveness and teams managing adult education

Conclusions about effectiveness depend on how relative success or failure in process and product is explained. This research, in order to discuss the job of managing adult education by team, must find some way of judging whether teamwork was worth the time and energy expended.

In judging effectiveness criteria used by management studies, Helen Schwartzman(1986, 261) has made two observations which affect this study. First, she says that "if organizations act in order to discover what they are doing, as Weick(1977) has suggested, then researchers must be allowed to conduct research in order to understand what they have been studying". This suggests that data-derived criteria of effectiveness might be the most productive way to approach judging what the teams did. Second, she demonstrates that "improvement questions" focus most effectiveness research, and that what she calls a "uniform cultural lens" has produced uniformity in effectivesss studies, not differences(Schwartzman, *op. cit.*, 266-7). This supports, again, a search for potential internal criteria of effectiveness for judging team activity in this study. The job of this kind of open-ended research might be to identify appropriate effectiveness indicators for teams in adult education management. With this in mind, we move to how adult education criteria might be used to measure effectiveness of adult education organizing teams.

Perhaps most adult education units in organizations are too small to need to function as formally constituted teams. We have seen that informal teamlike structures may emerge in organizations where needed -- maybe that's all the teamwork adult education needs.

A second scenario is that effectiveness in adult education cannot really be judged, because it is situation-specific -- one women's writing group, one centre against unemployment, one tutor student pair in which the student learns to read. If this is true, then the case-study approach to discussing quality in adult education is right,

and we will have to wait a while longer to assemble adult education
case studies into a pattern that talks reliably about good practice.
Applying a contingency model to this case study may point the way to
considering effectiveness in adult education managing more
systematically.

What may be new about this research is placing adult education
squarely in a lifelong learning context, with some managerial
responsibility for seeing that local lifelong learning systems are
appropriately founded, a stance which Mee and Wiltshire(1978) say some
adult educators have taken. If the assembly method for the new system
is alliance of users and others, then evidence of collaboration should
be an indicator of relative effectiveness. Before examining this
view's potential, we first examine other possible criteria for adult
education legitimacy.

Adult education can be said to be effective if users learn. The
process of learning, unfortunately, is invisible. What goes on in a
learning context(most often called teaching method) or what users
think they get from adult education activities(user satisfaction),
inform many systematic insights into adult education quality. The DES
monitors by tabulating student numbers which in turn determine
staffing levels for managing adult education programmes. HMI conduct
research into their quality(Wilcox, 1985). Gaining certificates can
demonstrate learning in schools and universities, but most adult
education is not examined. Anyway, it is not clear what relation user
satisfaction, excellence in method, statistical adequacy or even
evidence of progression bear to effective _managing_ in adult education.
Common sense and Alan Tough say that all could take place with no
managing at all, given a bit of tinkering with the assumptions behind
the figures.

Statistical adequacy, according to the Department of Education
and Science(1987), is basic to understanding whether colleges are
efficient -- staff-student ratio and other targets are set with a
system for calculating unit costs and other productivity measures on
this basis. This report also recommends that "efficiency should not
be considered in isolation but in conjunction with effectiveness" and
that the purposes of the educational process should be considered when
setting up efficiency measures(DES, 1987, 13). At the time of

writing, it is too soon to see whether, under the new 1988 Education Reform Act, local authorities and institutions will succeed in relating effectiveness to the efficiency measures required. The approach used appears to be more suitable to Weick and Daft's "control" or "open" systems than to the differentiated system of which the teams appear to be a part. Suggested performance indicators for universities and higher level work(Schuller, 1988) seem too non-specific to aid in this process. It is interesting that, in hostile environments, Mintzberg(1983) suggests that all systems centralise(*op. cit.*, 141): centralization(and formalisation) is also characteristic of organizations under external control(*op. cit.*, 146).

Whatever is decided externally about efficiency/effectiveness, and however effective adults may be at organizing their own learning, managing becomes necessary with scale, as Sofer says(1972, 1973ed) -- two million learning opportunities across 104 local authorities in non-vocational adult education alone must be "run". The unit of analysis for a study in adult education management cannot be students, or even classrooms, but the system that makes these available to users. In the absence of a coherent continuing education system, the teams' production and maintenance of adult education programmes, by which I mean what is offered to local learners, formally and informally, can be evaluated. Effectiveness in managing adult education may be visible as the production and maintenance of adult education programmes.

Mee and Wiltshire(1978), in their questionnaire-based study of adult education across the UK, identify five main strands which affect the construction of adult education programmes; they call them "basic concepts": teaching/didactic, recreation, participation, compensatory, and community. Learning goes on anyway: when teaching makes it happen, then the approach is "teaching/didactic". When a teacher-student negotiation determines the activity, then the concept behind it in adult education is "recreation", and what happens in the programme is the result of that negotiation. Generally recreation has a leisure bias. (Negotiation in curricula has come to reflect other priorities, particularly in Adult Basic Education, since Mee and Wiltshire characterised it thus.) "Participation" is like "recreation" in its negotiating, though participation in management

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may be a feature of its presence. "Compensatory" changes the target population, as it focusses on people who have missed out on formal education; all the preceding approaches are used in it. A "community" perspective links all local providers and users into a continuing education system, and concerns itself with cooperation. Of those surveyed by the authors, fulltimers on the whole espoused the compensatory, part-timers the recreational, concepts.

Since Mee and Wiltshire's study, vocational aims have entered adult learning opportunities, both for qualifications and for gaining more indefinable skills which lead to employment. The major funding for new developments from the Training Agency has encouraged an output view of effectiveness -- learner numbers, learner throughput and learner achievement of vocational goals among them. Central programmes and funding have encouraged development towards education for the unemployed -- the Further Education Unit in curriculum terms, REPLAN and UDACE by funding innovative projects rather than programmes. Ongoing provision has had to be supported from other funding, for example, Urban Programme central money, mainly for unemployed people, and, at the time of writing, newly tied to legitimation by qualification. The funding of special projects has also been the approach taken in adult literacy, with on-going programmes left to the resources of local authorities. The only relatively goal-free source of sizable external funding in recent years has been for ethnic minority learners, for whom 75% grants have been available for provision with substantial numbers of new Commonwealth immigrants. This funding is no longer available in these terms. European Economic Community partial funding has been available for EEC-defined goals, many of them for what Mee and Wiltshire have called "disadvantaged" clienteles, and in some cases has had the same effect as these other temporary sources of funding -- short-term intensive work with a questionable future, as local authorities are not always able to take over innovative projects once external money has lapsed. In this complex setting, obtaining funding might be a relevant criterion for effectiveness.

The question of balance in programmes is addressed by Michael Newman(1979, 212-213) in quite another way from Mee and Wiltshire: he advocates a policy of "availability" in deciding programme, that is,

"Since they cannot positively discriminate in favour of
everyone, adult educators will have to make choices.
Instead of striving after some artificial balance in
their programme, or attempting to part-satisfy
everyone, they should make their choices boldly.
Obviously they will have to make them with due
deference to their masters' policy decisions and the
demands of their students and the people in their area,
but they should go for the groups and causes they
believe in."

Newman's analysis suggests that the "satisficing" mode of
effective delivery adopted by Cameron and Whetten's college principals
is inappropriate for adult education, which should be managed from
conviction and learner need. The effect of potential funding sources
on this approach would be substantial.

1.7 Effectiveness indicators

Adult education

An effective adult education programme meets local people's
educational requirements while it builds towards a system for lifelong
learning. External criteria, funding sources, and national policy
affect local provision, whatever the aims of providers may be. Given
that any adult education manager only runs part of the developing
system, and that local people's learning requirements change, in any
year, programmes can only reflect attempts at

1. balance - a series of compromises among areas of
work which themselves reflect views of local people's
learning requirements;

2. innovation - content and structure new to the
programme which reflect the manager's developing view
of area learning requirements and the state of the
lifelong learning system;

3. collaboration - joining forces with users and other
providers appropriately to modify the compromises made
between local people's learning requirements and the
changing demands of the developing lifelong learning
system.

Evidence of appropriate balance, innovation and collaboration are
this research's perspectives for judging relative effectiveness in
adult education programmes. However, effective product is not
necessarily a marker of effective managing. It is therefore necessary
to look at how the team managers worked together.

Teamworking

Blockages to effective teamwork were assembled from a number of
sources in Table 1.4.1. Although elements within and across the four
major categories overlap, and all could be said to be potentially
crucial, given circumstances which make them so, the inadvertent

contributors to the chart agreed that problems with the interpretation of the team's "charter" and lack of understanding of group process were major barriers to team working.

The reverse of "problems with the charter" is "identification of team jobs" after Stewart(the first entry under "charter" is hers). In Handy's terms from the second entry, multi-functional groups run into trouble when it's not clear which function they are attacking when. Understanding the teams' understanding of what they were doing and, to some extent, their problem recognition(which some people say is the entirety of the manager's job, as Handy(1976, 1983ed) implies when he analyses the manager as GP), will present not only a summary of adult education managerial work, but, when the teams are compared, a rough guide to appropriate identification of team jobs. If Weick and Daft are right about effectiveness indicators for differentiated systems, their "information management" should be an aspect of this identification, which itself is an "interpretation of environment"(Table 1.5.1).

Secondly, Table 1.4.1 suggests examining team working processes. We would expect the new teams to develop their own structures for getting things done, and the established teams to exhibit their agreed structures. Comparisons among the teams will suggest which inventions appear to do the job intended.

Groups cannot work well unless a number of task and maintenance functions are taken on during meetings. Some are considered functions of the leader or chair, and so appear in the leadership literature. According to Belbin(1981), such functions, in this case called "team roles", can be covered by the group, especially if it is sensitised to this and aware of what roles need to be taken. Belbin calls a developed team in which all the roles are covered in an orderly way the "classical mixed team", though his definition also involves certain individual skills and attributes which are preconditions to functioning successfully. His assertions have been tested in management training, and used as analogies to understand some real management teams. As Belbin's team roles allow us to look at how members see themselves acting within teams, it seems a promising approach for understanding effective teamwork.

So, to look at effectiveness of team working, this research

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proposes examining three aspects of teams:

4. identification of team jobs -- the choices for
action made by the teams which reflect their
information management and interpretation of their
environment;

5. team working structures -- group-working machinery
invented or used by the teams to get the jobs they
identify accomplished;

6. team role adoption -- evidence that team members
adopt or change their manner of functioning in groups.

Member analyses

There is a further source of information about effective process
and product in team managing -- insights and opinions of team members
themselves. When combined with other markers of effectiveness
proposed for this study, team member opinions will point to some
advantages and disadvantages of team working discernible no other way.
Taking Weick and Daft's effectiveness issues for differentiated
systems, we might decide goal consensus would inform our view of the
teams' effectiveness, especially for the new teams. If team members
changed their view of what the teams were good for, or changed their
view of what adult education was about, we might conclude that team
working had affected its members. These opinions also may give us
some indications of changes in members' understanding of group
processes alluded to in 1.4.1. This yields a final possible criterion
for effectiveness in teams managing adult education:

7. member analyses -- evidence of change in goals for
adult education and analysis of group working process.

Presentation of results

After a brief discussion of the background to the five teams and
the local area in which they managed(Chapter 2), the methodology's
assumptions, data collection and data analysis are discussed, and
changes in the plans for this study made clear, especially as it
affected the seven effectiveness indicators numbered above(Chapter 3).
Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present the results and Chapters 7 and 8 attempt
to make sense of them. Briefly, Chapter 4 describes the work of
managing adult education, using patterns from team minutes to generate
larger similarities and differences among the teams. Chapter 5 looks
closely at how team members' themselves evaluated their teamworking,
and evidence that supports and contradicts their assertions is drawn
from the information already presented in Chapter 4, though new

information is presented as it is required. Chapter 6 pulls together
the results already presented and relates them to the effectiveness
criteria we have discussed for member analysis, teamworking and adult
education, still staying close to the teams and their work. Chapter 7
generalises about uses for teams, given the nature of adult education
managerial work, and discusses the role of managerial interpretative
systems, which this thesis terms the basic tool managers use to
understand what they do. In the course of this discussion, the
effectiveness criteria themselves are evaluated, and compared to, at
the time of writing, prevailing approaches to understanding the
effectiveness of educational institutions. Chapter 8 outlines
implications of the methods used in this study, and discusses further
research which this study's results suggest. Effectiveness, it is
concluded, is a sensitising concept best deployed by managers to
improve their own practice, and preliminary suggestions for how this
can be begun are made.

1.8 Summary

Local authority-based adult education has an as yet undetermined
role to play in the system for lifelong learning which is developing
in the UK. Managers in such adult education work to demands,
constraints and choices not unlike those of other managers, though
their working context is apt to be strongly collaborative and subject
to change, suggesting that managing by teams might be appropriate.
Relative effectiveness of team management in adult education will be
explored in this field study by looking at production and maintenance
aspects of the programme produced by working adult education teams --
balance, innovation and collaboration; by examining the process of
producing and running the programme under the headings identification
of team jobs, team structures and undertaking team roles; and changes
in member analysis of goals and group working practices. A by-product
of the research will be a description of the job of managing in adult
education.

CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND

Having discussed the potential utilities of teams managing in adult education and the goals of this study, we turn to another kind of background, that of team members, the teams themselves and the context in which they worked.

The city and the large further education college which housed the teams comes first, and after that, an introduction to the established teams on which this study focusses, along with their ways of working. Then some of the results of the study are presented the better to understand the established teams and their working structures at the beginning of the study year. The complexities of team membership are described along with team member background, member understanding of adult education, and what members expected of the year's work. Then we move to the new teams, including the adult education programmes existing in their areas, their short histories and a brief survey of problems they were to encounter.

In this background chapter, the conventions used are those adopted throughout this study for the presentation of what can be very detailed data. Patterns are presented in the text in the form of a profile -- usually a table -- and explained. The detailed information on which the profiles are based appears in the Appendices whose first number is that of the chapter to which the Appendix refers. The Appendices, too, have tables termed Appendix Tables. Tables and Appendix Tables are numbered to show their location. The right-most number on a Table or Appendix Table is the table number; other figures show where it is to be found. Table 3.6.1.2, for instance, is in Chapter 3, Section 3.6.1, and is the second Table in that section. Appendix Table 3.6.1 is in Appendix 3.6, and is the first Appendix Table in that Appendix. The list of Tables appears in this volume and that for Appendix Tables at the beginning of the volume of Appendices.

Lines of argument build throughout the thesis and, often, previous sections are referred to. Section 3.6.1, for example, refers the reader to the first discussion in Chapter 3, part 6, in the main text.

2.1 The City, the College and the Teams

The City

The Metropolitan District in which the teams worked held 454,198
people occupying an area of approximately 37,010 hectares(City of
Bradford Metropolitan Council, 1984, 5). People lived in 29 villages
in the District, and in three larger towns, as well as in the city in
which the teams were based. People living in the District as a whole
tended to be younger than the national average for 1981(*op. cit.*,
Table 1, 189) were more likely to own their own homes(*op. cit.*, Table
2, 189), and more likely to live in a household without a car(*op.
cit.*, Table 3, 190). 11.2% of the District's population were from
ethnic minorities, mainly the New Commonwealth or Pakistan(*op. cit.*,
Table 2, 143). As elsewhere in Britain, the majority of workers
living in the District were manual or junior non-manual(*op. cit.*,
Table 27, 43). The two largest manufacturing industries in the
District had lost 45,000 and 10,000 jobs respectively since 1961(*op.
cit.*, Table 16, 36), though the number of jobs in service industries
was steadily growing(*op. cit.*, Table 17, 37). Nevertheless, in 1982,
three years before this study began, nearly one in five men were out
of work, and one in ten women(*op. cit.*, Table 2, 26).

The District's relative prosperity declined in its urban areas.
Table 2.1.1 shows the nineteen(out of thirty) electoral wards in which
ethnic minorities, semi- and unskilled workers, the jobless and those
in poor housing tended to live(Appendix 2.1 summarises how this table
was constructed). These are characteristic(Hamilton, 1987, 8) of
areas in which there is likely to be a need for adult basic education
-- either English for Speakers of other languages (ESOL) or Adult
Basic Education(literacy and numeracy). The two towns to the north of
the District are not the affair of this study -- there were colleges
and adult education departments serving those areas. The three urban
areas at the top of the chart were those which the College housing the
teams served -- City South 1, City South 2(the South Area Team's
future responsibility), and City East(The East Area Team's area).

The Area Teams were to operate in urban areas of some social and
educational need in a District whose prosperity was differentially
distributed.

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Ward	Semi-/Unskilled Workers (a)	Jobless '81/'85 (b)	Housing Rooms (c)	Baths (d)	Ethnic Minorities (e)	Total Adults 1987/1992 (f)
CITY_SOUTH 1						
5	2100	17.8/22.8%	3.0%	94%	2220	13270/13410
6	1970	17.6/26.2%	3.7%	95%	4290	11100/11050
25	1770	19.7/21.7%	1.0%	-	-	10370/ 9730
30	1830	12.5/14.3%	-	-	-	12470/12810
Subtotal					6510	47210/47000
CITY_SOUTH 2						
7	1250	-/12.7%	-	95%	-	10940/11900
10	1400	-/12.4%	11.1%	-	1540	11340/11680
17	2280	23.2/26.3%	2.6%	89%	2600	11800/10940
27	2430	25.3/34.4%	9.0%	82%	7250	14100/13800
18	1510	10.0/-	-	-	940	13140/14190
Subtotal					12330	61320/62510
CITY_EAST						
9	1630	16.1/17.2%	-	-	-	11020/11150
11	1110	12.9/17.3%	2.1%	91%	2220	12150/12490
23	1470	11.3/12.0%	-	-	-	10850/10880
24	1580	14.9/20.8%	3.3%	95%	3750	11350/11690
26	1260	17.6/21.2%	3.6%	90%	1570	11400/11930
Subtotal					7540	56770/58140
TOWN 1						
21	1610	12.4/14.0%	-	-	-	11170/10960
22	-	-/-		95%	840	12070/12100
Subtotal					840	23240/23060
TOWN 2						
14	1620	-/-	2.0%	94%	1360	11340/11700
15	1820	16.0/15.2%	1.2%	-	500	9800/ 9820
16	1810	11.8/12.9%	1.0%	-	690	12000/12190
Subtotal					2550	33140/33710
Totals	30450	-/-	-	-	29770	221680/224420
Total in population	41480	-/-	-	-	31940	345090/354500

Table 2.1.1 Population statistics describing District urban areas.
Appendix 2.1 discusses information sources.

The College

The College which served these urban areas was a merged
institution -- the local art college, two teacher training colleges
and the technical college had combined into one institution in the
Seventies. In the Eighties this merged with a third local teacher
training college to become the institution which housed the teams. At
the time the study began, the College was organized into six Schools,
each with its own Departments, serving over 20,000 full and parttime
students from degree level to industrial qualifications to
non-vocational adult education. The College operated on 18 major
sites, not counting outcentres in which adults studied, and employed
over 600 academic staff. The College's 1984 synopsis of its policy
prepared for an outside validating body(from which much of this

information comes) is prefaced by

> "The College is committed to providing a comprehensive
> further and continuing education for the people of the
> District, the region and, where appropriate, the nation.
> The intention is to mount a curriculum which will act as a
> district[sic] resource, which is responsive to the needs of
> the community and which will stimulate the prosperity of the
> community."(op. cit., Bradford and Ilkley Community
> College, 1984,1)

The School of Adult and General Education

The School of Adult and General Education comprised three

Departments -- Adult Education, Alternative Education and General and

Basic Education.

> "Within the College, the School of Adult and General
> Education is committed to working with people to identify
> their learning requirements, then seeing that these
> requirements are met. To do this, the School works with
> people in their neighbourhoods, provides appropriate and
> relevant courses in the [urban] centres, and works with
> other parts of the College, and the education and training
> system as a whole, to establish courses that people
> want."(op. cit., 81)

Adult Education was the largest Department in the School, with 35

fulltime staff; academic year 1983-4 enrolment statistics showed a

student body of 10,545, most of them in the day and evening

non-vocational programme. About a third of the staff worked with

ethnic minority learners. Alternative Education, with its

externally-funded employment-related courses, most of them for young

people, had 18 fulltime staff and just under 500 students. General

and Basic Education ran General Certificate of Education parttime and

fulltime Ordinary and Advanced level courses, a College Certificate

for Mature Students, a return to learn programme and Adult Basic

Education. Its 18 fulltimers, over 15 of whom worked in GCE or return

to learn programmes, served about 1700 students(op. cit., 90-96).

All these Departments employed many parttime staff(op. cit., 89).

The General Certificate of Education work, for instance, used the

services of about 31 fulltime equivalent staff, including the 18

fulltimers listed on its roster. Adult Education on the two major

urban campuses employed about 70 fulltime equivalent staff, though its

listed fulltime staff numbered only 35. Alternative Education's

fulltime staff numbered 18, but its fulltime equivalent staff, 28.

None of these Departments counted what was known as "unregistered

work" in their enrolment statistics, so the student numbers were much

higher. (Unregistered work is that done without keeping a register or

entering College enrolment procedures. Statistics for this were
usually collected late in the year.)

The School's policy document describes its working structures.
Staff "work informally in outreach centres and teach on the main
campus. Their timetables reflect a balance among informal
work/organizing, teaching and communicating with the rest of the
College." At that time, the major intercommunciation structure in the
School was described as the "interweaving of departments and area
teams[sic]". Area Teams, though they were not yet established, were
described thus:

> "All Departments of the School are represented on Area Teams
> which are designed to identify and respond to learning
> requirements in specific areas of the city."(op. cit., 84)

"Informal teams", with course committees, were the tier below
Department Boards of Studies in the organizational model of the
School(op. cit., 86)

2.2 The established teams

The School contained three "informal teams" with which this study
is concerned -- Centre, ABE and Outreach. Centre, as its name
implies, managed an adult education centre; ABE ran a programme of
literacy and numeracy classes; and Outreach, externally funded by the
then Manpower Services Commission and not appearing in the School's
policy or statistics, ran a programme of informal literacy and
numeracy classes in community centres.

There was, during the study year, no formal recognition of the
ABE Team, nor any brief except what it wrote for itself. The Centre
Team was tacitly recognised as running an adult education centre, but
nowhere was it given a place in college management or guidelines for
its job or its development. The Centre Team and the ABE Team were
recognised in that, when the conference to agree the establishing of
the Area Teams was held, both were asked to give presentations on
teamwork. The Outreach Team was the only team in this particular
analysis with an agreed brief, which was dictated by agreement with
the MSC. It perhaps was not felt necessary to identify its place in
the College management structure because of its temporary funding.

The Centre Team was founded in 1979; eight of its former members
were distributed among the five teams this study covers. ABE dates
from 1981: originally a dyad, it was formalised upon the acquisition

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of a new member of staff, and added to its membership thereafter.
Outreach was created by funding from a grant obtained by ABE in 1983.
These teams' characteristics are summarised in Table 2.2.1.

The main organizational structure used by these teams was the
team meeting. The characteristics and flavour of these meetings are
presented in the next section in some detail, as these structures were
established in the Department as the new teams were convened.

Team	Members ever serving	Maximum members	Responsi- bility	Classes 1985	Fee income Aut 85
Centre	6-7	7	AE centre	157	10,400
ABE	5-7	8	ABE(city)	42	none
Outreach	6-8	8	ABE(city)	31	none

Centre "the running of the Centre"("Area Teams for the
Education of Adults: Report of the Department of Adult
Education Conference", 20/21st February, 1985. Internal
document.

ABE "to provide opportunities for Bradford adults to
improve their reading, writing, numeracy and
communication skills in a place, time and style
appropriate to adults' learning requirements;
"to help people use these skills for what they
want to do."(notes for the ABE Team's presentation to
"Area Teams for the Education of Adults: Report of the
Department of Adult Education Conference", 20/21
February, 1985. Internal document.)

Outreach "to establish and support basic skills learning
groups in the [local] area; to recruit, train, deploy
and support volunteer participants from the unemployed
to work in these groups."(Contract with Manpower
Services Commission, 29 April, 1985)

Table 2.2.1 Characteristics of established teams with team briefs.

2.3 Using meetings

Every group of people who uses meetings invents for itself tacit
and explicit structures to get what it sees as its business done.
Sometimes the words used are the same as those in formal meeting
structures. For these teams, terms like "chair", "agenda", and
"minutes", were common parlance, though their sense was not always the
same as Parliament's. For example, the minute taker in ABE meetings
was the person holding the minutes book. S/he knew what was on the
agenda so s/he usually listed the next item for the meeting to
consider. In a sense, s/he "chaired" the meeting. Sometimes, a
meeting went into its items in such depth that the agenda seemed to be
abandoned.

In Outreach, "what's next" was typically said by whoever's item

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hadn't been covered as the time allotted to the meeting drew towards
its close. The Team administrator, who had the minutes book, obliged
with the next item. Sometimes an impatient participant in ABE chaired
from the floor in the same way as the "what's next" Outreach member.
In none of these meetings were the minutes ever read out or agreed.
Items from old meetings were sometimes carried forward by the
alphabetically-ordained chair for the Centre Team and the ABE Team's
chair/minuter from the shared convention of starring items left
unfinished at a meeting; items were usually carried forward more
informally in Outreach: whoever was investigating or involved in that
item simply brought it up again.

Team	Agenda during meeting	Chair	Minutes taken by	book	circu- lated
Centre	yes	rotated	rotated	yes	no
ABE	yes	rotated	chair	yes	no
Outreach	yes	none	team clerk	yes	yes(Spr 86)

Table 2.3.1 Conventions used in established teams' meetings during the
study year.

For this study, then, a *meeting* is a regular gathering of team
members organized by means of an agenda, and recorded in minutes.
Regular means at team-agreed intervals of roughly equal
duration(usually weekly or bi-weekly). An *agenda* here means a list of
matters to be considered in the meeting; *minutes* means a meeting
record more or less corresponding to the agenda, typically written
during the meeting, and preserved somewhere known to the team.

The agenda was usually an *accumulated* one. The chair for that
meeting usually asked for agenda items, and they were contributed by
team members there and then. The chair helped the meeting get through
the agenda in all teams but Outreach.

A *minute item* is a numbered entry in a team meeting record. A
minute item was what the minuter thought should be recorded about a
matter discussed. Sometimes decisions were written down, sometimes it
was noted that the matter had been discussed and that was all,
sometimes the item was carried over to another meeting.

The teams had different kinds of minutes items. For example, the
recurring Centre item "programme"(which contained staffing,
facilities, new things, problems, controversies and usually at least

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two decisions) gets set alongside "kissing bush", a report of funny
noises from the shrubbery that the team decided to ignore. The first
is a *compendium* item, and the second an *independent* item. The ABE
item "fieldworker deployment", which each week contained a bit of
training, a bit of agreement about what each fieldworker was to do,
some reference to progress on materials being written etc., equates to
the birth of a baby to one of its members. For the Outreach Team,
whose items were apt to be a bit less all-embracing than the others',
an entire materials van meeting record with other staff, including why
the computers don't work, how to get the van there on time, which
materials should be at which class and whether such informal classes
were of any use to anyone at all sits in parallel to "has anybody got
a tablecloth I can borrow?"

I was not the only one who thought that meetings were important
-- at the end of the study year, about a third of all team members
said that "working with the team" meant meetings, including all but
one of the Outreach Team, and just under half of the Centre Team
members. Atypical as usual, no member of the ABE Team thought working
with the team meant just meetings. The other team members all
included meetings in their definitions of working with the team.

To understand how the meetings functioned, it is easier to work
from example. Here are descriptions of the meetings of Centre, ABE
and Outreach during the study year, drafted by the researcher and
agreed by the teams. The italicised terms are described in more
detail in Chapter 4; for now, they mean what they imply.

Centre meetings

The Centre Team met for between 75 and 90 minutes once a week in
the Spring and Autumn, and about once every two weeks in the Winter
and Spring of 86, as one of the new Area Teams became more active.
When less frequent, their meetings contained more minutes items, as
though there was just as much to do with less time to do it in.
Usually the minutes were taken in a book by one of the members, and
another member chaired.

"If it moves, decide on it" seemed to be the way the Centre Team
dealt with its items. Typically, the member who was to carry out the
decision was minuted by name. Not all these matters were brought back
to the team unless a further decision was to be made, progress

reported, or there had been some problem in dealing with the matter. When pressure was on in Spring 1986 -- with budget cuts and the problems of the relation of the Centre Team to the new Area Team -- the Centre Team made more decisions, and delegated more to its members. A quarter of Centre Team items were matters of *report*; nearly half of them were items that the team made *decisions* about.

About a tenth of the time, the Centre Team *deferred*, or postponed items, and rarely just *received* or *aired* them. It was just as apt to delegate one of its members to *seek information* about the matter as *defer*, *air* or *receive* put together. More than the other teams, the Centre Team referred matters outside the team to the main College, to the Area Team(increasingly through the year) and, as the year went on, to its own members. The Centre Team also tended to do more than one thing about some items -- flurries of activity resulted from matters like the Winter "computer repair" entry, followed by "Again!" and four separate decisions involving five team members and a record search, a re-rooming, a referral to College technicians and a working party. No other team made multiple decisions to such an extent.

Very rarely were Centre minutes unclear about what was done about an item. There were very few items which, once put in the Centre book for the agenda, were ignored in the meeting. Centre also used its minutes book for report-backs and for information for the attention of the meeting more than other teams did.

ABE meetings

The ABE Team met for an hour every Monday morning, and regularly tried to arrange that it didn't have to meet so early. It met more often than Centre, but less often than Outreach. It usually had more items than either, averaging 14 per meeting. It also had more regular agenda items("fieldworker deployment", "programme" and later "Outreach report" were used in this way). ABE also had more long-running agenda and minute items than other teams -- the record is "Yorkshire arts/student writing" which appeared 35 times over the 42 meetings, each time with a different angle to its activities. ABE minutes were recorded in a book by a member who also chaired the meeting.

"If it moves, defer it" is one of the reasons that ABE had so many items in its meetings: about an eighth of its items were *deferred* to another meeting. One member of both ABE and Centre said "Centre

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defers all the interesting things and we(ABE) defer the boring
things." It would never have occurred to Centre or Outreach to
discuss "timetables" nine times in a year, but ABE, with its high
commitment to informal work, not necessarily timetabled teaching,
found it difficult to complete the College-required timetable
form(Outreach didn't have to bother, as they were temporarily funded
non-academic staff during the study year). ABE led the teams in the
number of *unclear* items as well -- about a twelfth of its items were
discussed but the result of the discussion was not minuted.

But whenever possible, ABE preferred to make a *decision* and did
so for about two-fifths of its items. About one third of its items
were matters of *report*, more than the Centre Team but much less than
Outreach. It fell between Outreach and the Centre again in *referring*
items -- this happened about a twelfth of the time.

Outreach meetings

The Outreach Team met every week for between 60 and 90 minutes
late Monday mornings. These meetings went on through the summer,
unlike the other teams', and tended to include fewer items per
meeting. For a while in Spring 85, these meetings included workers
from the mobile resources van which supported Outreach groups, and,
thereafter, usually included a visit from the van coordinator to agree
van bookings. Minutes were usually taken in a book by the Outreach
administrator. From the end of Winter term, though the minute items
did not show it, minutes were written up, typed and distributed.
Thereafter, more minutes items appeared in meetings. About once a
term, Outreach scheduled a longer meeting, called a "planning
meeting", at which it tended to organize its own work and report what
had happened in the next minutes so that there would be a record of
it, though papers were also written.

"If it moves, report on it" seemed to be the Outreach slogan.
More than half its items were matters of *report*. Next best was *a
decision*, which happened about a quarter of the time. It *sought
information* about half as often as the Centre Team did, and was much
less likely to *refer* matters out.

It was not always clear when a decision was made, as the minutes
tended to record "suggestions", "recommendations" or pose questions,
rather than, as the Centre Team did, note that x was decided and y had

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to do it. Outreach also *deferred* items relatively rarely. The
pattern instead seemed to be to discuss it, then bring it up again if
it needed attention. Outreach also tended to *air* minuted matters more
than the Centre Team. Somewhere under 5% of Outreach minute items
were *unclear*, that is, it was hard to work out what was done. This is
higher than the Centre Team, but not so high as ABE.

Summary

There existed conventions for organizing team meetings before the
formal beginning of the new Area Teams. Each established team --
Centre, ABE and Outreach -- exhibited its own patterns of working.
The main structure used was the team meeting.

2.4 <u>Team membership</u>

Centre and ABE grew by internal agreement rather than being
established as part of College structure; Outreach was established
more formally through its relationship with its funding body. For the
Area Teams, there was guidance from the Adult Education Head of
Department: adult educationists, ESOL staff and General and Basic
staff were to cooperate.

> "Provision will be managed by teams of adult education
> tutors, each of whom will bring particular expertise to the
> work of the team and will accept responsibility for
> particular activities as need arises. In the [City] area,
> for example, each team will include ESOL workers and, if
> Section 11 negotiations are completed successfully, ethnic
> minority community workers. General and basic adult
> education will also be represented. The teams will be
> charged with the task of establishing a "coherent and
> comprehensive provision of education for adults" in their
> own districts."(DHB Andrews, Internal document. 21.03.85)

These Area Teams, like Centre, ABE and Outreach, were to take on
the task of what this study, and the Department, calls "managing" an
adult education programme. As individual managers combined to make a
group management structure, their new status as "team members" was
important. As background, then, team membership and its changes are
described for the established teams and for the new teams called here
East and South.

During the study year, people joined the teams, here termed as
"incomers". They also took leave, transferred, or left for good, and
these three groups are termed "leavers". Table 2.4.1 shows that all
teams suffered some membership disturbance.

Centre gained a member, and had an attender for part of the year

who was not a member. ABE gained three members over the year, one of
whom left and returned -- took leave, as it were. Outreach gained two
members and lost two. Since one was a temporary staff member hired
for a specific job, that means Outreach simply lost a member and
replaced him/her.

The Area Teams gained and lost members and, in East, had trouble
identifying which attenders were members. South gained seven members
and lost five during the year; East gained four and lost six(this
includes two Centre team members who in effect took leave, for they
returned at the end of the year, like the ABE member mentioned above).
Four attenders were not considered members of East -- minutes usually
read "together with". Two of these left before the end of the year,
and two remained.

The teams seemed to accept new members frequently. There was no
set size for a team, only arrivals and departures which swelled and
diminished membership. By the end of the year, Centre, ABE, and South
were larger, Outreach the same size, and East smaller, than when they
began.

Team	Spr 85	Plus incomers	Subtotal during year	Less leavers	Spr 86
Established teams					
CENTRE attenders	6	2	8	-	8
not members	-	*1*	*1*	-	*1*
total member places	6	1	7	-	7
ABE attenders	5	3	8	1	7
not members	-	-	-	-	-
total member places	5	3	8	1	7
OUTREACH attenders	6	2	8	2	6
not members	-	-	-	-	-
total member places	6	2	8	2	6
New teams					
SOUTH attenders	9	7	16	5	11
not members	-	-	-	-	-
total member places	9	7	16	5	11
EAST attenders	12	6	18	8	10
not members	2	2	4	2	2
total member places	10	4	14	6	8
TOTAL attenders	38	20	58	16	42
not members	2	3	5	2	3
total member places	36	17	53	14	39

Table 2.4.1 Changes in member places on teams, all teams, all terms.

There were 53 places filled over the year on the teams, most of
them on the new teams. At the end of the study year, after all the

coming and going, there were 39 filled team member places. This
language may sound strange, but there is a reason for it. Some
members served on more than one team. Table 2.4.2 shows which teams
shared members, here termed "overlap"(more detail is in Appendix 2.2).

Teams	Spr 85	Plus incomers	Subtotal during year	Less leavers	Spr 86
CENTRE/EAST	5	2	7	-	7
CENTRE/ABE	2	-	2	-	2
ABE/EAST	2	-	2	-	2
ABE/SOUTH	1	-	1	-	1
ABE/OUTREACH	1	-	1	-	1
SOUTH/OUTREACH	1	-	1	-	1
Total overlap places	12	2	14	-	14

Table 2.4.2 Teams with shared members and overlap membership changes
over the study year, all teams, all terms. (Appendix Table 2.2.1
provides more detail on overlap place calculations).

Membership changed for all teams. It is difficult to say what
effect this had until we know more about what the teams did, and what
they thought about what they did. We will return to the effects of
membership change in Chapter 4. Chapter 3 contains more detail about
how membership change affected data handling. For now, this
discussion moves to team member expectations of what was to come
during the Area Teams' first year.

2.5 Team member expectations

To underpin the discussions which follow, we have considered the
city and the institution in which the teams worked and were to work,
the established teams and how they ran their meetings, and team
membership. Now we report what team members thought about a number of
issues as the study began. The significance of italicised terms will
become clearer in Chapters 5 and 6.

Definitions of adult education: Most team members included in
their definitions aspects of the organization of the adult education
system and adult education's content. *What else* it provides to
learners, its *atmosphere and style*, matters of *teaching and learning*,
who it *serves* and adult education's *status* were raised by some
members. A few were concerned about "bias", mainly with regard to
ethnicity. In general, Area Team members were much more interested in
the *content* of adult education than ABE or Outreach, whose programme
had one basic curriculum. Outreach members were much more interested
in *atmosphere and style* than any other team; East and Centre members

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showed almost no interest in this. South members joined Outreach in a
concern for the *status* of adult education. ABE members joined
Outreach in concern for *style* and *status*. Who the system *serves* was a
characteristic concern of all teams but Outreach.

Issues in adult education: When people analysed their definitions
of adult education themselves, they tended to concentrate on areas
that interested them most. There were people who explored
implications for students and *learning*, and those who speculated about
structural and organizational questions. All teams had people
interested in both sides, though, overall, most were concerned about
learning questions -- why people come to adult education, what happens
in adult education with regard to the teacher's role and the tensions
within the learning situation, and the outcomes of adult education. A
few dealt with issues of management, and more with changing the adult
education system. There were no particularly clear team patterns.

Advantages and disadvantages of teamworking: Mostly, looking
ahead, people imagined that working together to provide adult
education programmes would confer advantages and disadvantages. For
most team members at the beginning of the study year, advantages
outstripped disadvantages, as Table 2.5.1 shows.

East and Centre members, with Outreach, thought that teamworking
provided *member support*, as the fuller Appendix Table 2.3.1 shows.
South members thought that *skills and experience* would be shared,
while East and Centre members thought sharing of information across
areas of work would be an important benefit. Outreach members were
strongest on the benefits of *idea sharing*, though all teams but ABE
thought it was important. In forecasting problems, South members were
most convinced that *time* problems -- one's own time and delay
generally -- would loom. East members foresaw problems in getting
agreement, something that South saw as problems of *individuals* in
teams. Members of all teams found it easiest to think of advantages
of teamworking, though Outreach, South and Centre members were most
convinced of its utility.

```
                HELP                        HINDER

General:   7%                                 1%

Specific:                          ┌──────────────────────────────┐
                                   │Given the time it takes(9%)   │
                                   │                              │
                                   │                              │
                                   └──────────────────────────────┘
                                      ┌---------------┐
                     there is tension ┘
                          among
                             ┆
     ┌─────────────────────┐ ┆ ┌──────────────────────────────┐
     │Benefits of information(21%)│Problems with individuals(5%)│
     │  on areas of work   ┆ │    in teams                  │
     │  in idea sharing    ┆←┤                              │
     │  in sharing skills  ┆ │                              │
     │      and experience ┆ │                              │
     └─────────────────────┘ ┆ └──────────────────────────────┘
     ┌─────────────────────┐ ┆ ┌──────────────────────────────┐
     │Positive team processes(2%)│Negative team processes(13%)│
     │                     ┆ │    things lost               │
     │  roles/division     ┆←┤                              │
     │    of labour        ┆ │                              │
     │                     ┆ │    empires                   │
     │                     ┆ │    agreement                 │
     └─────────────────────┘ ┆ └──────────────────────────────┘
              though         ┆
     ┌─────────────────────┐←┘
     │Team working can yield│
     │   positive effects(21%):│
     │   students/management│
     │   member support     │
     └─────────────────────┘
Contingent: (7%)
Miscellaneous: (3.9%)                        (11%)

Totals: Help(95 responses, 61%)  Hinder(60 responses, 39%)
```

Table 2.5.1 "How do you think team working will help or hinder the
kind of adult education you want to see?". People: 26. Member
places: 37. Responses: 140, with overlap: 152.

Team roles: Members completed R. Meredith Belbin's team role
questionnaire(see Section 1.7). Most saw themselves in teams as
people who worked to help people work together(*team workers*), or as
people who try to work together to the agreed goals of the
group(*company workers*). Some saw themselves as ideas people -- those
who try to see where the group should be going(*shaper, plant*) and seek
resources for doing it(*resource investigator*). A few saw themselves
as evaluators, people who try to see whether the job, whatever it
turns out to be, is done right(*monitor-evaluator, completer-finisher*).
Each group had mostly people who saw themselves as *team workers,* with
a few ideas people and a very few evaluators thrown in. The outreach
specialists had more ideas people among them, the adult educationists
more *team* and *company workers.* No group had people who saw themselves
as *chairpersons* - people who try to make sure that the group works
together to agreed goals in a sensible way.

Relevant experience: Most people thought that experience of

committee work would help them do the job, and a few listed their
previous work as relevant experience. These had mostly served on one
of the established teams, Centre. No one thought that their education
and training would help them. A few people thought that experience of
the women's movement would help. These were all women, and mostly
outreach specialists. A couple of people thought that experience of
team sports would help. These were men, members of one of the new
Area Teams.

2.6 The new teams

The members had their own experience in education and adult
education to work with, as well as the experience of the Centre Team
and the ABE and Outreach Teams. The two new teams, South and East,
began meeting formally in the Spring of 1985, ready for the formal
handover of managership in September, 1985.

Adult education in the new team areas

Each of the new teams already had its own history, for the adult
education programmes in each area had been running for some years,
usually managed by individual parttime heads of centre coordinated by
a Senior Lecturer in adult education and serviced by fulltime subject
specialists. Usually, the programmes were planned in the spring,
published in later summer, and enrolled in the autumn, though
Department vocabulary optimistically called the January term "Spring".
Classes which were still viable by January continued for that term,
and for the shorter April term too. The exception here was Outreach,
which ran Adult Basic Education groups all year round, and ESOL, which
typically took its holidays during cold weather and festivals like
Ramadan appropriate to the Asian clientele it served.

The adult education programmes in area team areas in 1984 are
summarised in Table 2.6.2. ABE and Outreach are not included because
their "programmes" were not planned or advertised in the same
way(Section 3.6.3).

	Classes	Students	% fees remitted	% day classes
Centre	202	1717	47%	76%
South	122	1221	35%	40%
East	79	1518	36%	44%

Table 2.6.2 Basic programme characteristics, East and South areas, 1984.

The enrolment statistics from which the student numbers come are almost certainly lower than the number of students who used the Centre, South and East programmes, because they were collected early in the Autumn. The number of classes were what was advertised in the Department prospectus. All team areas had a relatively high number of students for whom fees were remitted -- pensioners, people on low incomes, ESOL and ABE learners. East and South areas had a sizable evening programme, taking place in schools and College buildings. Centre had a larger day programme, and ran more workshops(sessions with limited teacher time) and day schools. A few short courses were advertised too, mainly in Centre and South. Otherwise, an advertised course ran for a term, and continued for another if student numbers warranted it. At the time, classes were expected to enrol 12 learners to be viable.

The area programmes can be described using categories derived by Graham Mee and Harold Wiltshire in their study of adult education programmes in the Seventies(Mee and Wiltshire, 1978). The City programmes are significantly different from Mee and Wiltshire's curriculum typology, with East and South more different than Centre. The major differences lay in the extent of "other" cognitive skills offered, the number of advertised courses for the disadvantaged(and this was low for the Department, which often did not advertise its outreach and informal groups in its prospectus, relying on local leafleting and contacts instead), the relatively few language courses and the few physical skills for leisure. All programmes were significantly similar to each other when Mee and Wiltshire was used as a basis for comparison. These programmes, and those produced by the teams during the study year, are discussed more fully in Appendix 3.6 and Section 6.4.

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New team histories and problems

The parttime heads of centre, termed centre managers, the fulltime adult education specialists in dress, art, ESOL and Adult Basic Education in the new area teams -- 21 people in all -- soon found that the enterprise on which they were engaged was more complicated than it looked.

East spent the Spring term trying to work out who its members should be, what their policy should be, and what the managerial guidelines within which they would work should be. The East area programme was produced by the parttime heads of centre and the Centre Team, as it had been the year before. The parttime heads hardly attended meetings at all, and were represented by the Senior Lecturer. Centre members were all East members, and had to make sure that they worked as an Area team, not as a Centre team. "East spent all its time trying not to be Centre" said an East and Centre member who was also on the ABE Team. By Easter, the team had reorganised its membership, and, in a new slimmed-down form, waited for September.

South had a different history. Its area-based parttime heads had been meeting with fulltime ESOL and Adult Basic Education staff for about a year -- "growing away like a bit of mould in the corner -- but a nice bit of mould" was the phrase a South parttimer used. It was already meeting frequently, and generally met more often than East. It had begun to develop a way of working, based on what had already run in the area. It was planning its programme and seeking external funding(unsuccesfully) during the convening Spring. To a certain extent, it was already "established". Though it looked well-organized compared to East, its problems were yet to come.

All this activity was made easier because the College in which the teams were sited had a community policy, "responsive to the needs of the community" as well as "stimulating" its "prosperity", as we have seen. This meant that the teams could develop whatever their budgets allowed them to, as long as they could justify it in terms of area need and School policy. There were problems, though, that were to come out as the year progressed.

First, it was not clear to whom the teams as managers were responsible. At different times, the Head of Department of the Department of Adult Education, the Head of School of Adult and General

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Education, and the School Board of the School of Adult and General Education were named. Second, the parttime members of the teams were, in practice, hired from a "pool" of applicants by the Head of School or Head of Department. Although, later in the year, Area Team members sat in on some selection panels, the responsibility for staffing the teams remained firmly in executive hands. Area Team members did interview and appoint parttime teaching staff, in effect delegated to do so by the Head of Department of Adult Education. Third, it was never clear what relationship the ESOL fulltimers or Adult Basic Education fulltimers had to working as adult education managers. The ESOL staff salaries were all underwritten by central government funding which enjoined, at one point, an executive memo precluding them from any work not directly involved with new Commonwealth immigrants. This meant that they could not, whatever the Area Teams decided, do Area Team work insofar as it involved managing general adult education. In practice, this stricture was ignored in East and Centre, where ESOL staff did do general adult education work, and adhered to in South, where ESOL staff communicated as members of the Area Team, but did not do general adult education work.

The Adult Basic Education staff, from the ABE Team and the Outreach Team, had a different relationship to the Area Teams. They were all in a different department of the School of Adult and General Education, and chose to work with the Area Teams to coordinate their adult literacy work with other adult education. Three ABE Team members were full members of the Area Teams, doing Area Team work. Outreach Team members attended Area Team meetings on a rotated basis, and from time to time did Area Team work, though never general adult education work.

The Area Teams took their places as adult education managers in a difficult year. In the January term, College Governers cancelled the May term, and teams were asked to plan a programme for September of roughly a quarter the size of the existing programme. The response to this cut forms part of the story of the new teams' stormy first year. The more enduring part of the storm was staff turnover. Members needed all their joint experience to deal with contingencies that they did not predict.

2.7 Summary

The Department, School and College situation has been described in abbreviated form, along with the existing working strategies used by the established teams and team membership and changes in it over the study year. What team members expected in their year's work has been briefly outlined. The characteristics of the new team areas and area programmes have been described along with some of the problems encountered by the new teams. What work did the teams do during their first year, and how did they judge it?

To understand this, we first look at the methods adopted in this study, from which some of the above statements come. We then move on to look closely at what the teams and the individuals in them thought about what they were doing.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a pattern-seeking approach to understanding both the work of managing adult education and the effects of managing in teams. Evidence comes from the teams through their minutes and from team members. This chapter describes 1) researcher preferences which condition how the study was carried out; 2) the roots of the explanations generated; 3) the related roles of participant and observer in this research and 4) the rules for pattern-seeking adopted here. There follows more detailed discussion of how data was sampled, collected and analysed, supported by appendices.

This research changed many times during the study and analysis periods. Though the preferences, explanations and attitude to participant observation described below remained constant, and the research interest in teams and their working stayed, too, circumstances dictated amending the original data collection and analysis plans. And, as the bodies of data were analysed, opportunities arose which had been invisible during planning. It was thus reassuring to read Helen Schwartzman's description of the research process, quoted in Chapter 1 and repeated here:

> "If organizations act in order to understand what they do, as Weick(1977) has suggested, then researchers must be allowed to conduct research in order to discover what they have been studying."(Schwartzman, 1986, 261)

This methodology chapter thus describes the approach taken to this extended interaction with the plan, the data collection and and data analysis.

3.1 Preferences

Experience in teams has shown me that teams can be, from the member's point of view, a satisfactory way to work. They combine expertise to create something new, and they cushion the personal effects of constantly changing circumstances to which adult education managers have to respond. Teams pool experience so that decisions can be made which might not, in other circumstances, even be considered. Finally, all members acquire a more complex understanding of the organization in which they work which, in turn, affects the expertise they bring to the team.

My training is in American cultural anthropology, an approach to
social patterns which was, twenty years ago, still changing from
recording individual cultures to seeking patterns across cultures.
"Culture" at that time referred to social organization, the rules and
values accompanying it, and, increasingly, the environmental and
economic settings enjoining cultural response, hence the contemporary
interest in cultural change. One of the central problems of studying
modern culture and society was referred to as "unit of analysis".
Lacking a geographically-defined small-scale society on which to
concentrate, anthropologists identified new geographical boundaries,
isolable social structures and ideological systems. Anthropologists
were looking outside their specialism towards Goffman's(1963, 1984ed)
work on values in closed societies, applications of psychoanalytic
theory to myth and legend, structuralism and other fields of study.
This training predisposes to a broadbased, pattern-seeking approach to
data collection and analysis. It also encourages consideration of
people's opinions both as data and as explanation.

Twenty years ago, it seemed to me that researchers did research,
and everyone else did something else. Now, it appears that the rest
of us can learn and convey the results of our learning under various
banners like "reflective practice", "practitioner research", and
"participatory research".

"Reflective practice" is Donald Schon's(1983) name for people
trying to make sense of what they have done professionally, a process
which he says goes on all the time. This is how *Research and Practice
in Adult Literacy*, a British bulletin in adult basic education,
describes this process as applied to learning:

> "Research can be something closer to the everyday
> practice of what we all do as we learn. It involves
> asking questions, trying to answer them, asking other
> people, recording what they say, developing ideas,
> changing them, writing and sharing ideas in many
> different ways. It's looking at learning in a reflective
> and critical way."(1987, 1)

An increasing amount of research is done by practitioners --
teachers on courses, HMI and local authority research appointees are
some that Brian Wilcox(1985) mentions in his BERA Presidential
address. The division between researcher and practitioner implied by
Glaser and Strauss in 1967 in their summary of the jobs of theory in
sociology -- "to be usable in practical applications -- prediction and

explanation should be able to give the practitioner understanding and some control of situations" -- is breaking down. Inglis'(1985) view of knowledge as capital which should be "nationalised" -- apportioned out, not witheld; produced cooperatively and the benefits from it equally shared -- states this unequivocally(*op. cit.*,10-11).

The rise of "participatory research" may make it easier for practitioners and people to understand more about what they do. Participatory research, according to Yusuf Kaasam of ICAE, is

> "...aimed at bringing about progressive social change for the betterment of the poor and the oppressed: it is an approach to social investigation and analysis with the full and active participation of the community in the entire research process; a means of taking collective action for the benefit of those among whom research is conducted; and an educational process of mobilization for development."(1985, 1)

Gordon Bell draws these threads together when he defines "action research", American "interactive research" and (his own preference) "action enquiry" in schools to identify increasing involvement of teachers in joining, monitoring and finally designing research into their own practice(Bell, 1984), which he sees as an empowering process. Lakomski, however, points out a contradiction in interpretivist approaches or, in his words, "cultural analysis" -- Sergiovanni(1984a) suggests that use of grounded explanations can aid administrators to "domesticate" conflicting values while Bates(1982, 83) and before him, Willis(1978, reprinted), in Lakomski's words, "want to empower students(and other oppressed groups) to reflect on and understand their own socio-political position for the purpose of changing it"(1986, 8). Politically attractive research approaches can have effects quite other than those intended.

Colin Fletcher has recently described the participatory nature of practitioner/academic partnerships in research. He discusses the potential for a stance of "equal status" for academic and practitioner perspectives:

> "Practitioners can be economical with the truth, academics can be petty with the inconsequential. The worst that can be said of each perspective is that it sets out to prove what is already believed. The achievement of aligning the two may be, apart from methodological innovations, a serious attempt to avoid the obvious."(Fletcher, 1988, 175)

Summary

Team experience, an anthropological training, practitioner status

and an interest in participatory research biases this study towards an open-ended, pattern-seeking approach which empowers people working in teams.

3.2 Explanations

Thomason relays Schutz's 1958 observation that

"...the constructs of the social sciences are, so to speak, constructs of the second degree, that is constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene."

These actors are seen by Schutz as "moulders of their own social worlds; and it is the task of sociology to understand and analyse how these social worlds are 'constructed'"(Thomason, 1952, 2). Garfinkel's "ethnomethodology", termed the "sociological equivalent of the microscope"(Heritage, 1984, 311), looks closely at what social rules exist and how they are applied by breaking them, for example, by systematically saying "hello" at the end of a conversation. From another perspective,

"man is a form of perpetual motion with the direction of the motion controlled by the ways in which events are anticipated. The ways in which a person anticipates events are defined by his personal constructs. A construct is a way in which some things are interpreted as being alike and at the same time different from other things."(1968, 13)

This is one of Bannister and Mair's descriptions of how people's analyses of the world is modified. Schutz points out that social rules are a legitimate target for study, Garfinkel identifies some of them, and Kelly, Bannister and Mair and others explore how rules emerge and are modified. This can be done because the rules examined are precisely targeted -- Garfinkel looks at customary laws, Kelly and personal scientists at opinions about patterned personal relationships. More open-ended research using methods from anthropology justify themselves similarly, but cast their net much wider to haul in patterns in social life.

Ethnomethodology and its relatives

One of the attractions of "thick" description, as Ryle(1971) and others call it, or ethnomethodology(Bulmer 1979), or ethnographic method(Borg and Gall 1979) or ethnogenic approach(Cohen and Mannion 1980) is that, if done carefully enough, it can yield data without categories or "preconceptions", in Shanin's(1972) terms. That means the researcher can, by careful analysis, come out with a coherent

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picture different from that enjoined by a theory. This allies to
Glaser and Strauss' "grounded theory", which depends on sorting and
comparing categories, then category properties until hypotheses are
reached. And, in an ethnomethodological approach, patternings of
experience must derive their sense from, in Peter Halfpenny's(1979,
800) terms, "explications of societal members' methods for assembling
the sense of ... meaningful actions". The formal properties of
members' construings can be compared with other such systems.

Halfpenny says that ethnomethodology contrasts with approaches
called "interpretivist, phenomonological or hermeneutic" because the
theory in the latter emerges as "cultural rules or norms that
constitute the meaningfulness of interaction"(ibid.). Even
organizations can be seen in this way, in Ribbins' terms, citing
Greenfield(1985, 243), organizations are culturally created and so
should be studied with reference to the intentions of the people
within them, seeing a manager as "active producer of his world rather
than a passive product of it."

It would seem that, for some, an hermeneutic approach stays with
members' understandings, an ethnomethodological approach compares the
formal properties of these members' methods for understanding. An
anthropological approach would do both -- attempt to understand how
members see it, and compare that understanding with others' or,
traditionally, with other models for understanding social life. This
latter approach Halfpenny would call "structuralist, materialist or
realist", and the target of its theory would be the "underlying
structural relations" in social life(ibid.).

Managers' analyses

Part of the analytical focus in management research should be, in
McAuley's terms, "the theories and philosophies of management held by
managers themselves"(1985). More than this, managers' views of the
job they are doing change, and affect what they do:

> "The people who are doing the job, whether it is at the
> coal face or in the branch of a bank, are not actually
> doing what they book says that they should. They may be
> achieving approximately the same results: frequently
> doing it better than the book says, but sometimes
> skipping it and doing it in a slipshod way. But
> nevertheless they have adapted it to themselves, how they
> like to work, how they like to behave, how it looks to
> them and sometimes what they think the organization
> wants. So that, just as the people in a state have a

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> great capacity for getting out from under and finding
> ways round things, so the people in an enterprise have an
> equal capacity for getting out from under and sorting
> things out to suit themselves." (Armstrong 1977, 32
> cited in Stewart, 1982, 2)

Traces of Armstrong's "adaptation" of the job to suit the postholder appear in Weick and Daft's(1983, 74-76) characterisation of organizational *interpretative systems*, paraphrased with selected phrases below. Interpretative systems represent the "process of translating [these] events, of developing models for understanding, of bringing out meaning, and of assembling conceptual schemes". Interpretative systems are visible in "transient examples of shaped behaviour" and, what's more, they modify what they explain -- "interpretations interpret interpretations rather than events". They are like a translation from one language to another which is then tested in action. Interpretative systems are *a posteriori* in nature, action comes before thought. They are quasi-historical, using history to get at causes. They "construct" events rather than "discover" them. Interpretative systems are "a form of punctuation -- they display a continuous flow of events selectively". They tend to be "reasonable, rather than right".

An organizational interpretative system is an analogy. Organizations do not interpret, people do. An individual interpretative system, after Schon(1983), is "reflection-in-action", something that practitioners as disparate as doctors, engineers and managers, do when they work. Thinking and doing, means and ends, are not separate as they are in science(*op. cit.*,68). Reflection in action becomes "knowledge-in-action" if the practitioner "can talk about it" (*op. cit.*,59). A lack of awareness of this process makes "the art of managing mysterious"(*op. cit.*,243), makes it extremely difficult to train new managers(*ibid.*) and can limit organizational learning(*op. cit.*,254). Schon says that, particularly in "situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness and conflict..." the relationship between practitioners and researchers may be changed -- practitioners become researchers(*op. cit.*,308). Schon's suggestions for further research involve practitioners and researchers in new partnerships, combining "observation and intervention"(*op. cit.*,322).

The teamworking literature talks about interpreting too. "Problems with the charter" frequently retards teamworking, according

to the team writers summarised in Section 1.4. This refers to the team brief, or, in Armstrong's terms, "doing what the book says". In more active terms, Handy calls it "identification of team jobs" and refers to the problems multifunctional teams have in identifying what they should do. Another layer of analysis around this same point, from Handy, is "problem recognition", echoing Ackoff's managerial "messes", and to a certain extent, characterisations of adult education managing work like Newman's, where bold choices from conviction order the chaos.

We talk here about what people *think* about what they are doing. The explanations they invent -- interpretative systems -- affect what they do, if Weick, Schon and the teamworking writers are right. Individual interpretations, when teams work together, contribute to the analysis a team uses to understand the managerial world around it. To understand this, we must look at both what individuals in the teams thought, and what the teams thought as teams, if we can find something that represents this.

Methods for managerial work studies

Rosemary Stewart(1982, 97) recommended studies which examine demands, constraints and choices as seen by similar groups in their own situation, contrasting what each group does and does not do, a comparison of participants' views with action. The Armstrong description cited above is from her book on managerial choices -- things managers undertake of their own volition rather than from the job's demands or constraints. In comparing managers, Stewart says that choices show up as differences, demands as similarities.

Mintzberg(1973, 197-8) recommended open-ended studies of managerial work: observation and critical incident were his methodological suggestions. Eight Mintzberg-derived studies are compared and criticized by Gronn(1982), who says that they are time and motion studies tacitly aimed at increasing efficiency/effectiveness. He recommends more detail and less categorization, and suggests that content analysis of conversation would come closer to the meaning of what managers do than counting the number of times they talk. Willower(1983), writer of one of the studies Gronn analyses, supports Gronn's recommendation for more "thick" descriptions of the work of managing, but recognizes, as Gronn

does, that the way the observations are explained will determine their utility. Hill's(1982) criticism of the studies from a Parsonian standpoint(from Willower's description of it) seems to rest on their lack of ideas of "analytical and empirical value, heuristic potential and range of applicability", implying that the results of the studies are not comparable with anything else. Studies of managerial work, like the fields of organizational effectiveness and anthropology, share problems with the legitimacy of their "sensitizing concepts", in Patton's terms(1980, 137), for organizing data collection and analysis.

Summary

Those who study the generation and effects of social rules and those who, broadly speaking, seek patterns from the social scene, though from different academic traditions, both try to understand social life in its own terms. Definitions and divisions of labour in "cultural analysis", to use Lakomski's term, are still being developed. The rules and legitimacies of open-ended research are changing all the time. The relationship between what people think about what they do, and what they do, can be a focus for research.

The actors themselves wear glasses. They assume the existence of the panes of plastic through which they view the world, if they think about them at all. If working practitioners are to be their own social scientists, they need conventions for making themselves more objective, and time and tools for the job. What potential do anthropological methods, particularly participant observation, offer?

3.3 Participants and observers

Bronislaw Malinowski is credited with inaugurating the approach termed participant observation while studying groups in the South Pacific.

> "The anthropological fieldworker... should totally immerse himself in the lives of the people, and that can only be done through months of residence in the local community. Whenever possible the fieldworker should master the language of the people, though much of the behaviour available for observation is non-verbal. Residence in the community ensures... that the fieldworker observes details of daily life and activity enacted by people who have become relatively indifferent to, and unabashed by, the presence of a foreigner."(Malinowski, 1961 in Pelto and Pelto's paraphrasing, 1970,1978ed, 68)

This kind of participant observation describes an outsider

looking in. Rules for its use include a particular kind of careful record-keeping, in which, as far as possible, no assumptions are made and concrete evidence is presented for every assertion, as Pelto and Pelto illustrate in their method text:

"The boy was very uneasy in the presence of strangers"

"In the presence of these strangers, the boy appeared to be very uneasy. He shifted from one foot to the other, stammered while he spoke, and his voice was so low that he could hardly be heard. He kept picking at a scab on his left arm. When the strangers began to walk toward the house, he ran behind the house and disappeared."(op. cit. , 70)

The damage done by the participant observer's own assumptions can be considerable, even if the fieldworker is experienced. Hortense Powdermaker(1967) was one of the first anthropologists to try to use participant observation to examine her own society, in this case, movie production in Hollywood. Among the contending groups were Hollywood writers, who, she says with hindsight, "had let me down because they had not come up to my expectations of professional integrity" as writers. They had sold out(op. cit.,228-9). Much later, in her reflection on anthropological method, she said

"...I think of what the book would have been if some of my involvement had not been hidden, if I had possessed the psychological mobility and the social opportunity to enter and understand all the contending groups, if my value system had not so aggressively dominated the whole study..."(op. cit., 231).

Participant observers already members of the society or the setting they study share the problem of "making the familiar strange", as Sara Delamont(1988, 4) put it in her paper to the British Educational Management Conference. It may make the consequences of "observer effect" worse. Hughes takes this further when he quotes from Hammersley and Atkinson(1983) to describe research approaches which

"seek to come to terms, as has happened in modern physics in the wake of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, with the inescapable fact that the investigators themselves and their methodologies are [an] integral part of the situation being 'investigated'[sic]"(Hughes,et al., 1985, 30),

not only in the social, but in the physical sciences.

Stephen Hawking(1988, 54-6) describes the adjustments made to physics in the wake of Heisenberg -- if measurements cannot be precise enough to base predictions on, then a range of initial measurements can be used to produce a range of possible effects. This is the basis

of quantum mechanics, which has given us the transistor, integrated circuits, and the basis of modern chemistry and biology. Science still works, though it might not look quite so scientific. The contrast here is not so much that of Hawthorne-like experimenter effect, but in the aims of physical and natural sciences as opposed to the social sciences. One could be said to seek reliable prediction, one something altogether fuzzier, for it is not clear in the complex social world we inhabit, what will bear measuring. It is also not clear whether we are studying to get a result, like a better mousetrap, or to pile up understandings until they, in turn can be understood.

This short diversion into explanation in the physical sciences helps us see that observer effect is basic to understanding the results of any research, not just that in the social sciences. It also blurs the distinction, as far as explanation is concerned, between qualitative and quantitative methods, for, wherever a generalization comes from, the same rules of evidence validate it.

Summary

Participant observer describes the status of the researcher in this study, but not the methods adopted. Rigorous participant observation is difficult for parttime researchers. It takes too long to collect the precise observational data, and that much longer to analyse it. The control of "strangeness" to the meanings of behaviours is absent because the researcher is observing his own culture, so bias makes an ethnomethodological categorisation process vulnerable: this may be what Borg and Gall(1979) refer to as "subjectivity" in their list of the disadvantages of participant observation. Third, part of the nature of the anthropological fieldwork process is understanding, and revising understandings, as one observes. Much of the data analysis takes place during fieldwork, as well as after it. For a parttime researcher studying her working context, this means that research insights would inform her behaviour during the study period. This might be good for the teams, but not particularly good for the study. Fourth, models which predict patterns of team activity are potentially useful for understanding this study's data. Some insights from management studies, adult education literature and evaluation studies have been described which

may help to make sense of observations of such a complex set of events. They are also part of the reason for doing the study at all. Comparative analysis on the basis of participant observation, as presented here, is not a process which accommodates happily to explanations outside its own terms, as we shall see.

3.4 Patterns in social behaviour

Researcher preference for participant-based methods meant that study results were to be fed back to team members during the analysis period. Preference for open-ended methods was to result in each data corpus being examined for the patterns that lay within it. Because of the position of the researcher, nested in three of the teams and working fulltime during the research period, classical field-note based participant observation was judged impossible, so data was to be collected at one remove for later analysis.

All this said, the study plan was simply stated in the research proposal: "Relative effectiveness of team management in adult education will be explored in this field study by looking at aspects of the programme produced by working adult education teams -- balance, innovation and collaboration; and by examining the process of producing and running the programme under the headings identification of team jobs, team structures and undertaking team roles; and changes in relative sophistication of member analysis. A by-product of the research will be a description of the job of managing in adult education." This proposal was to be carried out by collecting and analysing data from adult education programmes, from meeting records and tapes and from member interviews.

The methods planned for understanding this data were influenced by Michael Quinn Patton's(1978, 1980, 1981) clear descriptions of qualitative research to evaluate American programmes of various types, and by Miles and Huberman's(1984) text on qualitative data analysis. The analyses throughout were viewed as extended interactions with each body of data so that it could, to paraphrase Miles and Huberman, be reduced, displayed and the conclusions verified(*op. cit.*, 21). Avalos(1987, 19) describes a process very like this as the "hermeneutic circle" -- "what is sought are plainly processes of understanding-interpreting/explaining-deliberating-acting-reflecting rather than what is usually denoted as a movement from a to b, or the

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achievement of an effect". Paradoxically, this describes both how the data was handled, and part of the team process which this research examined in the teams' year -- the team members were, loosely speaking, hermeneuticists, too.

This entwined process is put in perspective by Evans-Pritchard(1981), an anthropological comparativist, not a hermeneuticist. In criticising studies of cultural development and some studies of functional interdependence earlier this century, he characterised the comparative method thus: "A class of facts having been selected for study, the second operation is to reach certain conclusions about them. How this operation is conducted depends on what sort of conclusions are aimed at"(*op. cit.*, 173), or, more cutting still, "the capricious practice of some writers of thinking up some plausible explanation of some social phenomenon and then searching around for illustrations which seem to support it and neglecting the rest of the related material."(*op. cit.*,201)

Evans-Pritchard was not attacking comparative method, but how it, in his view, had been used. The point emerging is his final one -- "neglecting the rest of the related material". At the beginning of any open-ended research process, it is extremely hard to see what relationships will emerge. This suggests a research nightmare -- finding a result that one did not think to collect the data to validate. One is inclined to collect far more information than necessary, just in case. This impulse affects data collection planning. One striking advantage of participant observation is that, as interesting regularities are identified, the researcher can change direction to collect more information. S/he is still among the data, so to speak. This advantage had to be eschewed.

Because relationships are the product of interaction with data, it becomes important to understand where structures for the data come from.

Once the data for this study was collected and analyses completed, it was easier to state where structuring insights came from. The major part of the study interviews -- repertory grids -- were structured by the individual interviewed. The rest of the interview data and the grid element analysis was structured by the researcher, initially by asking the questions and later by her

pattern-seeking analysis of the open-ended responses. The minutes data was structured first by the teams, who organized it into minutes items in the first place, and secondly by the researcher, who grouped the minutes items within and across teams, like with like, until patterns formed. Each structuring process reduced the data so that it might be understood and each was a product of both participants in the research and its *post facto* observer. The use of grid and minutes data meant that structures produced by study participants could be examined, too.

What does "like" mean? In this study, "like" means less different. Once a segment from a body of data is grouped, the grouping is tested by re-classifying another segment until a coding system which appears to work is generated(Cohen and Mannion, 1980). Then, the entire corpus is coded. Pelto and Pelto and Patton, who described this process similarly, suggest that coding be checked by another coder. Since this was not possible, two bodies of coded data were fed back to team members for their comment. A preference thus became useful for checking analyses.

These pattern-seeking episodes are substitutes for the pattern-seeking which would take place in participant observational "immersion" in data, had that been possible. Overall the typologies, or *profiles* representing each body of data, were not "indigenous" but analyst constructed, in Patton's terms(1980, 309). Comparisons are made within each body of data, and across them, to reach some understanding of teams managing adult education. Structures emerging from one body of data corroborated and contradicted another, so comparisons, as used here, both suggested generalisations and tested the data analyses.

Summary

The problem of what data to collect for an open-ended study, given that it was not known what would be significant, and it was not deemed possible to pattern-seek, as a participant observer would, during the study period, was a difficult problem to solve. Insights from the various relevant literatures discussed in the introduction informed the data collection plans, researcher preference openly conditioned the choices made, and the focus on how people explain what they do, as well as what they do, was maintained. Plans for data

analysis after the data collection period required collecting bodies
of information which could be kept separate so that they could be
compared.

3.5 Data collection

> "Groups and organizations need meetings because it is
> through the meeting that the group or organization
> creates and maintains itself."(Schwartzman, 1986, 265)

Common sense suggests that certain events from the behaviour
stream of the teams said more about them than others. Study
circumstances dictated data collection as independent of the
researcher's participation in teams as possible. The original study
plan involved data collection and analysis of team meetings, an
interview with each team member before and after the study period, and
analysis of adult education programmes.

Team meetings contained team interactions, matters of import to
the teams(or not, which is also interesting), vestiges of the teams'
analyses of what was going on around them, member behaviour while
working as a group, and traces of activity outside meetings. Meetings
were a time when the group of people comprising it could be termed a
team. Team meetings were also accessible, so were relatively easy to
identify and record. Meetings, too, would produce their own records,
independent of the researcher's sense of what was going on.

Second, team members were witnesses to what they did. The
problem with involved witnesses is, of course, their bias. What team
members made of it all was deemed an important part of the data. It
could be compared to what teams, through their meetings, thought, and
would be a likely place to see changes that the teams' work produced.

Finally, the teams were expected to produce adult education
programmes -- an array of classes of which local people were to make
use. Mee and Wiltshire's work was available as a benchmark from which
to approach the quality of what the teams produced -- both as regards
curriculum and innovation.

The study's instruments and procedures were designed with these
criteria in mind.

3.5.1 Instruments and procedures

Team meetings were recorded on audiotape, team documents were
collected, and team members interviewed at the beginning and at the
end of the fifteen-month study "year". The single exception to this

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hands-off approach to data collection was a log, completed from time to time by the researcher, listing major events in the teams' ambit. This log was supplemented twice during the study period by mutual interview with the other team member who was in three of the teams. The researcher and her colleague were able, with the aid of a tape recorder, to act as "key informants", or members of a given unit of observation who can report on patterns and events specific to it.

Interviews

Interviews were conducted to the schedules in Appendix 3.2 and recorded on tape. Interview design was based on the person being interviewed defining the content of the interview by using repertory grids. Grids and their use are described in Appendix 3.4. The rest of the interview was kept simple -- only two more questions were asked in the first round, and three in the second. All evoked responses which could be termed "open-ended".

The first round interview began with a repertory grid, in which the team member was asked to list what adult education should be, and then to compare items on this list to each other. Once a picture of adult education as it ought to be was assembled, the interview proceeded to how teamworking would help or hinder the kind of adult education the team member had defined for him/herself. Once both helps and hinders were listed, and both were sought from the team member, s/he was asked how much time s/he thought team working would take and, finally, each was asked to complete Belbin's team role questionnaire. Sometimes this was completed outside the interview, and sometimes completed as part of the interview. A background questionnaire was also completed by each team member, usually outside the interview. Copies of these questionnaires appear in Appendix 3.2.

The second round interviews followed the same format. The second question, on teamworking, was modified to "How do you think teamworking helped and hindered the kind of adult education you want to see?" so that members in the second round were encouraged to think about their experience in teams during the year. The time question was also modified to "How much time did working with the team take during the year?". An extra question was added after the ritual "Thank you very much for taking the time to do this...one more thing. Is there anything else you'd like to say about teamworking during the

year? Anything interesting you noticed?" The team role questionnaire was completed as before.

Repertory grids were used for two reasons. First, completing a grid is a learning experience, as Shaw(1978) points out, and as such allows people to speculate on their own experience. They in effect design the interview themselves, and the terms of the interview are those the interviewee has devised. Second, a grid is generated by a complex procedure, so that mastering what to do takes time, and takes the attention of the person being interviewed away from the interviewer and towards his/her own insights. This was desirable, because the researcher knew most of the people she interviewed very well. Some did confide that they had dreaded the interview because they didn't know what the researcher would think of them as a colleague once they had told all. Appendix 3.4 also describes what people thought of the grids once they were completed.

Questionnaires

The background questionnaire gave information about team member background in an easily-analysed way. Matters of work experience, team experience, and educational background may well have influenced members' teamworking styles in unpredictable ways. The background questionnaire provided this information should it be needed.

The team role questionnaire, used by permission from Belbin, whose work was described earlier, is both a learning experience if a participant has never thought of the many things that have to be done to make a group work, and a research tool. Team role behaviours in the recorded meetings were to be linked to the questionnaire results(preliminary work was done on methods for doing this), and the results of the questionnaire itself, administered before and after the study year, were to show changes in member views of their own participation in groups. Questionnaire copies appear in Appendix 3.2.

Recording meetings

A simple recording sheet was made for taping a meeting(Appendix 3.2). Tape recorders were provided to each team, and team members recorded their own meetings, making out a chart showing where each person was sitting with relation to the tape recorder, and noting who chaired each meeting, who minuted it, and who attended. Latecomers were sometimes entered on the sheet, and sometimes omitted. Sometimes

the meeting recorder indicated subjects which were discussed with tape numbers, but, as the meeting got interesting, the recorder tended to forget to do this. Time of start and end was requested, but not always provided. Tapes were collected by the researcher, and recorded in a tape log with the date and a code number.

After the first few meetings, team members appeared to forget the tape was there, judging from a sample monitoring of early tapes. Sound quality was reasonable, and individual team members' voices could be distinguished, especially with the position chart. One team, Outreach, invented a mock meeting for taping, but soon settled to just turning the machine on and off. It is not known whether the tape recorder was stopped during meetings.

All meetings were recorded in Spring 1985 and Spring 1986. A sample recording from each of the intervening terms was collected, and the Area Teams were recorded from time to time during the intervening terms if they looked to be "interesting". Some meetings outside team meetings were recorded too -- the conference which agreed that Area Teams run adult education and the joint team meetings to agree ways to deal with a proposed cut were taped.

Team documents

Minutes for each team were collected as the terms passed, and checked with the recorded meetings and with the administrator for each team at the end of each term of the data collection period. The teams which kept their minutes in books(Centre, ABE and Outreach) were relatively easy to copy. The two Area Teams' minutes were collected by the researcher and key informant, and checked by the administrator for each team.

Other team documents were collected from the researcher and key informant's team files, and assembled by the team administrators for a double check. Only correspondence was omitted from this collecting.

Study log

Throughout the study year, the researcher wrote down what seemed to be important events affecting their teams or their context. No set calendar was adopted for this, though it often took place on a Sunday when the events of the week were pondered and study record-keeping and filing was done. Sometimes it was written when the researcher was told something about one of the teams by a colleague. The longest gap

in the log was four weeks before Christmas, 1985, otherwise, the
longest gap was two weeks. Once the data collection period was over,
study analyses were recorded in the log.

The field log was transcribed in December, 1986, when identifying
material was taken out. At that time, this was noted about the nature
of the log information:

> "What went in the log was of course affected by the
> things I thought were important and affected me
> emotionally, as I was most interested that the teams
> work well, and develop some form of working that would
> allow them to continue as managers. Sometimes things
> happened that made me so angry that I forebore to enter
> them when they occurred..."

Record-keeping

Each team member was assigned a number, and that number was used
to refer to him/her in all transcriptions and files.

The interviews were recorded by note-taking, on tape and on the
questionnaires completed by team members. These were stored in files
as they were collected, identified by team member number only.

The meeting tapes were entered weekly in a tape log, and numbered
chronologically. Team member interview tapes were also entered in
this tape log with the date of interview.

All activities to do with the study were recorded in the study
log, including write-ups of meetings with study supervisors and
problems with record-keeping.

3.5.2 Data collection calendar

Data was collected during five terms in 1985 and 1986 from the
February 1985 conference which agreed the Area Team structure to the
end of Spring term, 1986. Interviews took place mainly in Spring 1985
and Spring 1986. Members joining the teams were interviewed as they
joined. Meetings were recorded during the two Spring terms, with
samples taken in the intervening period. This is set out in tabular
form in Table 3.5.2.

All team members who were interviewed during the study year up
until Spring 1986 were termed part of the Round A interviews. The
second interviews, those of Round B, all took place in June and July
1986.

Month	Events	Interviews	Recordings C	A	O	S	E
Dec 84	East and South agree to research						

Winter, 1985

Month	Events	Interviews	C	A	O	S	E
Jan 85							
Feb	team conference						
Mar	interviews begin	8					
(Subtotals)		*(8)*					

Spring, 1985

Month	Events	Interviews	C	A	O	S	E
Apr	C, A, O agree research; E, S re-agree	10	2	3	3	1	1
May		3	4	2	3	4	1
June			4	4	4	4	2
July			1	1	2	-	-
(Subtotals)		*(13)*	*(11*	*10*	*12*	*9*	*4)*

| Aug | 85/86 adult education programme published | | | | | | |

Autumn, 1985

Month	Events	Interviews	C	A	O	S	E
Sept			1	1	1	1	-
Oct	new member interviews	2	-	-	-	-	2
Nov	"	1	-	-	-	-	1
Dec							
(Subtotals		*(3)*	*(1*	*1*	*1*	*1*	*3)*

Winter, 1986

Month	Events	Interviews	C	A	O	S	E
Jan 86			1	1	1	1	1
Feb	new member interviews	2	2	-	-	1	1
Mar	"	2				1	2
(Subtotals		*(4)*	*(3*	*1*	*1*	*3*	*4)*

Spring, 1986

Month	Events	Interviews	C	A	O	S	E
Apr	new member interviews	6	1	3	4	2	1
May			2	1	1	1	2
June	re-interviews begin	12	3	4	5	4	3
July	"	19	-	2	2	-	1
(Subtotals		*(37)*	*(6*	*10*	*12*	*7*	*7)*

| Aug | 86/87 adult education programme published | | | | | | |

			C	A	O	S	E
TOTALS		65	21	22	26	21	18

Table 3.5.2: Data collection calendar. Key: Centre(C), ABE(A), Outreach(O), South(S), East(E)

3.5.3 Modifications to data collection

Plans for taking this opportunity to study teams in action included looking at individuals, at individuals working in teams and at what teams produced. This meant analysis of the interviews, tapes, documentation and programmes produced by the two new Area Teams. Procedures for analysing these bodies of data were roughed out before the study year, and the data collected on the basis of these plans. Changes in individuals' views of their work in adult education and of teams were to be chronicled from the interviews. Individual behaviour was to be observed at one remove in team meetings, and preliminary work was done to understand how Belbin's team roles could be discerned in action on the tapes. Agendas were to yield the teams' identification of their jobs as adult education managers. Traces of collaboration were to be followed through the minutes teams produced.

The two adult education programmes were to be evaluated using Mee and
Wiltshire's classification for a view of balance and innovation in
adult education programmes.

Additional teams included

South and East's agreement for the study was sought and gained in
December, 1984. Then, in March, 1985, as the study log reported

"This Thursday's meetings of East and South will have
invitation for interviews over Easter along with the
December paper for new team participants. Consulted
with T11[an East member] about new members joining
[East]. Talked to T12[a new East member] re research.
T11 and I both think T12 and T13 will refuse to
participate..."

Two members of East declined to be interviewed. It became clear
at this point that no one was sure who were to be considered team
members, especially in East. Everyone had a different opinion. To
make matters more confusing, the Centre Team was meeting with East
during the first part of the term. The interviews began as planned,
and, in case East found it impossible to participate, the ABE and
Outreach Teams were asked to join the study, "at least for this
term"(study log, 16.4.85).

By 26 April, 1985, East was deciding whether to record meetings
for the study at the beginning of each meeting on the ground of
"inhibition of discussion by tape and the problem of not really having
a [team] brief...Outreach, ABE and Centre happy to do it."(study log,
26.4.85). The data collection plans were modified to include
interviewing, recording and collecting documents for five teams, not
two. East finally allowed recording of its meetings by tacit
agreement.

Additional interviews

The preliminary list of team members obtained by consulting the
teams and the Head of Department included eight for East and six for
South. This situation soon changed, for both teams were enlarged
through Department and team decisions. Even if the study had remained
only with the new teams, the sample would have grown with new members,
for 13 people entered these two teams alone. As new members joined,
they were interviewed. Instead of fourteen interviews in Spring 85
and fourteen again in Spring 86, twenty-one people were interviewed in
Spring 85, thirteen more added during the year, and thirty-one
interviewed as part of the second round in Spring 1986 -- sixty-five

interviews in all. This was a larger sample than that planned for.
Appendix 3.1 explains methodological aspects of changing team
membership more fully.

Changes in climate

We have already discussed the differences between adult education
in its decade of expansion in the Seventies and the successive
contractions of the Eighties. The Education Reform Act, too, and the
move towards a more vocational orientation for general adult education
meant, in the UK at any rate, that standards and judgements of quality
were likely to be different at the end of the Eighties. "Efficiency"
and "effectiveness" developed different meanings.

Attitudes towards the usefulness of teams, too, changed during
this period, marked for this researcher by the publication of Kanter's
The Changemasters, in which participative, team-based industrial
organization was deemed the way to adapt to changing business
circumstances. The productiveness of European and Japanese team-based
approaches to worker participation achieved, if newspaper coverage is
to be believed, a higher profile as the United Kingdom prepared to
enter the European Economic Community.

This kind of outside influence cannot help but affect a piece of
open-ended research on teamworking effectiveness. The meaning of the
changes became clearer during the data analysis period, and modified
what was done to understand the team meetings, interviews and adult
education programmes.

Summary

This field study grew with the addition of three teams -- many
more team members had to be interviewed, more meetings recorded, and
more documents collected. Membership change meant that new members,
too, were interviewed during the study year, adding to the data
available. Finally, changes in attitude to adult education and to
teamworking affected not so much the data collection, but the plans
for analysing it. It is to this that we now turn.

3.6 Data analysis

Data analysis was to be done in two stages. The first was
understanding the information -- reducing it to a state from which
comparisons could be made. The second stage was, once all the
information was organized, comparing team member opinion, team

activity and team product over time.

Another set of modifications to the study plans during the study
year arose from events outside the control of the teams -- the team
budget was cut while the 1986/1987 programme was being planned, and
responses to this cut took up planning time. It appeared during the
year that the programme was altered by the teams to classes that would
enrol well, not necessarily classes which would reflect team analyses
of area educational needs. This meant that any programme analysis
would measure team response to a cut budget, not the result of a year
of working as a team to understand an area. Though the programme
analysis could still be done, what it represented for the study
altered.

The more or less symmetrical study structure of individual
opinion, individual action in meetings(team roles), team analysis of
team jobs from agendas and programme analysis looked less sensible
than it had in the planning stages. The study data analysis plans
were modified. First we discuss the data samples used for analyses,
then the analysis schedule, and finally the methods used to understand
each kind of data -- tallies, open-ended questions, questionnaires,
repertory grids, minutes and adult education programmes.

3.6.1 Samples for analysis

Given changes circumstances and the indicators for effectiveness
to which the study was committed(Section 1.7), modifications were made
to the analysis plans.

Bodies of data

At this point it became clear that there was an opportunity to
look at change not just in individual opinion in the first and second
round interviews, but at change in how members of five teams organized
themselves to do their work. In addition, three of the five teams
were established already, that is, they were used to working together
to manage, so whatever patterns of teamworking they exhibited might
show characteristics different from the two new teams. Not least, new
members joined, something that the team literature says affects teams.

Comparisons within data sources became possible because of the
amount of data available, and the planned comparisons across data
sources rather too big to attempt. Transcription and analysis of so
many taped meetings looked impossible. The changes in sample sizes as

new teams and individuals entered the study, and the loss of adult education programmes as ways to compare the teams' "product" reduced the data corpus to the 65 interviews and questionnaires and the documentary and taped evidence from meetings.

Though this section is written chronologically to reflect analysis plan changes, clarity demands that identification of what were eventually the bodies of data for comparison is necessary. Briefly, then, the bodies of independent, comparable data are summarised in Table 3.6.1.1.

		When analysed		
	Round A	Round B	First Comparison	
OPINION DATA				
team roles	8.86	8.86	8.86	
definitions of AE	8.86	10.86	10.86	
advantages/disadvantages				
of teamworking	8.86	9.86	10.86	
time	8.86	4.87	4.87	
working with the team	8.86	4.87	4.87	
issues in adult education	7.88	8.88	8.88	
MINUTES DATA	Spr85	Autumn	Winter	Spr86	First Comparison
Outreach/Centre	7-8.87				8.87
Outreach/Centre/ABE	8.87				8.87
Outreach/Centre/ABE					
recategorisation	9.87	9.87	9.87	9.87	9.87
South	21.1.88	21.1.88	27.1.88	6.2.88	7.2.88
East	21.1.88	21.1.88	27.1.88	5.2.88	7.2.88
PROGRAMMES	1984	1986	First Comparison	
	12.88	12.88	12.88	

Table 3.6.1.1 Bodies of data compared in this study with analysis dates.

Member opinion data

In Section 2.4 we discussed the complex membership of the teams, describing people joining and leaving, taking leave, and holding more than one team member place. Now the implications of this for the methods adopted in understanding the opinions members gave in their interviews are explained.

Table 3.6.1.2 summarises the situation on a page. Reading from left to right, we see the members who began on the five teams, members who entered(the *incomers*), those who left(the *leavers*), and those still in service as the study year ended. We begin this short discussion with the "Total to interview" line below the table, which looks as though 58 people were interviewed in the first round(Spring 85 and Incomers) and forty-two in the second. This was not the case.

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Table 3.6.1.3 shows how many interviews were actually used as data -- 34 in the first round and 30 in the second.

Overlap: There were 9 overlap places in spring 1985 and two among the incomers(Section 2.4 and Appendix 2.2). Overlap meant that one interview could be counted more than once, for every team in which that person served(here we assume a member serves a team when s/he occupies a place on it, no matter how many other teams s/he is on). So we obtain 11 bodies of interview data in the first round, and 11 in the second by counting overlap members more than once, and do not have to interview them again for each team on which they sit. This reduces the number of interviews, and increases the amount of opinion data in the analyses.

Leave/transfer: Four people, as we explained in Chapter 2, left during the year and returned. They were Spring 85 members, and incomers, and leavers and Spring 86 members. They are deducted from Table 3.6.1.2 as incomers and leavers, as we move towards the number of interviews actually conducted and analysed.

Attenders only: These, as the key says, are people for whom a minute or study log entry records that, though they attended, they are not members. There was one putative incomer in Centre, and four in East. An inspection of attendance figures helps us here, for we have to make a different decision for each attender. If an attender came regularly, s/he could be said to affect the work of the team. By regular, we mean 60% of the meetings which s/he could have attended, judging from when s/he first became an attender. Using this criterion, we see that the East member who attended Centre(T15), and the two East attenders in Spring 85(T24R, T36R) did not go to meetings often enough to meet the criterion. The two attenders who were incomers to East(T40, T41), however, did. Though I could not have known it when they entered East in January(I accepted East's view that they were not members), they do meet the attendance criterion. Hence, they were not interviewed in the first round in error, and were included in the second round. They are the "regular attenders" who are added to the Round B interviews just above the total line for Round B.

Refusals not already deleted: The two Spring 85 attenders discussed above in fact "refused" to participate in the study.

("Refused" is a technical term -- one declined to participate quite
cheerfully, and one did not reply to my request.) These two incomers
were not counted as members anyway. Two Spring 85 attenders refused
on the grounds that it was too early to study the team -- it should
have a brief and a way of working before anyone studies it. This was
sensible grounds for a refusal. The third refusal was an attender for
only two meetings. S/he said that since s/he had only been there for
a short while, s/he didn't think it was worth his/her participating in
the study. His/her judgement, like those above, was accepted as
sensible. These latter were deleted just before the "subtotal to
interview" line in Table 3.6.1.2, as they were members who did not
participate.

Omitted/included in error: In the ebb and flow of events over
the study year, I forgot to interview an incoming member of South.
S/he was incorporated into the second round interviews. Another
member who left East was interviewed in error in the second round --
this is why, though there were 65 interviews conducted(Table 3.5.2)
only 64 were used.

By the end of the study year(Table 3.6.1.3), there were 34 first
round interviews and 30 second round interviews. 27 of these people
were interviewed both at the beginning and the end of the study year.
Seven were people who left during the study year, so could only have
been interviewed in the first round. Three were errors -- the two
East attenders who attended often enough to be, for the purposes of
this study, members, and the omission in South.

For data analyses, then, team member opinion was compared by
grouping the responses for a team, and counting it as the views of the
members of that team. When opinion is presented, the table or chart
usually mentions how many responses were grouped, and how many members
produced them. The phrase "with overlap" means that a person's
responses are counted in all the teams s/he is on; "without overlap",
that each person's responses are counted only once.

The implications for understanding team member opinion are quite
other, however, for only East and South had members without overlap,
that is, an independent membership. Centre and East had the most
shared members, and this increased as the year went on. ABE
overlapped with Centre and East most strongly, but contained a member,

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too, who served on both South and Outreach. This was borne in mind

when team member opinion data was compared.

Team	Round A Spr 85	Round A Incomers	Round A Leavers	Round B Spr 86
C	09,14,35, 10,11,22	08,[15]	none	09,14,35,10, 11,22,08,[15]
A	06,09,20 35,21	29,/04/ (21)	(21)	06,09,20,35, 21,29,/04/
O	06,16,18, 19,37,17	31,32	17,32	06,16,18, 19,37,31
S	01,02,03,06,27,38 /04/,05,07	39,25,42, 26,30,33 34	/04/,05, 07,26,30	01,02,03,06,27,38, 39,25,42,33,34
E	09,14,35,10,11, 08,15,12R,13R 23,[24R],[36R]	28R,22, [40],[41] (10),(11)	12R,13R,23 [24R],28R (10),(11) [36R]	09,14,35,22, 10,11,08,15, [40],[41]

Total to interview	38	20	16	42
overlap	-9	-2	-0	-11
(leave)/transfer/	-0	-4	-4	-0
[attenders only]	-2	-3	-2	-3
refusals(R) not already deleted	-2	-1	-3	-0
Subtotal to interview	25	10	7	28
omitted in error	-0	-1	-0	-0
Round A interviews	**25**	**9**		
regular attenders				+2
Round B interviews				**30**

Table 3.6.1.2 Members interviewed by team with adjustments for
overlap, leave, transfer, attenders only, errors and refusals. Key:
09 - team member number; () - three left and returned; // - one
transferred from one team to another; [] - four attenders only
recorded as non-members; R - five refused to participate in study; 42
- three were omitted in error. Two were regular and frequent
attenders of East reported during the study year as non-members.

	Round A Spr 85	Round A Incomers	Round A Leavers	Round B Spr 86
Round A Interviews	25			
incomers-leavers	+2			
Repeated interviews	**27**			**27**
leavers			7	
error				1
regular attenders				2
One round only			**7**	**3**

Table 3.6.1.3 Repeated and one round only interviews

3.6.2 Analysis schedule

Handling information from different sources about the same

complex event stream required planning so that analyses from one

source of data would not affect another until comparisons were

consciously drawn among them. Into consideration also came the

constraints imposed by parttime research -- holidays were used for the
major pattern-seeking operations, and termtime for more administrative
and bibliographical work, including drafting and writing. Table
3.6.1.1 summarises the analysis schedule discussed below.

First round interviews were transcribed during the study year
itself, second round interviews during that summer holiday. Analyses
of member interview responses about the advantages and disadvantages
of teamworking, the time people expected teamworking to take,
definitions of adult education from Round A grids, the team role
questionnaire results from both rounds, and background information was
completed by September 1986 at which time it was returned to the teams
in the form of a report-back. This elicited some responses, mostly
that what was said about the teams and team members was not
inaccurate.

Every effort was made to analyse each body of data separately.
This was most cumbersome for the interview data, for each part of it
for each round was analysed independently(the exception was the team
role questionnaire, which could not be affected by a categorisation
process, as it was already categorised). Thus the definitions of
adult education for Round A were analysed in early August, 1986,
advantages and disadvantages of teamworking before the study year were
analysed in mid-August, the Round B advantages and disadvantages in
early September, and the Round B definitions in October, 1986(though
this meant that the results were not available for the reportback to
the teams that autumn).

During the academic year 1986/87 the rest of the interview data
was compared. A short paper was delivered to a group of headmasters
on the definitions, advantages/disadvantages, time and team role
results, demonstrating, to the researcher's initial dismay that the
data was interesting, but the conclusions unclear. This was
uncomfortable at the time, but showed that the analyses were, at least
at that stage, not affecting each other unduly. Parts of this
methodology were presented to fellow research students at a lunchtime
seminar at the Polytechnic supervising this research; some criticism
of this study's dismissal of participant observation as a method for
one's own working context was made. Observations from both
presentations were absorbed into approaches to the research.

The summer of 1987 was spent analysing the meeting data, working from a classification of minutes items rather than agendas, as had been planned. The agendas were found to be too fragmentary to trust without recourse to the meeting recordings, and this was adjudged too complex to undertake.

The minutes analyses were a compromise. Transcribing the meeting tapes, even if a sample were chosen, was too much work for the time available. It was reluctantly decided that the tapes would have to remain untouched, and the study depend on documentary and interview evidence. The methods for the minutes analysis were established in spring and summer 1987 for ABE, Outreach and Centre, and the results written up and given to these teams' members in September, 1987. Responses to this were, again, mainly that the observations about the teams were not inaccurate, with the exception of one Outreach member, who commented fully on the assumptions behind the study. Two major points made were that 1) what at the time looked like effective organization could be termed inflexibility; and 2) what looked like ineffectiveness could be organizing to support team members. His/her comments were incorporated into understanding the minutes of the two Area Teams during the Christmas holiday, and into the comparisons among teams and information from different data sources. During the summer/autumn, too, the Association for Recurrent Education's response to the Education Reform Bill was co-edited(Jackson and McMahon, 1988)

At Easter the following year, statistical procedures were assembled and computer spreadsheets devised to further compare the minutes data. This analysis was completed by Spring, 1988, and a paper accepted for an international conference of adult educationists(McMahon, 1988a, Annexe A), again before conclusions were clear. Attenders judged the imaging technique used reasonably effective for presenting the work of the teams. A version of the paper was published in a UK adult literacy bulletin(McMahon, 1988b, Annexe B), and a training course for ABE managers designed with colleagues and run under RAC/ALBSU sponsorship.

The last summer for analysis was spent not on adult education programmes as originally planned but on understanding the repertory grids. The grids were more accessible than the programmes, and it was thought they might produce team member views of how effectiveness

could be evaluated. They were also the part of the study from which most team members requested feedback.

The cut programmes were judged to be more appropriately part of the background to understanding the teams than indicators of effective team analyses of their jobs. As a check, a version of the programme analysis was done over the Christmas holiday, 1988. Comparisons based on Mee and Wiltshire's results proved to be very difficult because of the change in adult education since their data was collected in the Seventies. This is described more fully in Appendix 3.6.

Major attempts to relate analyses to each other were made at four points during the study analysis period -- before the report-back to the teams in September, 1986(part of the interview data), before the headmasters' seminar in spring 1987(all of the interview data), for the international conference in spring 1988(minutes data) and, finally, during the writing up of the thesis in Spring, 1989.

Summary

Team member opinion data was analysed and compared first and checked with both team members and outsiders. Minutes data was examined next, and checked back with three of the teams and outsiders. The grids themselves and the programmes were analysed with no criticism other than that of the key informant and research supervisors.

3.6.3 Analysis methods

Pattern-seeking in data is a ticklish process. In addition to keeping the categorising procedures for each kind of data and within each kind of data apart as described above, "memoing" and a set of rules provided checks when analysing.

"Memoing" is Miles and Huberman's(1984, 69-71) term for recording pattern-seeking in qualitative data. It is a sort of field notes kept during the analysis process, a time when patterns can sometimes develop a life of their own and ideas which structure data can become more real than the data itself. This is the whole point of analysing qualitatively, but if it happens while patterns are emerging, the results of one analysis cannot be compared to another: they are in essence the same analysis. These memoes were kept in the study log and, as they become more complex, in a regular "memoes" file on each analysis disc(the effect of computers on this research is discussed

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below).

Scrupulous data handling in pattern-seeking was necessary, especially with regard to looking for what appeared to be new patterns in data already analysed. The working rules were these(written as commands for obvious reasons):

    1 use words, not numbers.
    2 retain early names for things and hyphenate or you'll forget
      where your idea come from. They'll control you, not you them.
    3 never change anything unless you write down why you did it in a
      place you can find it later.
    4 write down the source of the data for each analysis on the page
      you do the analysis on.
    5 draw conclusions from an analysis just after you do it because
      you'll never be so close to that data again.
    6 trust your close to data judgements more than your later,
      pattern-determined judgements.
    7 never change a code. You'll regret it. What look like
      mistakes are close to data judgements.

Some of these commands to myself are about record-keeping, and some about wider issues of understanding data as it becomes more and more organized. Bearing in mind that all the sources of information were analysed following these rules, we turn to the different kinds of data examined.

Tallies and open-ended questions

The team role and background questionnaires were pre-structured data. The results were grouped, and summarised in tabular form. The question about the time teamworking will and did take was treated similarly, though the definitions of "working with the team", which some team members volunteered as part of their response to how much time they thought teamworking would/did take, were also compared as below.

The open-ended questions on how teamwork helped and hindered "the kind of adult education you want to see" yielded a number of different points from each member. Once the points in each response were identified, they were separated and compared to other team members' responses in that round. This yielded a set of categories which characterised each round. Team member responses were compared to each other by assembling a "profile" for each team's responses and for all responses. The profile of each team could then be compared to any other team and to the all teams responses, and the first round of interview opinions to the second. This analysis is referred to as "advantages and disadvantages of teamworking" and is reported briefly

in Section 2.5 for the first round and Section 5.2 for the second, though the results are referred to elsewhere in the text.

A similar procedure was used for sorting and understanding the constituents of the list each member produced about adult education for the repertory grid. In the same way as described above, these responses were grouped into larger categories, named appropriately, and used to create both all teams and individual team profiles for both interview rounds. This analysis was called "definitions of adult education", for the element lists were adjectival descriptions of what each member thought s/he was engaged in. For an explanation of how overlap affected these analyses, see Section 2.4, Section 3.6.1 and Appendix 3.1. The results are reported in a preliminary way in Section 2.5, though the main discussions are in Sections 5.1, 5.3.7 and 6.2.

These results were checked with team members from all the teams studied. Though the comparisons were relatively undigested at the time, no one objected to the way their team's opinion was represented. Appendix 3.3 describes these content analysis procedures in more detail.

Questionnaires

The background questionnaire provided useful information about the skills and experience team members might bring to their work. Responses were tallied and tabulated for future reference. Some results are reported in Section 2.5.

The team role questionnaires scores were added up and scores for each role for each team member tabulated. These scores characterised the team role skills available to each team, and to all the teams. More productive for understanding what each team had at its disposal, however, was a visual inspection of the scores to decide, for each team member, what his/her most and least preferred roles were. The results of these analyses appear in Section 5.3.9 and its appendices. These results were considered indicative more than definitive, for one testic statement for the *shaper* role was omitted from all questionnaires in error, making team member preferences in ideas roles slightly less likely.

Repertory grids

There are established procedures for understanding grids. Most grids structure individual opinion much more than those in this study. This is done, for example, by giving each person a list of characteristics of adult education, so that later work with these characteristics, called "supplied elements"(Fransella, 1981), can be systematically compared, That option was not taken in this study, for the reasons outlined above. Instead, each grid was inspected to understand the meaning of the "clusters" produced by comparing the individual lists, and the core "sense" of each set of comparisons thereby generated. Once this sense was established and named, the grid comparisons were treated like the other open-ended responses. There was no opportunity to check these results with team members, though the key informant did make critical comments, as s/he did throughout the analysis period. This is referred to as the "issues" analysis, or as "members' analyses of their own definitions", because members identified the issues in adult education and in their work which concerned them at the time the grid was administered. A more detailed discussion of grids, their general uses and their function in this study is included in Appendix 3.4. Much more thorough analyses can be done than those attempted in this thesis: these await a further literature survey to evaluate both methods and potential patterns.

Minutes analysis

Examining meeting records posed problems. 1851 separate minutes items were considered by these five teams over the four terms of the study year, far too many to make sense of at once. So each minute item was classified into a category. The categories came from trial classifications of a few meetings of the two established teams expected to be most dissimilar, Outreach and Centre, then, after a revision of categories, a reclassification of the established teams as a check(this was reported to these teams, with the results summarised above) and in preparation for coding the two newer teams, East and South. More detailed discussion of the minutes item analysis appears in Appendix 3.5. Comparisons were made in two major ways -- by imaging and by statistics.

Miles and Huberman(1984) mention imaging as a technique for

understanding field notes in their *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Their
images sounded rather more geometric than those used here -- one of
the problems with images is that they themselves carry value
judgements, a point discussed further in Section 8.3. Nevertheless,
they give names to patterns which otherwise might vanish along with
the insights into team behaviour they suggest.

In comparing minutes data profiles, a total of seven statistical
measures were tried. Popham and Sarotnik's(1967, 1973ed) interactive
text was most useful in this respect. Measures which were rich in
correlations were adopted as ways to understand the data -- chi square
and Pearson product-moment correlation were most productive and
easiest to calculate on a primitive spreadsheet. Three non-parametric
measures -- Spearman Rank Order Correlation Coefficient, Mann-Whitney
U Test, Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks Test -- were discarded
when it was found that the more easily calculated measures above
produced much the same results. Both t test and Critical Ratios were
calculated, but very rarely did they point out any significant
differences. The distributions of items in the study categories
appeared to be too irregular for sense to be made of them using these
latter two tests.

Adult education programmes

Aside from the problems of what the programmes, given the cut
budgets, represented, problems were encountered in analysing them.
Neither the innovation index nor curriculum comparisons could be used
as intended. This is described in Appendix 3.6. Mee and Wiltshire's
categories were instead used to provide a picture of the kind of adult
education in which the teams were involved. The method used was
counting up the courses in the prospectuses for 1984 and for 1986,
classifying them in the suggested curriculum categories, then
comparing the distributions of South, East and Centre to each other
and to Mee and Wiltshire's 1974 distributions.

Outreach and ABE programmes could not be analysed in this way, as
the curriculum was adult basic education, not the varied alternatives
proposed as the adult education curriculum by Mee and Wiltshire. ABE
learners did swell the ranks of students from "disadvantaged" parts of
the local population, and these student numbers were included in the
Area Team programmes, rather than including ABE and Outreach as

Independent teams for this analysis.

Personal computers

This amount of data could not be sorted, nor patterns responsibly sought, nor such a welter of calculations used for pattern seeking if computers were not available and easy to use. Their utility for this study took five forms.

First, the interview data could be typed once, then sorted into bodies of data for analysis automatically using simple programming skills. This meant that the big content analyses could be sorted as though there were individual cards to put on piles. The major advantage of doing it on the computer was that no item of information was lost -- what had been in the interviews was transferred to the information being analysed.

The second advantage of personal computers for this kind of study was in economy of record-keeping. Unanalysed data could be kept separate from that which was categorised, without cumbersome photocopying and boxes of pieces of paper.

Third, computer spreadsheets made statistical calculations much easier. Once a distribution within one of the bodies of data was achieved, statistical comparisons could be made easily. The reduction of the repertory grids, in particular, would not have been possible without computer assistance. The net result is, for people under time pressure, more space to think about comparisons.

Fourth, over three years of trying to understand complex data, the database facilities offered by the computer were irreplacable. It is very easy to forget, for instance, no matter how good record-keeping is, that an analysis has been done. The analysis list for this study contains more than 200 separate entries. The fact that they can be printed out in date, or content or alphabetical filename order makes it much easier to build on previous work.

Finally, the fluency in recording insights that qualitative research demands is made simpler if ideas can be recorded where they belong. Being freed from the linearity of paper means that thoughts about an analysis made three years ago can be recorded where they logically fit, rather than taped or stapled into a ledger or filed in a loose-leaf binder.

All in all, even the most primitive of home computers makes the

process much simpler for practitioners who want to conduct research projects. This may affect, in the future, sources of information about social life, as practitioner and participatory researchers will be able to present their data and conclusions easily, independent of the research establishments which provide support to fulltime researchers.

3.7 Summary

In this necessarily complex methodology chapter, the assumptions behind the study have been aired, the implications of some ways of explaining social behaviour have been explored, and the problems of participant observation examined. Because this was conceived as an open-ended investigation, with only some areas of interest and putative data collection and analysis strategies planned, it was necessary to explain in some depth the changes affecting data collection and data analysis, and the efforts made to keep bodies of data independent and to check results as they emerged.

What we may now call the opinion data -- definitions of adult education, advantages and disadvantages of teamworking, the time it might and did take, working with the team, and issues in adult education(members' analysis of their own definitions) -- we can now combine with the team role information to characterise what members of each team thought. The minutes analyses will give us some understanding of what the teams did. In this comparison lie the major conclusions reached, for circumstances prevented any sensible measure of what the Area Teams produced, in a conventional sense, during the study year. Their programmes -- and each team produced one -- are only a minimal measure of their working together. The detailed information on how they worked which comes from the minutes analysis offers much richer temptations, for in it appears something of the ways groups of people make sense of their working context.

The rest of this thesis follows the teams during a year of working. First, the results of the minutes analysis yield a sense of what the teams did and the changes in it. Second, the opinion data offer what team members saw as effective teamworking and adult education: they did not meet their own criteria. Third, the external indicators for effectiveness outlined in Section 1.7 -- balance, collaboration, innovation, identification of team jobs, team working

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structures, team role adoption, members' analyses -- are examined to
ascertain whether the teams met effectiveness criteria identified in
the adult education, management and teamworking literature. Fourth,
the teams' definition of what their work was, and how it changed over
the study year is viewed as an interpretative system, which, too, can
be judged as effective or not. Finally, future areas of research that
this thesis implies are suggested, and some ways that teams and
individual managers might act to profit from the results of this study
identified.

CHAPTER 4
THE WORK OF MANAGING ADULT EDUCATION

4.1 Introduction

No one doubts that managing is work, and hard work too. It takes time, energy and effort. It comes in short bursts, it is varied, and a lot of it is new. It links organizations with the world outside, and it struggles to make the world inside a more orderly one. We know all of this, but the nature of managerial work itself slips and slides and oozes between our fingers.

Managing work is hard to define, hard to see and very hard to study. The opportunity the teams provide us is therefore a precious one. We can look at what each team thought it was doing by reading their minutes.

Minutes are a short cut. We do not have to itemize member activity -- be it conversation, different telephone calls, lists of different meetings, visits to the loo. We do not have to rely on one person's records -- those we are examining are the agreed record of a group of people. The decision about where one activity stops and another starts is made for us -- the minutes are all divided into minute items. And, because the minutes were kept as they happened, we have some control over selective memory -- we know about the first and the fifteenth fee system discussions as well as about their upshot.

The disadvantages of using minutes are many, too. First, minutes are not managerial behaviour, but reports by those who behave. When we talk about what these team members did as managers, then, we are talking not about their managerial actions, but about what they thought the teams ought to know about them. Second, the minutes do not necessarily even stand for the work the teams did, rather the work they talked about doing. Finally, these analyses are measures of what, not of how long. Even though we may use the word "time" for convenience, no measure was taken of how long meetings took, or how much time in a meeting the discussion of a single minutes item lasted. All minutes items are equal before this analysis.

The content of each minutes item, its source, whether it was new to the team considering it or not and what happened to it were examined in the minutes analysis. Chapter 3 contains the methods used

to understand the minutes. Whenever possible, detailed commentaries
and statistical comparisons have been placed in Appendices. In this
discussion, after defining our terms in the next section, we go on to
examine similarities among the terms and teams in the study.
Thereafter, we discuss differences, and then some sources of
difference.

4.2 The basis of the comparisons

To understand what these managers did, then, we look first at
what they reported they did during the study year -- for convenience,
we call it the "content" of managing adult education.

Because collaboration is important to good adult education
management, and probably other management, too, we also look at where
minute items seemed to come from. If we know that, we can say
something about whether the teams were interacting with the world
outside their setting. This is the "provenance" or "source" analysis.

The variety of managing work shows up in team minutes not only in
the content and source of minutes items but also in the number of
matters discussed which were *new* to the teams -- this gives us some
idea of the complexity of events during the year. The *status* of a
minutes item was termed *new*, *follow-up* to *new*, and *maintenance* . The
first term of the study was used to identify *new* items.

Finally, we look at how the teams dealt with minutes items -- "so
and so to report back by next week" is an example of how minutes items
were disposed of -- the "disposition" or, in more positive terms, the
"action" analysis. This is as close as we come to decision-making in
its conventional sense. Different teams had different preferences for
organizing themselves at their meetings, as we have seen in Section
2.3. Here we concentrate on the patterns across teams that dealing
with minutes items suggest.

Because season may be important to the vigour and intensity of
adult education managing work, we look at the minutes items by time of
year. Because each team had a different brief, we also examine
minutes items for each individually. These different perspectives are
referred to as the "time" and "team" analyses compared to their more
comprehensive versions, the "all terms" and "all teams" analyses.

Each analysis contains statistical comparisons. To look for
differences, we use chi square, comparing each term's and team's

distribution for each category set to the all terms, all teams totals.
This shows us which terms, or teams, were different from each other.
To look for similarities, each term and team was compared to each
other term or team using a Pearson product-moment correlation. The
Pearson yields a score which is treated here as a measure of
similarity. The statistical results are presented in Appendix 4.2,
and referred to in the text in a non-technical way -- the words
"significant" or "significantly" mean that the difference or
similarity was unlikely to be due to chance, that is, its supporting
score is significant to at least $p<0.05$.

Five appendices support the statements made. The first, Appendix
4.2.1, contains plain numbers of meetings and minutes items. The
second, 4.2.2, contains the Appendix Tables supporting the content
analysis, and those ensuing support the source(Appendix 4.2.3),
status(Appendix 4.2.4) and disposition(Appendix 4.2.5) analyses. An
explanation of the form of these appendices precedes them.

Because it is very hard to understand collections of categories
out of context, Appendix 4.1 contains a sample week from late in the
study year in which minutes items and the categories into which they
were placed are presented in detail.

4.3 Similarities

In their minutes, team members reported what they worked on, here
called "content". They usually recorded where the content came from
-- its "source". Internal evidence characterised the "status" or the
"newness" of the content, and minutes usually mentioned what was done
about the item -- its "disposition".

4.3.1 Content

Planning involves looking forward -- seeing what might be done.
All the teams did a lot of this -- overall it was the largest category
into which minutes items fit. This is reasonably exciting, at least
for an adult education manager who is apt to think of him/herself as
"always reacting" to what happens, for planning is predicting and the
teams did a lot of it.

Facilities, staff/ing, external events, training, publicity and
students were the "work" categories which appeared when all the teams'
minutes were looked at together. Full definitions of these and other
content categories appear in Appendix 4.2.

The teams also worked out *how* to do things. This appeared to
take the form of *procedures* -- times of meetings, statistical reports,
how to organize matters of administration. *Procedures* was second only
to *planning* and *facilities* in the teams' work over the year.
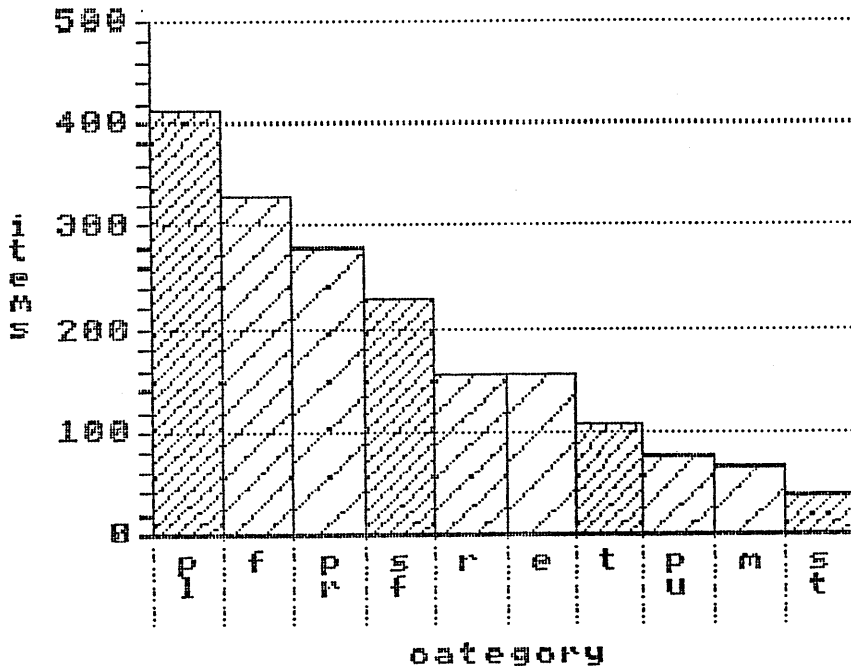
Key
planning(pl): investigation and development.
facilities(f): buildings, equipment, room use, learning resources.
procedures(pr): ways to get things done(including teamworking).
staff/ing and staff(sf): hiring, problems, firing, etc.
external events(e): not intrinsicially part of a team's activity.
training(t): organization and delivery for parttimers/members.
publicity(pu): matters taken up to get the provision known.
miscellaneous: unclear items and oddities.
students(st): individual learners/student associations.

Figure 4.3.1.1 Distribution of minutes items in content analysis
categories. All teams, all terms. Total items = 1851.

Sometimes, in meetings, matters arose whose essence was not
planning, not *procedures* and not one of the work categories. It was,
instead, a *report* -- keeping in touch with what happens outside and,
often, inside the team.

Interestingly, if we combine all the minutes items -- the total
"work" undertaken by the teams during the study year -- we find, no
matter what the term, roughly the same amount of meeting activity in
each category. Terms, all in all, were significantly similar to each
other as regards content(Appendix Table 4.2.2.2). Teams were
different, though, as we shall see later.

Because all the teams did work in all of these categories during
most terms, we suggest that the content of adult education managing is
planning, facilities, procedures, staff/ing, reports, external events,
training, publicity and *students.* Dealing with matters in these
categories are part of the demands of the job.

4.3.2 Source

More than half the minute items came from team members -- they
were *internal* to the teams. 13% came from managers above the teams in
the college, or from students, teachers or others with less authority
than the teams. 28% of all minutes items came from *outside* the teams.
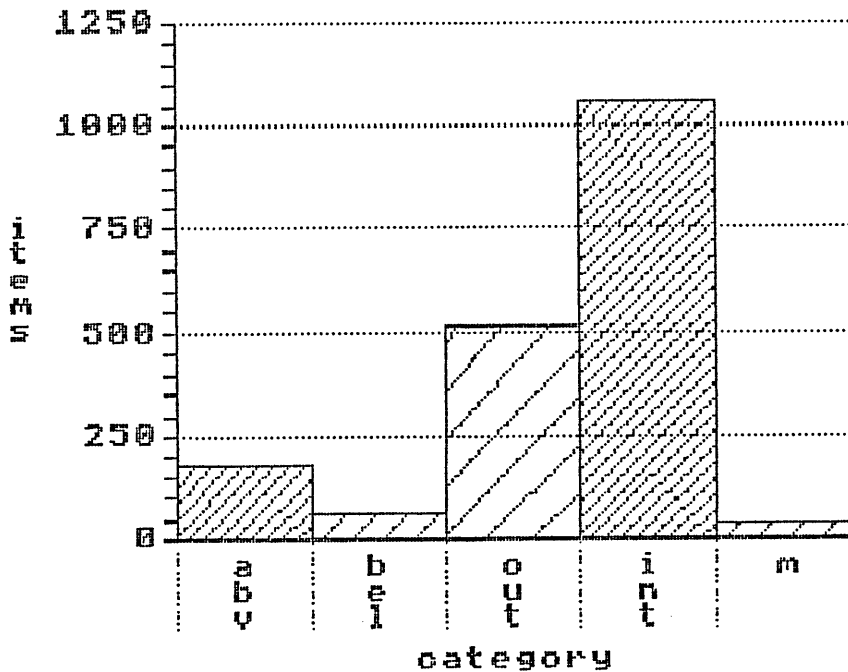
Key
above(abv): from managers with more authority than the team's.
below(bel): from those within the team's area of responsibility.
outside(out): from people or organizations not members of the team,
  including the rest of the College.
internal(int): from a team member and not clearly from another source.
other(m): source is unclear.

Figure 4.3.2.1 Distribution of minutes items in source analysis
categories. All teams, all terms. Total items = 1851.

No matter what terms or what teams we consider, these percentages
remained significantly similar(Appendix 4.2.3). This suggests that
wherever adult education managers function, they can expect something
under a third of their work to be from outside their managerial
setting and their own initiatives. Whether they want to or not, no
matter how isolated they feel or are accused of being, adult education

managers would appear to interact with the outside.

4.3.3 Status

The five team managers, in most terms, dealt with new matters about a third of the time(Appendix 4.2.4: the different term is discussed below). For another third of the time, they were following up new matters, and the final third was maintaining -- doing things they had done before.
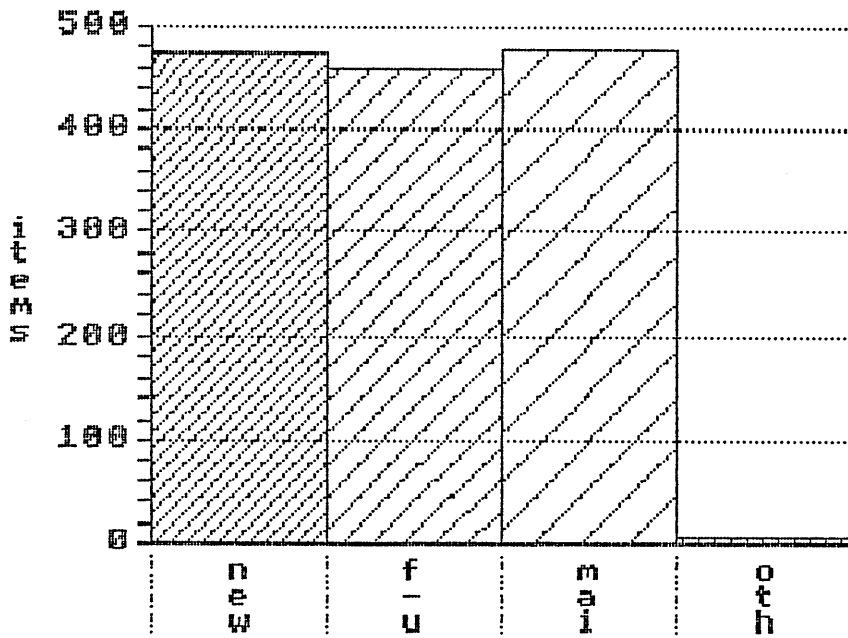
Key
new: items which have not been dealt with before.
follow-up(f/u): items in which the team works on new items.
maintenance(mai): items which occur regularly.
other(oth): items whose status is not clear.

Figure 4.3.3.1 Distribution of minutes items in status analysis categories. All teams, all terms. Total items = 1851.

Minutes from the first term of the study were used to define the *new* -- in ensuing terms, if a minute had not appeared before, it was classified as *new*. The statistical comparisons with this smaller body of data were not significant, though the Pearson term pair scores were high for the latter three terms, and significant when all term pairs were included(Appendix Tables 4.2.4.5-6).

This suggests that wherever adult education managing is done, and no matter how chaotic it may feel to a manager, about a third of it will be predictable -- matters a manager has understood at least once before.

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4.3.4 Disposition

The five teams shared their ways of dealing with matters arising in their meetings(Appendix 4.2.5). All teams preferred to *act* or to *decide* on a matter when at all possible; for about 40% of items, a decision of some sort was made. This decision could be to delegate the job to a member or to a working group, to inform someone, to agree a team position on a matter -- any of a number of things. What matters is that the teams much preferred to get rid of matters arising in meetings, hence the name for the analysis -- disposition.
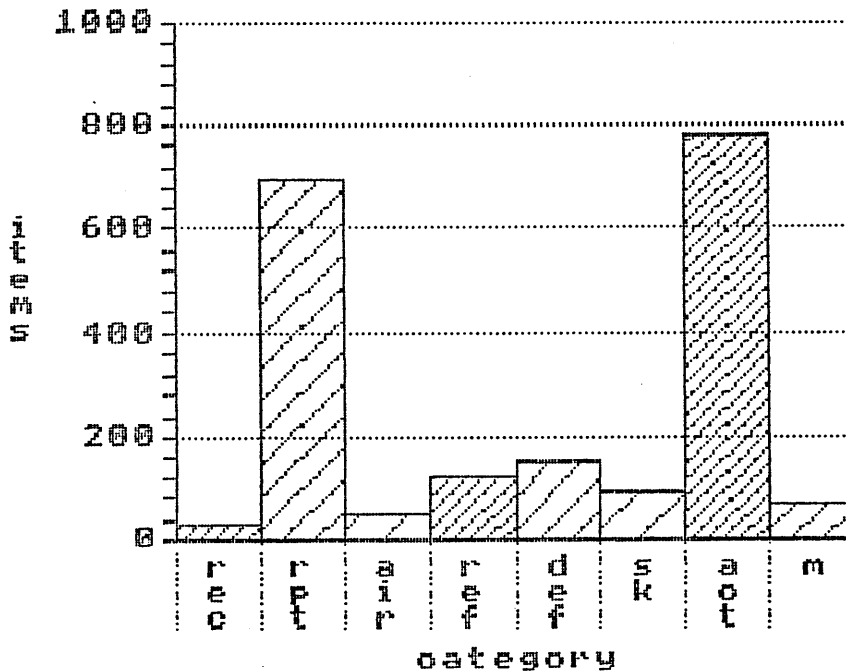
Key
receive(rec): the item appears in the minutes.
report(rpt): the item is information; no decision is necessary.
air: the team talked about it but didn't do anything.
refer(ref): the team sent the item somewhere else.
defer(def): the team postponed the item.
seek information(sk): the team undertook to find out more.
decide/act(act): the team worked out what to do about it.
unclear(n): no disposition could be deduced from the minute.

Figure 4.3.4.1 Distribution of minutes items in disposition analysis categories. All teams, all terms. Total items = 1851, total dispositions made = 2005.

Items were dealt with in other ways, though. Sometimes the teams delayed an item -- they *deferred* it. Sometimes they *referred* it elsewhere, if they thought someone else could make more sense of it. Sometimes they decided to *seek information* before making a decision; this happened often enough so that it was deemed different from *decide* when the minutes were analysed. *Refer, defer* and *seek information*

were alternative to the action choice which all the teams preferred.

Teams had ways, too, of considering matters with no particular result -- sometimes they simply *received* a matter, sometimes they listened to a *report,* and sometimes an item arose that was simply *aired.*

It is almost as if the job demanded a repertory of responses to what went on, and all teams met the challenge with the same array of conventions. The use of these choices varied significantly little with the season. Teams did differ in the conventions they preferred, however, as we shall see later.

4.3.5 A null hypothesis

Before we claim these similarities as incontrovertible demands of the job, we should test them. These five teams should show similar patterns for at least three reasons: history, setting and internal communication. First, these similarities could have stemmed from Centre's six-year history of working as a group. All teams had former members of the Centre team in them, so ways of working could be passed on. Second, all teams worked in the same setting and were subject to the same pressures. It would be surprising if they did not show similarities. From outside, they could have been seen as one big team managing adult education provision -- an adult learner, certainly, could be pardoned for not caring much about how things were run as long as his/her course appeared and ran smoothly. Third, the teams were in touch with each other, and East and South, at least, read each others' minutes. Content and ways of working could be transferred in this way. All teams except East and South shared at least one member -- there was substantial overlap. Ways of dealing with business, for instance, could be suggested by a member bringing a pattern from one team to another.

None of this explains why the proportions of new items or of items from outside were so similar. We may wish to accept these as characteristics of adult education managing, particularly since they are partially supported by the studies of Mintzberg and Stewart.

We next, then, try to invalidate the content and dispositional similarities by looking for differences among the teams and among the terms of the study year. If substantial differences exist, we might suppose that there is some justification for believing that the

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similarities are due to something besides what the teams had in common. This is the null hypothesis, a convenient convention used in statistics, in which a likely result is stated. If differences from this result appear, then the null hypothesis is disproven.

4.4 Differences

The teams differed in the content of their work, in its newness in a special sense, and, to a limited extent, in the conduct of their meetings, of which the disposition conventions were a part. There were differences, too, in the amount of work they appeared to take on. The easiest way to explore these differences is to take their common-sense determinants, one by one, with evidence from the minutes, bearing in mind that, in this discussion, "what the teams do" means the content of the meetings as seen through the minute item analysis, term by term and team by team.

Five teams and four terms makes a twenty-cell matrix. The movement of the ten content analysis categories within the cells of the grid elude understanding because there is too much to remember. To assist our understanding of these differences, we first characterise the work the teams took on as shown in the content categories, using images to help.

4.4.1 Differences among teams

The images overleaf are assemblages of circles. The circles were drawn to represent the percentage of minutes items in the category depicted. Any category with less than 10% of minutes items in it was eliminated, so the images stand for the bulk, at least 75%, of that team's work. These images appear in Figure 4.4.1.1.

In support of the images are three statistical comparisons referred to in the discussion in a non-technical way. The first is the all teams, all terms chi square, which compares a team's distribution of minutes items in categories to the distribution for all teams over all terms -- the year's work(Appendix Table 4.2.2.8). The second is the own totals chi square -- each team's distribution during each term is compared to its own all terms totals(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9). This shows a team's variation from its own overall pattern. Third, each distribution is compared to others in an analysis using the Pearson product-moment correlation(Appendix Table 4.2.2.10). The Pearson tells us which teams'(or term's) distributions

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are like each other, while the chi square looks at differences.

CENTRE

ABE

OUTREACH

SOUTH

EAST
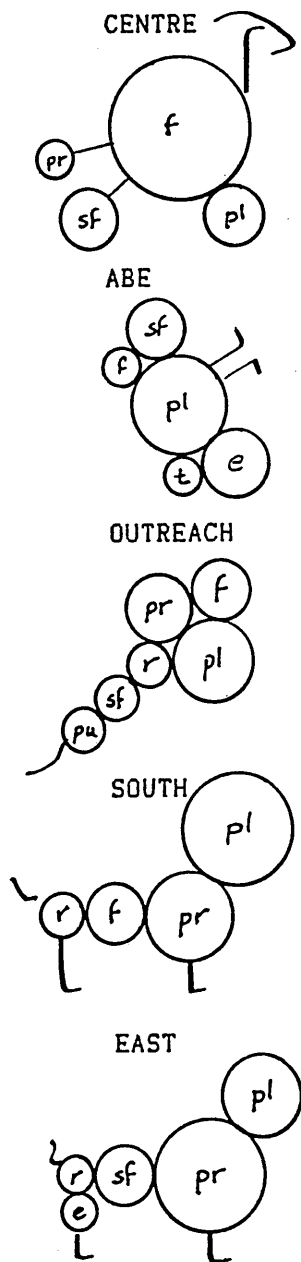
Figure 4.4.1.1 Imaged distributions of minutes items in content analysis categories by team. Key as Figure 4.3.1.1. Total items = 1851.

The Centre tricycle, mostly *facilities*, is pulled by a *planning* wheel and supported at the rear by *procedures* and *staff/ing*. The tricycle vividly shows the commitment of the Centre Team to the adult education building it ran. Centre took less of an interest than other teams in activities suggested by the other categories. This image is supported by the all terms, all terms statistical comparisons --

planning, procedures and *external events* are all significantly low, and *facilities* almost absurdly high.

The ABE flying bug moves its fat *planning* body by flapping *staff/ing* and *facilities* wings on one side, and *external events* and *training* wings on the other. The bug suggests a balance between maintenance(*staff/ing, facilities*) on the one side and what might be termed development on the other(*external events, training*). It probably doesn't fly very well without both wings. The flying bug, too, is supported by the all terms, all terms statistics -- *facilities* and *procedures* are significantly low, *external events* and *training* significantly high.

The Outreach tadpole's three-part head of *facilities, procedures* and *planning* is driven by a flapping tail of *reports, staff/ing* and *publicity*. The tadpole gives the impression of a little of a lot of things -- the rest of the teams only showed circles for four or five categories, while Outreach distributed its efforts over six. This impression is partly supported by the result of statistical manipulations -- the combined category *publicity/miscellaneous/ students* is significantly high(with *publicity* the high percentage), and *external events* significantly low when compared to the work all teams took on during the study year. Other categories are distributed normally for these teams.

Centre, ABE and Outreach are termed the established teams -- they were in existence before the study year began. None was significantly similar to another -- each had its own characteristic distribution of content categories. South, too, had been meeting in embryo for about a year before it was formally established in September of the study year along with East, the newest team. Both were Area Teams, that is, they were responsible for developing and running programmes in geographically-determined sections of the town.

The Area Team poodle has a *planning* head, a proud *procedural* chest and a *reports* rump. What links the forequarters to the hind depends on the team -- South's body is *facilities*, East's, *staff/ing.* East's thigh is *external events*; South's would have been *staff/ing.* The statistics support this -- South and East are *planning, procedures* and, increasingly over the year, *reports* teams and are usually significantly low on *training* and *external events*.

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Images do have their limitations. To test this, each team was diagrammed in others' images. The results were usually absurd -- South diagrammed as ABE flies in a circle with a single *facilities* wing, East diagrammed as Centre is a tricycle with three wheels but nothing to perch on. Centre as Outreach produced a sinking tadpole with a huge, overbalanced *facilities* head and only one tail section. There was one exception -- Outreach looked like a poodle with a less pronounced chest when diagrammed as South or East. Outreach's even distribution of its work across categories meant it could provide both a *staff/ing* and *facilities* torso at the expense of *publicity*, in which only Outreach showed substantial interest.

4.4.2 Differences among teams across terms

Mixing these metaphors show us what the images highlight -- the nature of the balance of the categories in the work of a team. The balance is what we look for over the terms of the study year in Table 4.4.2.1 overleaf by comparing similar and different terms and each team's total by term to its own all terms' total.

The Centre tricycle may lose the odd wheel, and sometimes more than one, but it never relaxes its emphasis on *facilities*. Sometimes, notably in Spring 1985, the first term of the study, it plans more than usual. This first term was the one time when attention to *facilities* was below Centre's normal, and *training* activity rose. Certainly this term when paired with others, showed itself less similar using the Pearson comparison which points to significant similarities. Centre's second odd term was Spring, 1986, when, though *facilities, procedures, external events* and *publicity/miscellaneous/ students* were more or less normal, *external events* rose, and attention to *staff/ing* decreased.

ABE's other category interests are distributed around *planning.* For ABE, this the the equivalent to the position of Centre *facilities.* The balanced bug is only there for the first half of the year -- ABE is unusual in that it admits other categories during the year(*reports* and *procedures*) and loses its balance in Spring, 1986, when it flies to the right -- less *training* and more *external events* anchored by a new tail of *procedures.* Nevertheless, the category distribution does not vary significantly over the year when chi square is used, though the term pairs Spring 85/Winter and Spring 85/Spring 86 are the least

similar in the Pearson comparisons(all other term pairs are significantly similar).

CENTRE

Spring 85   Autumn 85   Winter 86   Spring 86   All Terms

14.36**   4.48   10.61   15.98**

ABE

Spring 85   Autumn 85   Winter 86   Spring 86   All Terms

7.94   1.13   9.51   6.58

OUTREACH

Spring 85   Autumn 85   Winter 86   Spring 86   All Terms

8.41   6.85   7.26   9.19

Key

pl: planning
f: facilities
pr: procedures
sf: staff/ing
r: reports

e: external events
t: training
pu: publicity
m: miscellaneous
st: students
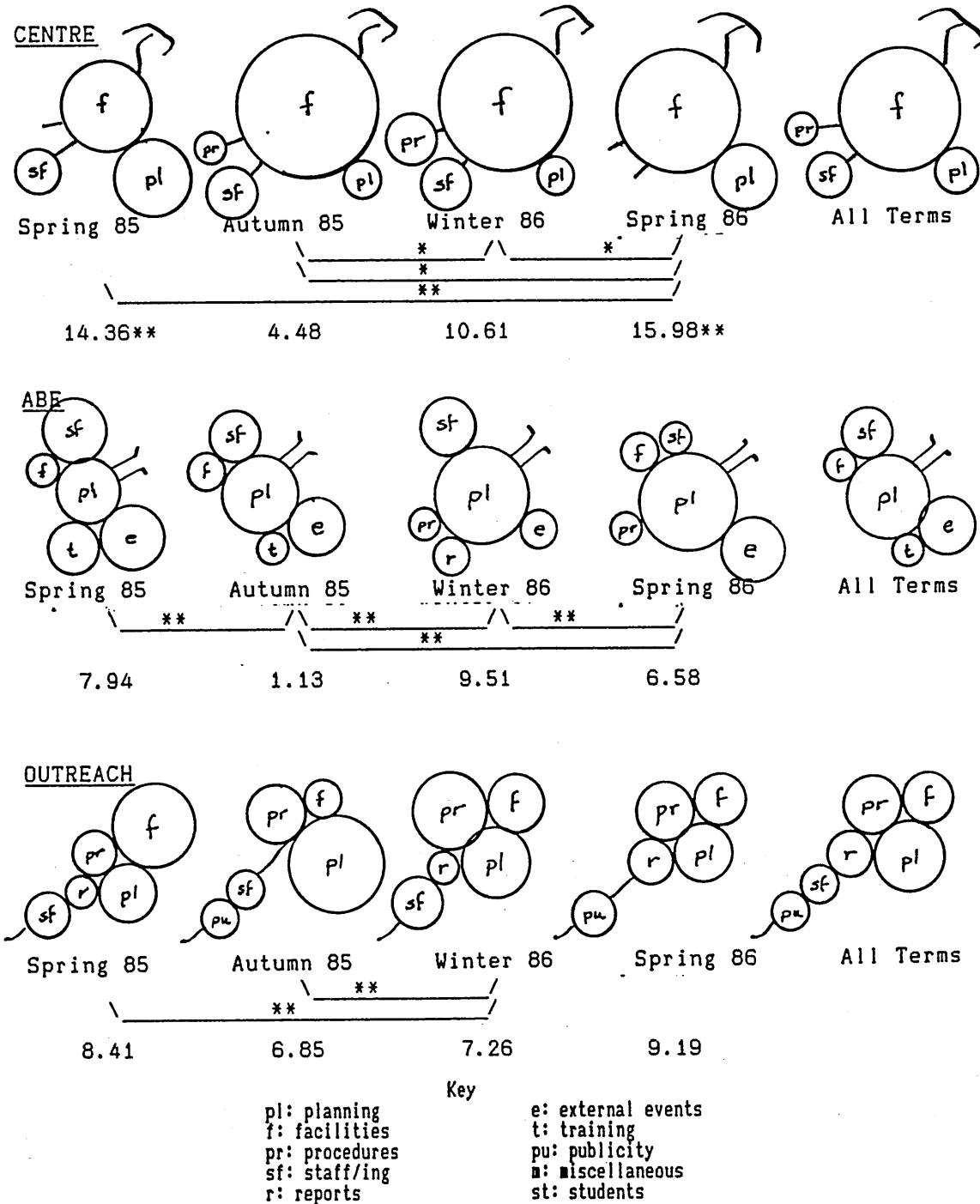
Figure 4.4.2.1, part 1. Imaged distributions of minutes items in content analysis categories by team and term with measures of term similarity as shown by the linkages under the images(Pearson, Appendix Table 4.2.2.10) and difference as shown by each distribution's measured difference from its own all terms distribution(chi square, Appendix Table 4.2.2.9). Key: * = p < .01, ** = p < .05. Total items = 1851.

SOUTH

Spring 85   Autumn 85   Winter 86   Spring 86   All Terms

22.26*   7.55   36.57*   12.66

EAST

Spring 85   Autumn 85   Winter 86   Spring 86   All Terms

46.97*   6.91   10.72   8.94

Key

pl: planning   e: external events
f: facilities   t: training
pr: procedures   pu: publicity
sf: staff/ing   m: miscellaneous
r: reports   st: students
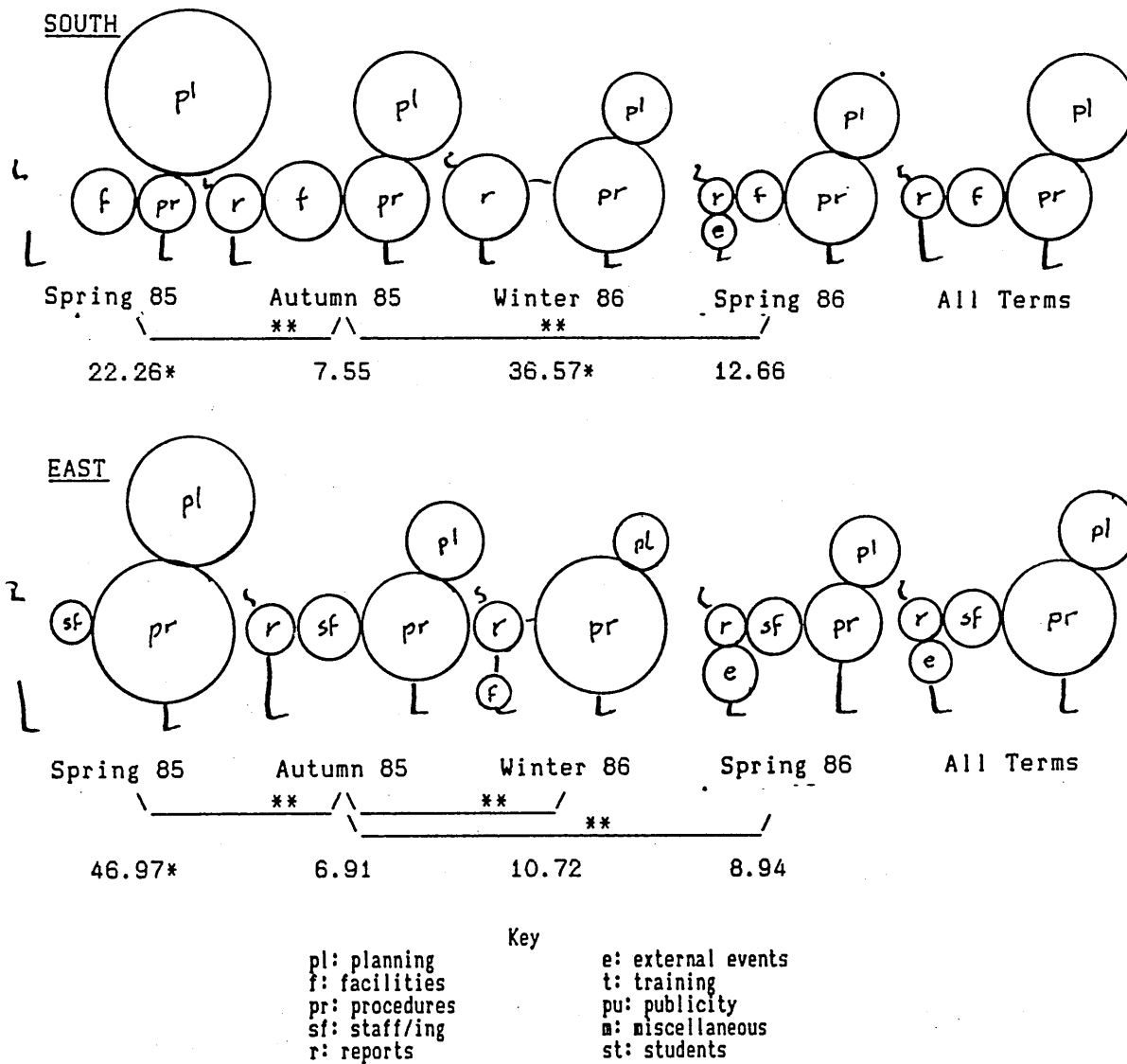
Figure 4.4.2.1, part 2. Imaged distributions of minutes items in content analysis categories by team and term with measures of term similarity as shown by the linkages under the images(Pearson, Appendix Table 4.2.2.10) and difference as shown by each distribution's measured difference from its own all terms distribution(chi square, Appendix Table 4.2.2.9). Key: * = p < .01, ** = p < .05. Total items = 1851.

Outreach maintains the three lobes of its head during the study year, but tends to lose bits of its tail as the terms go by. Publicity goes missing twice, and *reports* and *staff/ing* once each. The head lobes -- *facilities, planning* and *procedures* -- each receive their share of disproportionate emphasis during the first three terms.

In spite of these ostensible differences, the distribution does not vary significantly over the study year when chi square is used, though only two term pairs are significantly similar(Spring 85/Winter and Autumn 85/Winter). In its own terms, Outreach's work seems to vary more over the terms of the study than ABE's, though not as much as Centre's.

These three established teams show changes in their work over terms. The Centre pattern seems to be lose a few categories from time to time, ABE both loses and adds new ones, and Outreach, like Centre, loses categories occasionally.

The two Area Teams seem to vary together. Both look less like poodles than truncated caterpillars during their first term, though South has a huge *planning* head, while East rather favours *procedures*. For both, the *facilities* and *staff/ing* torsos exist, however reduced, and the *reports* rump is missing. In Autumn and Spring 86, the poodles look more like their all terms image, though both develop an *external events* leg, big enough in East to survive to the all terms image. Winter term exhibits a different kind of parallel change -- both lose torsos and instead emphasize *procedures*. The *planning* heads become pinheads. The overall pattern of *planning* and *procedures* seems to be that of the all terms image -- South prefers *planning* and East tends to its *procedures*.

The statistical comparisons made are less trustworthy for the Area Teams, for they had fewer meetings and fewer minutes items. They tell a different story than the images seem to, etching the differences between South and East. True enough, each's first term is different from all its others -- significantly high *planning*, low *reports* and *external events* and, for East, a high *miscellaneous*. They do change similarly over terms, too, for *reports* and *external events* increase over the year. For South, *training* increases significantly especially in Spring 1986, and *planning* varies more than it does in

East. For East, attention to *facilities* stays significantly low.
East, after its first term, generally shows less variation -- sticking
to its normal distribution of categories more than South does, a
result seconded by Pearson correlations which indicate that East had
more significantly similar term pairs than South. East's typical term
seemed to be Autumn, for Autumn was significantly similar to each of
the other terms. If South had a typical term, it would be Autumn,
too, for it was significantly similar to both Springs. South's Winter
term was not significantly similar to any other term.

One advantage of absurdity is that it controls, to some extent,
belief in results. Nevertheless, some of these patterns must reflect
something of what the teams thought they were doing, if not what they
did. Now we turn to possible explanations of some of this variation
in content. In the course of the discussion, the results of other
analyses which showed differences among teams and terms are presented
-- the disposition analysis, the quantity of items, and a variant of
the status analysis.

4.5 Sources of difference

Managing work in any field feels patternless to the manager, who,
if s/he is like these teams, is always trying to fit something new, or
something from outside, or a decision about whether a decision is
necessary, into the total fabric of what s/he thinks s/he is supposed
to be doing. We found, however, that the content of what the teams
undertook over the year was not patternless, but fell into place in
categories we can name. We found that the new, and outside
influences, and even decision-making, have shape over even one year of
working. Managing is not chaotic -- there is sense to it if we can
but see it. What sources of difference can we identify to explain
some of the changes in teams over terms represented by the images and
statistics presented in the previous sections?

This section is an extended speculation, in which we look at
seven potential determinants of the changes represented by the images,
pulling in evidence from the analyses and the minutes themselves as we
go. By the end of this discussion, we should know more about the
teams' work during the year, and be in a better position to draw
conclusions.

The first three possible sources are influences from outside the

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teams -- occurrences during the months of the study, membership change and the academic year. The second four sources are the planning choices the teams made, the effects of their briefs, the effects of team development and of interrelationships between the teams.

No apology is made for the detailed nature of the information presented, though, to reduce the distance between questions and answers, some of the fuller descriptions appear in appendices.

4.5.1 The effect of events

In Section 2.6, a summary of events taken from the study log was presented.   Here we take those activities which are likely to have affected what the teams did in their meetings, summarised in Table 4.5.1.1 by month.   Appendix 4.3   contains a commentary of these events.

There were five major events from outside the College during the year, which might have been expected to affect all the teams: the proposed adult education consortia, the union work to rule, the abolition of summer term, the availability of substantial new money and the further education cuts affecting the September progamme. Two events affected only ABE and Outreach -- the renewal of the grant which supported Outreach's fulltime staff and programme, amounting to a proposed yearly abolition of Outreach, and renewal of MSC funds to ABE's fieldworkers. Because these are more easily isolated we discuss them first.

From outside	Inside AE	Inside teams

---------------------------------February, 1985-----------------------

2   *Conference convening*
                                  teams

3   *LA AE "consortia"*
    Union work to rule

                            conference report
                            S given budget

-----------------------Summer Term, 14 April, 1985--------------------

4   *East debates brief*
5
6   *Department Board*   *E rationalises*
                        agrees team   *membership*
                        parameters   *Members: 1 in, 7 out*

-----------------------Summer break, 8 July 1985--------------------

7
8

-----------------------Autumn Term, 2 Sept, 1985--------------------

9
10   *E, S negotiate by*   *S experiments with*
                      document re who   *structures*
                      hires, what HOCs do
11   *AE specialists'*   *E reconvenes to*
                      meetings called   "delegate" *system*
12   *HOD hires new HOCs*
                                           Members: 5 in, 6 out

-----------------------Winter Term, 6 Jan, 1985--------------------

1
2   *Governors abolish*   *E meetings include*
    Summer term   *new HOC's*
3   *DoE news breaks*   *S raises team rep*
    Outreach renewed   *on Department Board*
                        S rep on HOC hiring
                        panels
                                        Members: 6 in, 2 out

-----------------------Spring Term, 14 April, 1986--------------------

4   *FE cuts announced*   *new School manage-*
    ABE funds renewed   *ment group*
                      HOD interviews teachers
5   *ABE/S ask E to call*
                      Interteam meetings
6   *cut partly restored*   *HOS fees meeting*
                      with team reps
7   *E,S each write DoE bid*
                                          Members: 7 in, 1 out

-----------------------Summer break, 14 July, 1986--------------------

Table 4.5.1.1: Events during the study year which are likely to affect minutes content analysis category frequencies. Key: C(Centre), A(ABE), O(Outreach), S(South), E(East), HOC(Head of Centre), HOD(Head of Department), HOS(Head of School), AE(Adult Education), FE(Further Education), LA(Local Authority), DoE(Department of Environment).

The Outreach grant

    Here lies some explanation of Outreach's consistent concern with *procedures*, for 20% of them across terms were to do with the requirements of their funding agency. This rose in the two terms of the writing of the bid, Autumn and Winter. This bid appeared in *planning*, too, but accounted for only 3 items in Autumn(under 10% of

that term's *planning* total) and 4 items in Winter(around 30% of that term's *planning* total); it was usually referred to as "refunding"(Autumn) or "rebid"(Winter). The blunt instrument of the content analysis does not say how long these items were, or how much member work they represented.

There is no mention in ABE meetings of the Outreach grant in *planning* or in *staff/ing*. We find it instead in *reports*("VPP report") in the three latter terms, with more items in Winter than in Autumn or Spring 86, perhaps reflecting the pressure caused by the grant application.

The ABE grant

More than half of ABE's *staff/ing* minutes items were to do with organizing the MSC fieldworkers. ABE was not responsible for seeking funding for them, however, so nowhere in *planning* or *procedures*, where we would expect to find them, is there independent mention of the MSC bid which secured fieldworkers' services. We must assume that grant news formed part of the compendium item "fieldworkers" or "fieldworker deployment" which appeared in the category *staff/ing*. (Compendia were minutes items which lasted from meeting to meeting and were likely to contain more than one subject. For more about compendia, see Section 2.3.)

The union dispute

Another event which we can track through the teams is the union dispute. ABE discussed it under *staff/ing* in the first three terms of the year -- in total, just under 10% of its total *staff/ing* items. Outreach discussed it twice, once in each of the final two terms, under *staff/ing*(5% of all items). Centre discussed the one-day strike once in the Spring 85, and three times in Winter, when the action took the form of not filling in registers(in all, 7% of the year's *staff/ing* items). South discussed the day strike in Spring 85, and never mentioned the action again(6% of the year's *staff/ing* items). In East, it never arose as an item at all.

It looks very like the industrial action was not carried through by Area Team staff, and that only Centre, with a new branch of the adult education union meeting there, had to take notice of the dispute because of its registers. ABE, based in the centre, perhaps was influenced for the same reasons.

Now we come to events which could be expected to create ripples -- the abolition of summer term, the source of new money, and the further education cuts. The patterns we have seen in the teams over these three issues will help us, for tracing a complex event through team minutes is no straightforward enterprise. The terms interpreted events even as they received the information.

The Department of the Environment(DoE) money

The source of new money was tied in an unclear way to association with voluntary groups. At times, it was reported that only voluntary groups could apply for it, and at times it appeared that College teams could apply too. Here is how the information became visible to the Area Teams in March, 1986:

> East minute: "TO9[an ABE and Centre member] reported that there may be some money available for work with the Adult Unemployed. In view of this, it was decided to invite [the Local Authority Adult Education Development Officer] to the next meeting."

And duly at the next meeting, the Officer reported that

> "outlines for courses and rough costings could be submitted by area teams and [other area colleges] who would collaborate with voluntary bodies in their areas together with city-wide organizations such as NACRO, [the educational advice service for adults] and the [local extramural department]."

Of course, other things were going on during these three weeks -- including the Summer Term problems, the Outreach renewal, and a three-week Easter break. After the break, we see the teams responding, all in their first meeting back, in typical ways to the DoE news. Centre linked it to the adult education consortia proposed by the Local Authority and assigned a working group of three to getting money. ABE delegated one of its members to write to the Head of Department to see what coordinating of bids was likely to take place. Later in the term, it referred DoE to the Interteam meetings and to the Area Teams. Outreach received it and passed it on to Area Teams through its delegates and received reports on what was going on throughout the term. In its first meeting back, South earmarked it for further discussion(a use of the category *defer*), tied it in to work it was already doing to get voluntary groups in the area together, linked it to current fee system difficulties(part of a discussion called "transition fees" -- ABE learners, who received free tuition, could not move to adult education without a fee) and

employment procedures, as staff could only be employed for 36 weeks in a year, not the year-round provision that the DoE formula envisioned. It delegated a member to write to the Head of Department to convene a coordinating meeting, and continued with its work to get voluntary groups in the area together. East received South's proposals, adopted TO6's(an ABE and South member) format for the bid and appointed two working groups. Both teams received reports during the term, and, when the administration of the money was allocated outside the teams, South objected to the Head of Department and East asked him/her for bid forms.

In content analysis terms, the DoE accounted for 20% of *planning* items across the teams in Spring 86. It influenced *procedures*, for the fees under the new money had to be accommodated, though it was not linked in independent minutes items. It affected *training*, especially in South, for a training course for teachers was mounted, supported by staff from all the teams(see Appendix 4.1). 20% of the term's training items were linked to DoE. The need to respond to the DoE opportunity tested the ways that teams communicated with each other, and the way the minutes recorded this, for of course information travelled outside team meetings.

DoE remained an independent minutes item in East, called at first "Adult Education Development Officer money", occasionally "Urban Aid" and finally, "DoE". Entries like this usually referred to finding out about the money, trying to get the College response coordinated, or making the bid. In South, DoE matters were discussed under "DoE" and under "voluntary organizations", reflecting the work with groups that the team undertook that year, and under "teacher training", for South initiated the briefing day for staff interested in undertaking what was termed "informal work". This training was referred to as "community teachers" by Centre and East, and this became the name of the certificate course offered the ensuing year to teachers who, though untrained, had taken on this work.

The cuts

The cuts and responses to them appeared in Winter and the following Spring. News of the abolition of Summer Term -- post-Easter classes -- was received when East and South had already delegated groups to plan it. Towards the end of the Winter term, a School

overspend was announced via the adult education specialists' meeting, which would have limited the number of summer term classes, too -- "plan what you like, but no budget will be announced at this stage" was how an East minutes summarised the instruction to the teams. A summer term did run, nevertheless.

The largest cut was announced at the beginning of Spring 86; it would have reduced September's programme by 75%. ABE minuted the information on 12 May and, a week later, tried to refer it to the adult education working group, as the adult education specialists meeting was now called via an ABE member who sat on it. Thereafter, ABE received reports on what went on. Centre minuted the information the same week as ABE and referred the matter to East to ask the Head of School along and to the adult education working group which was to meet on 20.5.86. Outreach minuted the cut information about a month later. It was classified as *miscellaneous*, for Outreach had to deal with its own MSC grant cut. For Outreach, although team members knew and were involved in Area Team discussions, the cut was not Outreach's affair as a team. South had received the information informally on 15 April(though it did appear as a minute item) and the meeting thereafter(13 May) assigned a group to plan the cut programme. It received reports from the Interteam Meeting(see below) under *procedures*. East received the news via a School Board report on 24 April, and minuted "discussion on fees and income to be deferred until such time when income is a known factor". During the same meeting, minuted as a "dramatic entrance", students from the student association based in Centre reported on their petition against the cuts. East reaffirmed its "no planning" stance the meeting after. At its next meeting, two weeks later, just before the Spring Bank break, it received a request through the adult education working group to convene the Interteam meetings, to work out a joint response across the four area teams to the cuts. The meeting after, it began to draft its cut programme along the lines agreed at the first Interteam meeting(2.6.86). Two weeks after the Spring break, most of the cut was restored, and the Interteam meetings ceased.

Planning, procedures, reports and *training* all played their roles in team responses to the source of new money and to the cuts. 6% of all minutes items that term were attributable to the DoE and 5%

percent to the cuts, mostly in *planning*, and at the same time the
programmes were planned and other work undertaken. The firm poodles
of the all terms images were retained in spite of what could have been
profoundly disorienting news flashes about the
now-you-see-it-now-you-don't budget. East's calm minute is an
indicator of how clear the two Area Teams were about what their
courses of action should be. It was "don't panic".

After unsuccessful attempts to use existing structures to deal
with the cut problems -- management to an East meeting, a coherent
response planned by the adult education working party, memoes from
South -- the network of teams(mainly ABE, East and South) established
a new meeting to deal with the coordination problem, and abolished the
meetings when they were no longer useful. This meant that team
meetings could get on with team business.
Effect of cuts on the work

What effect did these events have on content analysis categories?
The simplest answer is that it increased the amount of *planning*:
Outreach's grew in Autumn and Winter because of its grant, the Area
Teams' and ABE's in Spring 86 because of both DoE and the cuts. The
implications of the cuts soon spread to other categories -- only DoE
remained as an independent minutes item. "Cuts" as a minutes item was
translated to "Interteam"(a *procedures* item in South), to
"programme"(a compendium *planning* item in both East and South), and,
in the long run in the Interteam meetings, recommendations for more
straightforward procedures for budget allocations in the College.

By tracing these events, we learn more about how the teams
handled information in their meetings. Independent minutes items were
apt to be things for which the teams had not worked out the
implications. Things that the teams understood became part of a
compendium, like the grant items in ABE "fieldworkers", or of *reports*,
like ABE's recurring "VPP report" or the compendium shared by all the
teams, "programme". These relatively unstructured minutes were
attempts at seeing the relevance of an item for the team, a process
which more polished minutes might have concealed from us as observers
of teamworking. This discussion also raises a major problem with the
data we are using to make our comparisons -- teams "buried"
information they understood in compendia so, the better organized the

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team was in handling its information, the less we can see them doing it.

4.5.2 The effect of membership change

Members not only arrive but they leave. New members must be trained, and must have time to understand what their role in the team might be. Sometimes this time is used to form alliances within the team that make teamworking easier. When a member goes, the jobs s/he did must be re-allocated, and we might expect some mistakes to be made as this happens. All this seems to indicate that when the effect of membership change is felt depends on 1) how long it takes a new member to accommodate to the team's way of working, 2) how long it takes a team to accommodate to the gap left by a departing member. To see these consequences, we might, because we have the opportunity, and are limited by the kind of data collected, take the team and the term of most change in membership, and see if differences appear in the distribution of the content analysis categories.

Membership turnover summary

Centre gained a former member who stayed for the year. ABE lost and regained a member on maternity leave, a member who stayed for the year, and a temporary member, the temporary fulltimer who had transferred from South to another Area Team. Outreach lost a long-serving member(the log reports "morale was low" when it became known s/he was leaving), gained a replacement, and incorporated a temporary member with a monitoring role for two months during Winter term. South, a team of parttimers, kept losing those whose job it was to organize adult education programmes(at one time during the cuts problems, the parttimers' contracts ran out before the programme could be planned). This is a different pressure than that on East, who lost five members in its first term in a reorganization which East drafted and agreed, and gained and lost parttimers whose status in the team was not clear during the study year -- the team and some management thought they weren't members, other parts of management thought they were. East gained two fulltimers, Centre members, who had agreed to leave during the Spring 85 shakeup. (Table 3.6.1.2 presents this in full; Table 4.5.1.1 shows a summary as part of events during the year.)

In-service for new members

It is hard to say, in these complex circumstances, which membership change caused the most problems for teamworking. One way to cut through the problem might be to identify the way each team handled in-service briefings. In Outreach, it is fair to say that the whole team did -- staff "went round with" each new worker until that worker found his/her feet, and work was shared between the experienced staff until that happened. In ABE, the totally new member(one member was away on maternity leave, so no retraining was required) taught classes and attended meetings rather than sharing the work of the team. In Centre, the new member was already familiar with Centre procedures. If s/he hadn't been, it would probably be fair to say that learning the Centre systems was greatly aided by the administrative staff in the centre.

In East, the new Heads of Centre were briefed by management -- a member of the team who also had authority in the Department. The departing Heads of Centre, whose attendance ratios were very low, had hardly been team members at all. The new member in Autumn was an previous member of Centre -- no in-service required. The two experienced Centre members who left in Spring 85 returned in Spring 86 -- they needed no training. For East, then, we might expect to see the most effect when the five fulltimers left in the Spring of 1985, East's first term. As we shall see, other things happened at the same time, obscuring membership change effects in Autumn, the ensuing term(Sections 4.5.3, 4.5.6, 4.5.7).

South looks very different. The team member who showed the new adult education parttimers the ropes was transferred out of the team before Spring 1986 began(s/he had in-serviced the two new parttimers who began in September, one of whom left at Christmas). S/he returned from time to time to help the new parttimers who started in April, 1986. An existing parttimer, familiar with South's ways of working, was there in support during Spring 86, though his/her contract did not extend to programme planning time because of the delays caused by the cuts. Administrative staff in South took substantial reponsibility for procedures, if not for planning the programme, and it is fair to say that, in that year, the publicity would not have got out if not for them.

Before Winter term, a long-serving parttimer, in at the beginning of South's informal Area Team work, left for another job. His/her replacement stayed only for Winter term before s/he left, also for another job. In a team where the nuts and bolts of adult education work was not shared, as it was among the Centre fulltimers, this constant changeover of parttime adult education staff was certain to create pressure. At the time of worst pressure -- programme planning in Spring 1986, support from administrative staff and the departed in-servicing temporary fulltimer ensured that the programme came out.

Effects of membership turnover

To assess the effects of membership turnover, then, we should probably look at South. It is true that they had more interest than East in the role of parttime Heads of Centre and the way they were hired, as shown in their Autumn arguments about session heads recorded in Table 4.5.1.1. East and Centre were more concerned to get the centre staffed. South was perhaps more likely to be sensitive about who made appointments, since it had so many. It is understandable, too, that South should have objected to the Head of Department interviewing teachers for the "pool" of adult education staff later in the year. South did rely on ABE, Outreach and ESOL staff for community contacts when it became necessary to organize voluntary groups in preparation for the DoE bids, too, as there was no nascent consortium in the South area as there was in East, and those on whom the work fell were very new to the job. All in all, the effect of membership change in South was a different division of labour from that East displayed. Willingness to work, in East, was attendance at East meetings, taking on team jobs, and Centre session heading for fulltimers, and the willingness of East Centre Heads, with no clear status on the team, to plan their programmes under East's umbrella. Willingness to work, in South, for admin staff and ABE and ESOL fulltimers, was attending meetings and doing team jobs, leaving the adult education programme to the adult education parttimers, since South staff from other areas of work did not staff South's centre nor do day to day adult education work.

Summary

Much membership change during the study year was such that new members needed no training, though they may well have, after a break

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from the team they were rejoining, needed time to adjust. Some new
staff did not undertake team work, as in ABE. Staff from outside the
team network joining Outreach and South were briefed in different
ways. In East, the changeover of parttime Heads of Centre was handled
outside the team. In South, the turnover of parttime Heads of Centre
was most serious, but so basic to South's circumstances over the study
year that it is not possible to separate its consequences from other
team activity.

A speculation is germane here. We might have expected South,
with a year of teamworking already under its belt, to display more
settled working patterns than it did. It may be that so many new
members in pivotal positions, as these parttime programme planners
were, and the loss of the in-servicing member who, no matter how
willing to advise, could not take team responsibility in Spring 86,
had the effect of sending South back to learning patterns it probably
displayed in its first year. We must, however, understand more about
how the teams worked before we can speculate more about the effect of
membership change on South.

4.5.3 The effect of the academic year

We learned earlier that the content categories occurred in
roughly the same pattern all year if we take all the teams' work
together, and that *internal, above/below* and *outside* source of items
remained roughly the same, too. The amount of the *new* remained
roughly similar when we discount the first term, whose items were used
to establish what was "new" and what wasn't. Seasonal differences did
appear, though, when we looked at the way the team images changed
across terms. Some variation was caused by events. Variation caused
by membership change was harder to identify. Could the academic year
be a source of these differences?

Shape of the academic year

In adult education, schools' academic year patterns are reflected
in the long summer holidays, for adult learners with children are
thought to be affected by their presence at home; by the September
return, for then adults choose which adult education courses they will
undertake -- referred to here as enrolment; and by the Christmas and
Easter holidays, which, for these teams, separated one term from
another. The time of enrolment and the long holidays in turn affect

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when the programme on offer is planned -- this takes place in Spring
terms, so that staff go on holiday with the work set up for September.

Another yearly rhythm is that of the Local Authority financial
year, which begins in April and runs to April of the following year.
Inside the College, concrete budgets are likely to be allocated
post-April, reaching adult education managers in Spring, the term in
which the planning for the September programme is done.

This year has an external rhythm, then, and we would expect to
find planning in the Spring, and maintenance in the Autumn and,
perhaps, a gradual cessation of activity until the ensuing Spring.
Evidence from the content analysis

In Autumn and Spring 86, most teams kept to their own content
definitions -- they were behaving normally, each team to its own
definition of normalcy. This is similar, if not identical, behaviour
for these teams. In Autumn term, all teams looked like their all
terms images except Outreach, which lost a category(*reports*) and
seemed to spend a lot of energy on *planning*, though not to a
statistically significant extent. This seemed to occur again for the
Area Teams in Spring 86 and for Outreach, if we accept the loss of the
staff/ing category as normal for Outreach. ABE looked odd, but in
fact was not significantly different from its own all terms totals in
Spring 86, either(the images and the statistics do not always agree
because they represent different aspects of team distributions). In
fact, the only statistically significant differences of a team from
its own all terms totals in Autumn and Spring 86 was Centre's, and
this change, the loss of both back wheels, is discussed in 4.5.7
below. Because each team is similar to its all terms totals in Autumn
and Spring 86, the times we predicted they would be so because of the
academic year pattern, we may suppose that the academic year partly
affected the teams. To confirm this, we look at the terms most
different from each other: Winter and Spring 85.

In Winter term, in spite of the odd images, all teams but South
behaved normally within each's definition of normal. South's reports
rose dramatically, and this is discussed in section 4.5.6 below. In
Spring 85, the first term of the study, ABE and Outreach behaved
normally, but Centre, South and East all showed significant
differences from their usual patterns. This is an artifact of

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Centre's change of role(4.5.7) and East and South convening themselves(both in 4.5.6), not necessarily of the academic year.

Evidence of a different sort for the shape of the academic year affecting Centre and the Area Teams is the fact that Outreach and ABE were consistent all year to their own totals, and Centre, South and East were not, as we saw in Section 4.4.2. What did Centre, South and East have in common that ABE and Outreach did not? They had a stronger commitment to the rhythm of the academic year -- planning the programme in Spring, maintaining it most strongly in Autumn.

Evidence from source, status and dispositional analyses

Some support for the effect of the academic and financial years appears in the status analysis across all four terms(Appendix 4.2.4 contains detailed support. The significant difference between Spring 85 and Autumn was in the amount of *maintenance*, that is, relatively familiar activity which the teams undertook. Even when Spring 85 is removed from the analysis, as it was to establish what, for each team and term, might be called *new*, *maintenance* is high in Autumn for all teams, though not significantly so. Finally, Autumn and Spring are the least similar all terms pair, though the result is not significant. This effect may well be one of development for the Area Teams, which is described below.

Attention to *outside* items appeared low in Autumn, but not significantly so, and all term pairs were significantly similar for source(Appendix 4.2.3). This points to no unusual incidence of items term to term. The disposition analysis(Appendix 4.2.5), except to say all terms were significantly similar, shows no significant differences in strategies for dealing with business during any one term.

Evidence from quantity

The quantity of work did change to a pattern suggested by the academic year's rhythms(Appendix 4.2.1). In Winter, there were fewer meetings in all teams but ABE, who liked meeting often, and East, who always met relatively rarely. There were fewer minutes items to count. We would say, reasoning just from the Area Teams' missing torsos, that day to day work diminishes in Winter term in adult education, if it weren't for the fact that Centre was just as full of *facilities* as ever, and even ABE displayed greater attention than usual to two categories unusual for it -- *procedures* and *reports*,

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categories more typical of the Area Teams. Centre's attention to *procedures* rose too.

The pattern of totals over the year is an increase in minutes items(though not necessarily in number of meetings), with a slump in Winter. ABE and Outreach fit this pattern. Teams which violate the pattern are Centre, for whom number of meetings and minutes items decreased from Autumn(see 4.5.7), South, whose items decreased towards Winter, then rose strongly, and East, whose item numbers grew all year. So there is some evidence for Winter term being different from other terms -- a relaxation, perhaps, but it is not conclusive.

Summary

Some evidence for the academic year affecting work exists, especially for Centre, East and South, but other factors should probably be taken into consideration.

4.5.4 Planning choices

We now turn to sources of difference inside the teams. To start, we examine what each team did inside its *planning* category. Here *planning* matters that appeared more than once in the minutes are teased out of the many *planning* items each team dealt with during the year.

Teams all planned their programmes, received proposals and initiated new groups, and sought funding from outside. All did other *planning* as well, and all planned things under other categories. Table 4.5.4.1 and 4.5.4.2 summarise some of this; Appendix 4.4 contains a fuller discussion. For now, we turn to *planning* activities that account for some of the variation among teams.

CENTRE	Sp	Au	Wi	Sp	T
Open Day	1	4	-	3	8
Programme planning	5	1	-	1	7
Seven class offers	3	-	3	1	7
Lord Mayor visit	-	5	-	-	5
Budget/cut	1	-	1	2	4
Women's day	-	-	2	2	4
Special needs learners	2	1	1	-	4
West Indian cookery	3	-	-	-	3
Enrolment plans	1	-	1	1	3
Term dates	-	2	1	-	3
Women's Lives course	2	-	-	-	2
Department of Environment funding	-	-	-	2	2
Subtotal	18	13	9	12	52
Others appearing once only	6	2	2	3	13
Total planning	24	15	11	15	65
Total all items that term	98	152	92	79	421

ABE	Sp	Au	Wi	Sp	T
Yorkshire Arts student writing	6	8	10	11	35
proposal for mentally handicapped students	3	11	1	-	15
the ABE programme	4	-	1	3	8
research activities	1	2	3	5	11
Department of the Environment bid	-	-	-	7	7
collaboration with YTS	3	2	1	1	7
cuts/budget	-	-	-	6	6
student reading evening	-	6	-	-	6
local publishing	-	-	2	4	6
volunteers/fieldworkers in Areas	-	-	-	5	5
Yule video	4	-	-	-	4
Opps for vols	-	-	3	1	4
ALBSU other	-	-	3	-	3
Community school	-	3	3		3
South centre	2	-	-	-	2
travellers	-	2	-	-	2
Pecketwell	-	2	-	-	2
FEU	-	-	2	-	2
Subtotal	23	33	26	46	128
Others appearing once only	4	1	5	2	12
Total planning	27	34	31	48	140
Total all items that term	146	145	108	168	567

OUTREACH	Sp	Au	Wi	Sp	T
New groups	7	18	5	8	38
Funding	1	3	5	7	16
New activities	-	3	-	5	8
MH policy	-	3	-	-	3
Scheme dev(AT)	2	-	-	-	2
Mainscheme money	2	-	-	-	2
Questionnaire	-	1	1	-	2
SCOPE	-	-	1	1	2
Library bus	-	-	1	1	2
Summer classes	-	-	-	2	2
Subtotal	12	28	13	24	77
Others appearing once only	5	6	0	0	11
Total planning	17	34	13	24	88
Total all items that term	93	115	62	141	411

Table 4.5.4.1: Minutes items appearing more than once in planning content analysis category, Centre, ABE and Outreach. All teams, all terms. Commentary: Appendix 4.4.

```
SOUTH                          Sp   Au   Wi   Sp    T
    Programme                   5    -    1    3    9
    DoE                         -    -    -    7    7
    Topics/WOSS                 5    -    1    -    6
    research/demography         4    1    -    -    5
    miscellaneous courses       1    1    1    2    5
    programme/finance/budget    1    -    2    1    4
    bids                        6    -    -    -    4
    minicentres                 2    1    -    -    3
    elderly/OAP course          -    2    -    1    3
    demand classes              -    2    -    1    3
    voluntary organizations     -    -    -    3    3
    Aspects of Women's Lives     2    -    -    -    2
    community languages         1    1    -    -    2
    New outcentre 1             1    1    -    -    2
    New outcentre 2             1    1    -    -    2
    Mentally Handicapped        -    2    -    -    2

    Subtotal                   29   12    5   18   64
    Others appearing once only  3    6    2    4   15
    Total planning             32   18    7   22   79
    Total all items that term  71   63   37   95  266

EAST                           Sp   Au   Wi   Sp    T
    DoE                         -    -    2    5    7
    Sat courses                 1    2    -    2    5
    programme                   1    -    1    2    4
    policy                      -    3    -    -    3
    Voluntary AE centre         2    -    -    -    2
    Centre programme            1    -    -    1    2
    day provision/schools       2    -    -    -    2
    external funds/transition fees  -  -  2    -    2
    Outreach document           -    -    2    -    2

    Subtotal                    7    5    7   10   29
    Others appearing once only  3    2    1    5   11
    Total planning             10    7    8   15   40
    Total all items that term  28   33   50   75  186
```

Table 4.5.4.2: Minutes items appearing more than once in planning
content analysis category, South and East. All teams, all terms.
Commentary: Appendix 4.4.

Chosen activities as a source of variation

Centre's front *planning* wheel in its first Spring is, as we might

expect, programme planning and course offers with some problems with

West Indian Cookery and other courses thrown in. The Lord Mayor's

visit and the Open Day took almost as many items in Autumn, but, as

usual for Centre, was dwarfed by *facilities*. By the end of the year,

Centre had changed its style -- it looks as if the programme were

delegated as it appears as only one item, while team members got on

with the rest of the work. *Planning* looks big because Centre, by this

time, was not paying so much attention to East in its meetings -- its

procedures were lower, and even *staff/ing* was buried in the programme

compendium.

Dwarfing, in ABE, is a matter of the relationship of *external*

events and *training* to everything else, for a substantial amount of

ABE's *planning* fell into these categories. ABE replanned its

volunteer training during the first two terms of the study and once

that was out of the way, and ABE took a breather from *external events*,

the more conventional *procedures* and *reports* could show in the image

for Winter. For ABE, it is not as though it did not tend to *reports*

and *procedures*, it just buried them in the sheer volume of everything

else. This is not necessarily inefficiency, but a matter of style and

emphasis -- ABE category distributions were not significantly

different no matter what the term. For ABE, the images mislead us,

for they show only the categories of greatest emphasis, not the

similar distribution of all categories, no matter how many minutes

items they represent(for ABE, a percentage point is almost 6 minutes

items, compared to 4 for Centre and Outreach, about 3 for South and

about 2 for East).

Outreach's equivalent to programme is its new groups. They

account for much of the *planning* lobe all year. In spite of

Outreach's doubtful relationship to the academic year, it did appear

to start more new groups in the September term. The Autumn swelling

is also Outreach's new activities, its build-up to plan its rebid for

its own funding, and its discussion of policy for mentally handicapped

learners. It would have advertised its new groups, hence the increase

in *publicity* the image shows. The other increase in *publicity* in

Spring 86 is a non-planning project, the theme-based publicity drive

for summer council estate galas, in which the new fulltimer was

heavily involved. The big *facilities* head in Spring 85 is the Mobile

Resource Unit, a van servicing outlying groups with books, materials

and computers, run by the MSC fieldworkers but managed by Outreach.

The increase in *staff/ing* in Winter was incorporating the two new

workers into what the team was doing. We have already seen that the

relationship with MSC expanded Outreach's *procedures* lobe during the

Winter(we shall see the Area Teams affecting this too). It is

interesting that *reports* kept its consistent position, no matter what

else was happening. Outreach was the other team for which the images

are misleading -- its category distributions did not change over terms

to any significant extent.

South's category distributions did change, and here we see some

of the reasons why. In its first Spring, it handled its programme

much as Centre did, with more frequent discussion than it had in

Spring 86. It was attempting to get money to research its area's demography, and funds from other sources as well -- this was the unsuccessful "Golden Soak". Planning for Topics/WOSS was a programme of courses which were to use the South centre, as was Aspects of Women's Lives. Minicentres was planning the use of others' premises. South's swollen *planning* head that Spring was to do with what it had in mind, and its shrunken *procedures* chest showed how little it was thinking about its own teamworking or anyone else's. South shadows Centre in the rise of *facilities* as the programme enrolled in Autumn, though dwarfing never took place to the same extent. Planning continued, with some of the items from the term before continuing and some new items added. For South Winter was a *planning* lull, when it began to notice teamworking. The dangers from its membership change, foreseen in Autumn(see Table 4.5.1.1), bit in Winter, and issues of how it was to plan began to arise, hence the increase in *procedures.* Its *reports*, though, show a strong link with what other teams were doing, a change in style for South, who, presumably, was used to being the only Area Team. This brings us to the second Spring, which was discussed in Section 4.5.1. *Planning* was largely DoE, cut and programme related and South was linked in, though its *reports*, to the managing network created by team alliances. Its chosen activities had largely disappeared.

Now that we know more about what other teams planned, we can understand East's strangely small *planning* head. As it began, it looked at the status of Saturday courses, the Centre programme, and its own activity in the northern part of the district at two centres and its potential involvement with schools. The rest was about teamworking -- *procedures.* Someone had to do this, and who were more experienced than the former Centre members in East, backed up by themselves as the Centre team? East's discussions in that first Spring enabled it to emerge with policy by the end of Autumn term. Its handbook for staff was begun that term, so it clearly intended to inform others of what it had thought. Its programme was maintained largely by Heads of Centre and by Centre, so that programme-related *planning* was not necessary. The links it had made enabled it to get formal information the following term about DoE money, so what looks like an in-turned stance did pay off. East's expertise was recognised

by the end of the year -- it was asked to convene the Interteam meeting which coordinated the cuts response of all the teams. Its *planning* work in its second Spring was mainly to do with DoE, for its programmes were taken care of.

Summary

Each team planned in its own way, leading us to think that *planning* had at least five different meanings. What was planned depended, to some extent, on what a team thought it was doing, so before we draw conclusions about teams' *planning* choices, we should look at how their formal team briefs related to their actual work.

4.5.5 The effect of team briefs

Now that we have the flavour of what teams actually did plan, we know what to expect. We would no more expect to see Centre conducting a thorough publicity drive round local council estates than Outreach running an Open Day. South would be more likely to dash off a funding application before thinking about it; East would consult everybody first. ABE would know what national organizations to consult. The team briefs, as far as they were written down, appear in Appendix 4.5.

The Area Teams had the same brief, and Centre, ABE and Outreach had different briefs. The similarity in the two Area Team content analysis images(Table 4.4.2.1), corroborated by one of the measures of similarity(Pearson r=0.844,p<0.01), suggest that either the null hypothesis is true, or the Area Teams interpreted their brief in the same way.

Even bearing in mind that South's torso was *facilities* and East's *staff/ing*, it is hard to imagine East or South as a bug or a tricycle. However, both could have been truncated tadpoles with extremely distorted heads, that is, they were more similar to Outreach(for East/Outreach, Pearson r =.723, p<0.05; for South/Outreach, Pearson r=.913, p<0.01) and to each other than to the other teams(Appendix Table 4.2.2.6). Outreach's brief was different from that of the Area Teams. To understand this similarity, we look first at the dissimilar teams, Centre and ABE.

The most direct evidence for the effect of the brief is Centre's attention to *facilities*. No other team so consistently spent time on rooms, furniture, hardware, etc. The *facilities* load was heaviest, too, in Autumn term, when the programme of classes in the centre

opened and things might be expected to go wrong. This pattern was
shadowed by South, who combined reponsibility for running a centre
with its area team work.

Another clear effect of the brief on a team was visible in ABE's
year-round commitment to *external events*, and in almost year-round
training activity. ABE looked very like the curricular team that its
name implies -- it spent time on learning content more than on team
activity content. Its consistent scores across the year(it varied
less from term to term compared to its own all terms totals than East,
South and Centre did: Appendix Table 4.2.2.9) may be related to this
wing of its work, as the imaged bug suggests.

Like ABE, Outreach displayed a relatively even distribution of
content analysis categories over the study year. Outreach had more
effort in more different categories than any other team, most terms
dividing its attention among *planning, procedures,* and *facilities* --
the tadpole's head -- with at least two of the tail categories --
staff/ing, publicity and *reports*. What other teams distributed over
the academic year, Outreach collapsed into each term as it planned,
set up and maintained new provision the year round. Evidence for this
consequence of Outreach's brief lies in its consistent pattern of work
across terms. Like ABE, and unlike East, Centre and South, Outreach
did not significantly differ in content patterns from term to term
when term totals are compared to Outreach's own all terms totals.

Summary

We have teased out what seems to be an effect of the job the
teams took on -- running a centre, running ABE, running an outreach
programme, running adult education areas. The similarity among
Outreach, East and South is in the totalling of the year's work, which
differs mainly in the content of the programme -- adult basic
education for Outreach, a varied adult education programme for East
and South) -- and in its timing. Outreach set up new groups all year
round; East and South planned a major programme for Autumn and
maintained it for the rest of the year. Centre and ABE each had major
functions other than the production and maintenance of a programme of
learning opportunities for adults.

Now that we know something of how incoming information was
handled by teams from the events' movement through the teams'

information processing systems, we might speculate on what would happen if we disentangled South's or East's compendia "programme". Would we find more *publicity* entries, making the Area Teams event more like Outreach? Would we find more *facilities* entries, linking South to Centre -- after all, they both ran adult education centres. More and more as we compare and contrast these teams, we understand that we are comparing not what they did, but how they handled what they did.

4.5.6 Effects of development

To understand something of how work is different for new managers, we examine the category *procedures*, which appears strongly in new managers' content analysis, as well as other categories which seem to mark changes in the teams. Then we look at disposition to see whether there are differences between new and more experienced managers in the strategies they adopted to deal with work. Finally, we combine this information with the team and term differences we established in earlier sections.

Procedures

Our attention was drawn to the category *procedures* because it seemed to characterise East and South's newness as teams. *Procedures* showed up elsewhere, however, notably in Outreach's interactions with its funding body throughout the year. Outreach specialised in *procedures*. It dealt, consistently over the year, with a lot of them. It obeyed the demands of the agency which funded it(accounting for 20% of its *procedures*), and did things that it had never done before, setting up new groups every term for which the conventional adult education support services were not available, because the sites were outside College-used ones, and the requirements of learners were different -- travel was paid, creches were set up, etc.. Consistent attention to *procedures* was part of its everyday work.

Winter seemed to be the term of *procedures* for all the teams, which were higher than normal for each team when compared to its own totals, though not significantly so(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9). This is partly an effect of fewer minutes items in other categories forcing *procedures* into prominence, teaching us that, whatever else happens or doesn't happen, the bread and butter work of *procedures* must be seen to.

For Centre, eight of its Winter *procedures* were to do with East

and East meetings and even, three times, "East agenda". Three more *procedures* were to do with arranging its own meetings, and the others were about scheduling, the weather and missed classes, petty cash and holidays. Five of ABE's *procedures* were to do with Area Teams(their budget and basic education's role in them), two items were about filling in Department timetables, two dealt with miscellaneous administrative matters, and the others with tutor expenses and the proposed move of ABE from its headquarters. For Outreach, three items were about MSC requirements, two about the Area Teams, four about circulating information among themselves(a "message box" was proposed), two about internal meetings, and single items about record-keeping, volunteer expenses, and obtaining a nationally-agreed pay rise. In all, fifteen(21% of all that term's *procedures*) items from the established teams were about the newer teams.

In South, *procedural* items were about their own meetings(4), about team representatives to Department Board(2), about transition fees(between basic education and fee-charged adult education groups)(2), with single items about the relation of the Head of School to South(getting him/her to meetings), term dates, notices displayed and the creche. East's *procedures* were about its own meetings(4), Area Team budgets(3), "unqualified teachers"(3), representatives to Area Team meetings and to the adult education specialists' meeting(2) and transition fees(2). Single items were about information sharing(the staff handbook was the answer), procedures for mounting exhibitions, the proposal for reconstituting the Department Board and two items which discussed sharing money and staff across area teams, in which South asked, and got a reply in the minutes.

Procedures marked teamworking rules, conventions and options as well as the machinery of running adult education which had to be done, no matter what the term. That South and East did more of it was reasonable, as they were establishing themselves as teams. South in particular was converting its style to the new team network, so *procedures* rose.

Two other categories show differences -- *reports* and *external events*. Both of the new teams showed increasing numbers of these as the year went on.

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Reports

Low *reports* was one of the significant differences that marked the Area Teams' first term from the other terms. This makes sense, for who would report anything to a new team? South, not so new as East, did receive a few reports, though the overall total was low.

For South, *reports* rose significantly in Winter term, while for East, *reports* gradually increased to Winter, then decreased in proportion to the welter of other items in the Spring. ABE, too, showed this pattern. Centre's *reports* declined in number over the year with the number of total minutes items, but not in its proportion. Centre kept the relation of *reports* to the rest of the work steady. Outreach's rose over Spring 85 and Autumn, decreased in Winter, and rose even higher in Spring 86(Appendix Table 4.2.2.7).

In South's atypical Winter term, these were the nine *reports*: enrolment report, OAP forum, User Group compendium, East minutes, Head of School memo, Outreach report, adult education working party report and two reports on centres in which the team might operate. The striking contrast is with South's first term, in which there were three *reports* -- one about a specific class, one a number of items from Department Board about which no action was necessary, and one about children in the centre.

Reports, from this example, seem to be about communication, both internally and externally. From Winter, it looks as if South had more to communicate about, and more groups to communicate with.

The growth of *reports* influences our ability to understand the teams' work, for as the teams began to classify matters into *reports*, they moved them from being independent minutes items. This strengthens our belief that an independent minutes item is more likely to be something the teams do not understand than something they do.

External events

To understand *external events*, we must look at ABE, the team that specialised in them. We also take on board that for all the teams, *external events* increased as the year went on, dropping only in the Winter Term and rising impressively in the second Spring. For the new Area Teams in particular, the movement of *external events* from lower than normal even for that team to higher than its own normal in Spring 86 is striking. For Centre, too, something like this movement

appears, and is statistically significant, as the Area Team external events movement was(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9).

East and South *external events* items in Spring 86 show a number of conferences, meetings, working parties and happenings that the teams somehow got wind of, most of them from *outside* and most of them *new* to the teams. It is almost as if they were on someone's mailing list. This cannot be checked after so much time has passed, but it is likely that the teams, by this time, qualified as someone to mail bits of paper to, an informal index of the new status of the Area Teams.

Outreach's *external events* were mainly local except for the national adult education conference, which they considered twice. The DoE money first arose here, for its was an *external event* to Outreach, until members became involved in efforts to get it with the Area Teams. Centre's *external events* contained Centrish items -- who else would care about a fire prevention display -- and two aspects of the DoE money, which Centre allocated to East as a job, as we saw when we discussed events during the year.

It is in ABE's array of *external events* that we see that East, South, Outreach and Centre did not display the only relationship possible to things happening outside. About a third of the 94 items that year were about local events, and about two-thirds about regional or national events. ABE characteristically participated in the events it recorded in its minutes, especially the so called "major" events which appear more than three times as minutes items; these are itemised in Table 4.5.6.1.

	Sp85	Au	Wi	Sp86	T
YAHFHE conferences	6	6	1	2	15
WYOLF	-	7	1	-	8
BLG	2	1	-	3	6
ALBSU conference	5	-	-	-	5
RSA	3	2	-	-	5
EASA writing day	-	-	-	5	5
Plain English	2	2	-	1	5
WFT conference	-	1	2	1	4
Edinburgh	-	-	-	3	3
Subtotals	18	19	4	15	56
Other events	4	7	9	18	38
Total *external events* items	22	26	13	33	94
Total items that term	146	145	108	168	567

Table 4.5.6.1 Summary of ABE *external events*, all terms.

YHAFHE conferences are Regional Advisory Council ABE meetings, which members of ABE helped to organize. West Yorkshire Open Learning

Federation was a proposed way to accredit adult learning with which ABE tried to keep in touch. Bradford Literacy Group was a registered charity which supported ABE work and of which members of the team were officers -- it was heavily involved in obtaining funding for ABE. The ALBSU conference was a national event which ABE staff had helped to organize. The Royal Society of Arts validated the English examination which ABE used -- members were Assessors and went to national meetings. The EASA writing day took place in the Spring, and linked to the Yorkshire Arts activity -- both members and learners participated in planning this, along with the local extramural service and others from outside the District. The Write First Time conference was a national event to which local learners went. The Edinburgh trip took team members and teacher off to see a drop-in numeracy centre.

No other team participated so fully in events outside the teams' setting, nor should they necessarily have done so. Because ABE was so atypical, *external events* as a category had to "hold" something that, in other circumstances, would have been put in *planning*, for ABE planned its external involvements, just as surely as it planned its programmes.

Dispositional variations

Experience is supposed to count when, as with these team managers, adaptation to new circumstances is a demand of the job. Did the more established teams show differences in how they dealt with team business, given that the teams lived in a similarly changing setting?

All the teams used the same devices for deciding things, but some showed preferences. When the categories were collapsed into three broad categories *receive/report/air, refer/defer/seek information* and *decide/unclear*, Centre and Outreach were significantly different, Outreach for its use of the first collapsed category, and Centre for its use of the second(Appendix Table 4.2.5.5). To investigate this difference further, the categories were kept in their original state for an illegal chi square(Appendix Table 4.2.5.7), and this showed Centre's significantly lower use of *reports* than other teams, and significantly higher use of *refer*. It tended to *seek information* more, too, but this result was not significant for the category. Outreach was significantly atypical in that it had many more *reports*

than other teams -- 55% of its minutes items were *reports*Appendix Table 4.2.5.4). It *decided* less often than other teams, too, though not to a significant extent, and appeared to *defer* fewer items than other teams.

The illegal chi square(Appendix Table 4.2.5.7) showed a significant difference in East that the collapsed legal analysis did not show -- East *received* matters more than other teams and was relatively high on *air* and *unclear*, relatively low on *refer*. We may have a mirror image to Centre here, and might adduce that Centre *referred* things to East, and East *received* them, a mark of Centre's change of role over the year.

All team pairs were significantly similar to each otherin the use of the disposition categories except Outreach and Centre(appendix Table 4.2.5.6).

South and ABE were relatively normally distributed for category use with two interesting trends in ABE(Appendix Tables 4.2.5.7 and 4.2.5.4). ABE had more *unclear* items than anyone else -- we have discussed the state of their minutes in Section 2.3 -- and used the *defer* option more often than other teams did, perhaps partly explaining why ABE had so many more minutes items: it deferred them from meeting to meeting. East used this choice too, though, as it had fewer minutes items in total than ABE, the effect was not so dramatic.
New managers

We might expect newer teams to be less sure of what they had to do. This would probably be visible in what work members brought up at meetings. Newer teams would vary more in content categories from term to term.

Does this pattern show in the content of what East, the newest team, did? East spent its first term on almost nothing else but *planning* and *procedures*. South, the team next in age, had already been meeting, and presumably already had agreed work to do. It, too, spent more time *planning*, though not in working out how to do things. The statistical measures used verify this: for East and South, their first term was significantly different from each's all terms totals(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9).

ABE and Outreach, two of the established teams, show no uncharacteristic attention to *planning* and *procedures* in the first

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term of the study. In fact, their content category distributions stayed more consistent over the year than East's or South's(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9). (Centre's patterns were distinctive too, as it changed its role.)

So content varies with the age of the team if we believe the evidence of East's frequencies, though as we saw earlier, part of this effect is created by East's preference for the *procedural* and teamworking side of things. South's atypical first term may well have stemmed from what its normal pattern might have been had it been able to continue without interference from membership change or joining the communication system among the teams. It had to remake an approach to managing during the year. That Winter term is its most atypical may be a marker of its change as it moved into the team network(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9).

4.5.7 Team relationships

Throughout this discussion, we have touched on team relationships -- that between Centre and East, between Outreach and ABE, and among Outreach and the two Area Teams. From time to time, too, we have noticed the two Area Teams noticing each other, particularly during the response to the cuts when coordination was necessary, and by reading each others' minutes, even allocating them minute item status.
Centre and East

We first noticed something odd about Centre when we saw that its second Spring term was significantly different from its own all terms totals(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9). *Planning* decreased from the first Spring, and *external events* rose in the second. Centre lost its back wheels -- *procedures* and *staff/ing*, in Spring 86, as the term images showed(Figure 4.4.2.1). Centre seemed to hand over to East during the DoE coordination, and was represented by East in the Interteam cut response(Section 4.5.1). Centre had little membership change(Section 4.5.2), rather a membership interchange with East as, increasingly over the year, Centre members became East members. By the end of the year, the teams were practically co-terminous.

Centre, like East and South, seemed to work to the academic year pattern(Spring planning, Autumn maintenance) more than ABE or Outreach(Section 4.5.3). However, unlike other teams, the quantity of meetings and minutes items decreased over the year from its Spring 85

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high(Appendix 4.2.1). During Winter term, Centre's *procedures* were mainly to do with East(Section 4.5.6). The evidence of *reports* shows Centre monitoring its own activity; of *external events*, that it received them particularly when relevant to the job of running the centre(Section 4.5.6). The activities it chose to do did not diminish proportionally(Section 4.5.4); they were to do with Centre and its life, as they had always been except during Spring 1985, when Centre was taking on some responsibility for getting East started.

More refined analyses of source and disposition would probably show other differences as Centre handed over to East during the year. We would expect, for instance, an increasing use of *refer*(to East), more items coming from *above*(from East). Perhaps this process was made easier by the co-terminous membership -- "we were always trying not to be Centre in East meetings" reports one of the overlap members. Looked at another way, members of the team which started it all saw their opportunity to change function, and did so. Two years later, the Centre team became a subcommittee of East.

This tracing of Centre's change of function also tests the validity of the analyses. These changes should have shown up in the categories, and they did. It helps us trust other, less verifiable conclusions, a little more. We turn now to two of these, the relationship of ABE to Outreach, and of Outreach to the Area Teams.
ABE and Outreach

ABE and Outreach were in the same area of work. ABE applied for the funds which led to setting up the Outreach team, and a member of ABE served on it. Yet Outreach looked more like an Area Team than its putative parent -- it paid attention to *procedures* and *reports*, its overall distribution of content categories was more like the Area Teams than any other(Appendix Table 4.2.2.6). It buried its activity on DoE as far as its own minutes were concerned(as though DoE were not legitimate Outreach business), though its members appeared on Area Team working groups during Spring 1986. It practically ignored the cuts(Section 4.5.1). Its membership changes, like those of the other teams, did not appear to affect its work, though we saw that its in-servicing was different(Section 4.5.2). Like ABE, it did not seem to be affected by the academic year(Section 4.5.3). It seemed to interpret its brief as the Area Teams did(Section 4.5.5), though its

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cycle was not a yearly one -- it performed all functions termly which Area Teams performed yearly. *Procedures* attention strengthens this generalisation(Section 4.5.6).

In Outreach's loyalty to *reports* as a disposition item we see echoes of Area Teams' increasing use of them as communication. In Outreach, a more established team, however, we can see hints of *reports* as member support -- people reporting back to the team about work they had done and getting it validated. Outreach members at various times saw their version of *reports* --"class hours" -- as monitoring, and as teamworking to share what each member was doing as an individual. Perhaps this is a pattern which lies in the Area Teams' future. Unlike ABE, it largely ignored *external events* outside the city, but noticed community-based ones more than any of the other teams(Section 4.5.6).

ABE and Outreach displayed complementary specialisms in an area of work as did, increasingly over the year, Centre and East. When, three years later, ABE and Outreach tried to combine as one large team running ABE, internal tensions tore them apart. Outreach members are still working happily as Area Team members.

The Area Teams

We have seen traces of communication between the Area Teams throughout the discussions in this chapter. They changed as the year went on and minutes from each became *reports* for the other. That the teams thought that communication between them was important(and with other Area Teams, too, which do not appear in this analysis) is shown by the coordinating meetings during the time of the cuts(Section 4.5.1). At times, nothing but decisions made together will do. During this period, when information flew back and forth by phone, and sometimes knowing what was happening depended on who met whom at the swimming pool to pick up children, efforts were made to share information, and to act, when action was necessary, together.

In spite of different internal pressures, of which membership change is one(Section 4.5.2), and different contexts -- South had no Centre team against which to compare its work -- the Area Teams showed strong similarities. Alike, they increased their use of *reports* and tended to their teamworking *procedures* as well as the procedural jobs they had to do as adult education managers. They were both recognised

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as receivers of information as the year ended, especially about *external events*(Section 4.5.6). More, they recognised each others' complementary status in their intercommunications as the year wore on.

That adult education managing does not have to take this shape is shown by ABE, which ran a programme but chose to manage, too, external relationships; by Centre, which ran a bigger programme than East or South but reinforced during the year its commitment to the sizable facility it ran; and even by Outreach, the most similar to the Area Teams, whose year-round programme based on community work and member support showed a different style to the same effect.

4.6 Summary and patterns

Summarising such detailed data is a task which could take as long as the presentation did. Instead, we look very briefly at the sources of difference we have suggested, and attempt to evaluate whether the null hypothesis -- that common history, setting and communication led to the similarities we described as the chapter began -- obtains. We use as a benchmark the team and term differences imaged in Figure 4.4.2.1, about which a kind friend said, "this may not be social science, but it makes lovely wallpaper."

Summary

Three kinds of occurrences outside the teams' control affected them over the year -- events, membership change and the academic year. Which events were noticed depended on the team, for instance, East was not greatly concerned over the Outreach grant, but spent a lot of time on DoE. The net result of occurrences outside the teams was an increase in the work, mostly in *planning*, and mostly in Spring, 1986(Section 4.5.1).

The effect of membership change was harder to identify -- we saw some in Outreach, whose Spring 86 publicity drive owed much to its new member; some in East, whose ordinary work increased in Autumn term once it made itself smaller(though there were other reasons for this, mainly the academic year's rhythms); but most in South. South's membership turnover affected the team's orientation to the rest of the Department -- South was particularly concerned about staff and their responsibilities. South's pattern of work categories probably owed as much to staff changes as to its increased linking to a new Area Team network(Section 4.5.2).

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We also learned that the academic/financial year affected East, South and Centre most, and ABE and Outreach least(Section 4.5.3).

Looking inside the teams, we began to understand that each team interpreted its brief in a characteristic way, and this affected what it chose to plan during the study year(Section 4.5.4). The newer managers adjusted to their new circumstances by attending to their teamworking in *procedures* and by inventing a communication structure visible in their use of *reports*, though they did this at different times of the year -- Spring 85 and most terms for East, increasingly through the year but most in Winter for South. *External events*, for the new teams, were a mark of their recognition. In contrast, for at least one of the established teams, ABE, *external events* were a *raison d'etre* and an effect balancing that of the academic year(Section 4.5.5). The growth of the teams as an intercommunicating network was documented by these analyses as much as the distinctiveness of the teams. The complementarity which Centre and East developed over the year tested the validity of the categories; the division of labour between ABE and Outreach helped us understand what was happening to Centre(Section 4.5.6).

The null hypothesis

How does this affect our null hypothesis? We predicted that history, setting and intercommunication would make the teams like each other with regard to source of their work, its status, its content and its disposition. We found that source and, to a certain extent, status did not change, no matter what team or term we considered. Hence for these analyses, the null hypothesis appears demonstrated -- the teams' setting is the most likely determinant of this pattern, for history and intercommunication are less likely to affect the source of minutes items or their newness to the teams than similarity of setting. We might speculate that other managerial settings would show similar patterns, and there is some support for this in the management literature. It may be that the null hypothesis is wrong altogether, and that similarities among the teams are due to their similar status -- they were all managers.

One difference did appear in the status analysis -- we found more *maintenance* in Autumn term. This was probably due to setting, for Autumn term, as the academic year analysis showed, was the time when

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the programme was tended to, at least for three of the teams --
Centre, East and South.

The relationship of the disposition analysis to the null
hypothesis is different, for here we find team preferences -- that of
Outreach for *reports* and of Centre for *refer/defer/seek*. Sources of
these differences, we suggested, were support for Outreach and a
combination of Centre's greater experience and its handover to East.
The teams did not behave alike, in spite of the pressures for
similarity, so for this part of the disposition analysis, the null
hypothesis may be considered disproven.

The main message of the disposition analysis was quite other,
though, for most teams preferred to *decide* on a matter if at all
possible. Like the source and status analyses, the decision-making
preferences of the teams validate the null hypothesis, but here we
suggest that it is not setting, history or intercommunication that
causes this pattern, but a characteristic of work as managers do it --
they prefer to *decide* when at all possible, as Section 1.2 indicated.

So far, then, for the source, status and part of the disposition
analysis, we find that the patterns we have found are indeed due to
setting, but not just that of adult education. Something else the
teams had in common led to this similarity -- they were all managers.

It is in the content analysis distributions in teams that we
found major differences, and this chapter has mostly been spent
looking at possible determinants of this variation. In looking at the
consequences for the null hypothesis, we concentrate mostly on South
and East, whose similarity should be the most likely pattern explained
by its validity.

If history determined similarities, we would expect all teams to
show similar content distributions. They didn't, and the teams that
should have been most similar on historical grounds -- Centre and East
-- were not. Centre and East, with almost the same membership and the
experience of six years Centre team working should have been the most
similar. Yet East did not behave like Centre -- it acted more like
South. History we can, with some reservations, eliminate as an
validator of our null hypothesis.

Setting, too, becomes questionable as a source of similarity.
South's circumstances were different from East's when we consider that

South ran a centre(and we saw what this did to the work of the Centre team) and underwent potentially more disruptive membership change, yet it exhibited the same kind of category distribution as East during the year. From the opposite pole, events tested this most severely, for we saw the same events interpreted differently by the two Area Teams -- the cuts swelled East's *procedures* and South's *training* in addition to the *planning* consequences for both. Different setting factors encouraged similarity; similar setting factors encouraged difference. South and East, as they interpreted their work, had more effect on it than did the setting in which the teams worked, so the null hypothesis's determinant of similarity is considered invalid, even without the evidence of Outreach, ABE and Centre who, in the same setting, showed very different content category distributions.

Communication directly between East and South probably does not wholly explain the similarities either, though this cannot be so wholly disproven. In the first place, members were probably not aware that these analysis patterns existed, so are unlikely to have intentionally influenced them -- "I say, are we underusing *refer* again?", or, more to the point, "What have we done with our *staff/ing* torso?". Second, East and South had no joint members, as we have seen in the other teams. Direct communication though a common member was not a source of similarity. Mediated communication there was, however, as Area Team affairs were reported via the interpersonal links that every working setting boasts, and as other teams discussed Area Team matters and both referred those matters on or back to East or South, or went to East and South meetings themselves with the results of other teams' deliberations. This was formalised more and more as the year went on as East and South communicated through their minutes and through the Interteam meetings, but mediated communication cannot be dismissed as a source of similarity, only questioned seriously because the content category distributions of the other teams, those with much more opportunity to communicate through their overlapping membership, were so different.

Individuals and groups

Before leaving this section on team action, some discussion of the effect of individuals on teams is necessary. These analyses have ignored individual team members, anthropomorphising for economy of

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presentation as though East or ABE or Outreach were people. The teams were not individuals, they were groups of people who kept records.

From time to time individuals appeared, usually linked to a function like South's in-servicing member, or the East member who also had Departmental managerial responsibility, or the new Outreach member instrumental in the Summer publicity drive, or the three members who served on three teams each. These individuals, and others, all affected(and sometimes determined) the work the teams reported in their minutes. We shall see later that all, in their various ways, learned from their year of teamworking.

Using minutes to understand work obscures the influence of individuals. This, in my view, more closely reflects the way managing works -- it is a system of alliances rather than one person, one accomplishment. That we analyse it in such a manner -- for promotion within organizations, for leadership studies, even for our understanding of our past, is itself an attitude which owes much to history(we are used to seeing things that way), to convenience(a name is shorter than a list of names), to a version of accountability(single Cabinet ministers resign for malfeasances of entire departments) and philosophy, for our personal physics reduces human life to individual people, not to groups.

We would be wise to investigate social science methods that seek to understand groups, not just people in groups, and I make no apology for adopting such a stance in this paper. With this disclaimer, and possible source of bias, we return to the main discussion.

If we assume the null hypothesis is largely invalidated by differences among the teams, that is, if the similarities we have identified in earlier sections are not the results of history, setting, and communication, from whence do they arise? From, to an extent, events outside the teams, membership change and the academic year, but also from each team's interpretation of its brief, its development as a team and its emerging relationships with other teams. This thesis takes the position that the differences and similarities partly stem from the nature of the job of managing adult education.

The minutes, as evidence of team activities, give us our benchmark for understanding what team members thought about their year's work, and therefore about their own view of managerial

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effectiveness. From team member views, in later chapters, we move to understanding how external criteria would have measured the quality of team activity.

CHAPTER 5

EXPLORING EFFECTIVENESS: INTERNAL CRITERIA

Knowing what we do of the teams' activities over the terms of the study year, we might guess that team member definitions of adult education and their views of teamworking would change. We would suspect that members of different teams, too, might have different views. The idea of "effectiveness" helps us explore these similarities and differences, even though, as we have seen, there is little agreement about how effectiveness should be defined and measured.

This chapter explores how team members themselves would have assessed their performance in managing adult education and in teamworking. We avoid external definitions of quality, and stick to how the insiders saw it. Here complex opinion data is reduced to what team members might have agreed could be criteria for effectiveness. For now, "effectiveness" is a "sensitising concept", in Patton's terms(1980, 137); it helps us decide "what to look for".

In Section 5.1, team member goals and their own analyses of their goals in adult education are compared to the work of managing as the minutes analysis construed it. Then team member assessments of how teamworking "helped or hindered" the achievement of these goals(Section 5.2) is compared to other evidence from opinion and meeting data(Section 5.3). The bodies of data from which evidence is drawn in this chapter(see Table 3.6.1.1) are, for Section 5.1, "definitions of adult education" and "issues in adult education". For 5.2, the data is "advantages and disadvantages of teamworking", and in 5.3, evidence comes from "time", "working with the teams" and "team roles" as well as the minutes analysis results. Detailed information is presented in Appendices. A brief description of first round results from these bodies of data is in Section 2.5.

5.1 Legitimate activity in adult education managing

When team members described what adult education should be, the adjectival phrases they used fell into the ten categories summarised in Table 5.1.1.

General category	Subcategories In it	Percentage of responses
C. the content of AE	suited to adults' wants/needs job/qualifications, skill/leisure, relevant.	20%
A. AE programmes as a whole	right time/place free/affordable, varied, flexible	18%
D. what else AE provides	meet people, new directions fulfillment, confidence, cope/help.	17%
E. atmosphere of AE G. style of AE	fun, stimulating, positive atmosphere. informal,not like school	9%
H. teaching/ learning	adults learning, teachers/students,teaching form of tuition	9%
B. who the AE system serves	open to all society's need	9%
F. status of AE	image/status well-funded	6%
I. Other(in one round only)	bias well-organized, student run, lost opportunities a system, linked	7%
J. Miscellaneous		4%

Table 5.1.1 Categories into which team members' definitions of what adult education ought to be fell. Total responses = 524, total members = 64. Without overlap. Both rounds.

Nearly two-thirds of the responses were about *adult education programmes as a whole, the content of adult education* and *what else adult education provides.*

Adult education programmes as a whole should be at the right time and place. If not free, then it should be within people's ability to pay. The programme should be varied and broadbased -- offering adult learners a wide choice. This programme should also be flexible, that is, it should be changed as adult learning requirements change. Sometimes the word "responsive" was used for this idea.

The *content of adult education* should reflect what adults themselves see as their needs and wants, though this should probably include attention in the programme to preparation for employment, gaining qualifications, provision to develop adults' skills for leisure or recreational activities, all of it "relevant" to what adults require. "Responsive to demand" was one way to put this idea,

and "student-centred" another. "Wants" and "needs", for this purpose, seemed to mean roughly the same thing for most team members: it was an aspect of the whole programme rather than a debate about autonomy versus paternalism -- "want/need/ought" was the way one member blurred the edges. "Relevant" here seemed to include the relationship of what goes on in adult education to learners' life experience as well as to what learners express as being relevant. The "practical side of life" was one way to put it. "Responsive" was used here to indicate that the content of the programme was as flexible as the structure of the programme.

Adult education as it should be, however, was not just about programmes or their content -- *what else do adults get* from it? They meet people, they understand more about their relationship to society as a whole, they find new directions for themselves, and they gain confidence. For some, it is a break from their normal routine -- an escape. Adults also develop interactive or social skills, so they become "nicer to each other, their children [or] their granny". Some people called this "communicating better". It can help people keep abreast of social events and with social change, as well as "allowing individuals to see how they are valuable members of the society in which they live". Individuals grow by participating, gain satisfaction and become aware of their potential on the way to a better, more satisfying life. It is fulfilling as well as a way to develop a questioning attitude which leads to an opening up process -- new directions. It fosters self-awareness, self-respect and confidence. It can help adults cope.

The rest of the responses from both rounds were divided among four other categories: *atmosphere/style, teaching and learning, who the adult education system serves*, and the *status* of adult education.

"Fun", "interesting" "stimulating" and "exciting and challenging" characterise adult education's *atmosphere*. "Informal, friendly and supportive" methods of delivery should create a *style* "not like school".

Teaching and learning in adult education should be "adult in its presentation", "enabling" "autonomous learning" and "a sharing experience between teacher and student". Adult education should be "staffed by people capable of listening and hearing, not directing".

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In form it should be "self-paced" and "as intensive as students need", encouraging the "interactive" learning that goes on independent of the teacher-learner relationship.

The adult education system should *serve* all adults: "available" was a term frequently used to describe this. It should serve goals common to society as a whole, as well as catering for the learning requirements of particular groups such as pensioners, people who want to help their family's education, ethnic minorities, single parents, and those who have not already had access to education or training. "For the most disadvantaged first" was a strong undercurrent here. "For all age levels" and "for the generation of people about to become adults" began to broaden the base of the adult education clientele for some members.

To some team members, adult education's *status* was of concern. As a service it should be "well-funded". It should be more recognised and deemed "a right, not a privilege" and "publicised to explain its benefits to everyone".

Finally, some categories appeared in *one round only*. In the first round, some members thought adult education should be free from "bias". In the second, four new categories arose, elements of which had only appeared singly in *miscellaneous* in the first round. These were "a system/linked", "well-organized", "student-run" and "lost opportunities". Of the one round categories, "lost opportunities" seems familiar -- an attempt was made to enter it into "open up new directions" under *what else* adult education provides. In fact, this category already had Round B entries which, like Round A, had a feeling of "start and move on" rather than of loss. "Lost opportunities" was thus retained as a genuine category.

What ought to be and what is

Omitting the *one round only* and the *miscellaneous* responses for the moment, components of these definitions were about people and their needs(37% -- *content of adult education* and *what else adult education provides*), about the learning context(19% -- *atmosphere, style, teaching and learning*) and about the system that puts learning and people together(32% -- *programmes as a whole, who the system serves* and the *status of adult education*).

What relationship do these goals, if they can be so called, have

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to the everyday work which members reported, through their minutes,
they did?   Table 5.1.2 summarises the content of team activity over
the study year as it was seen in Section 4.3.

Category	Percent	Category definition
planning	22	investigation and development
facilities	18	buildings, equipment, room use, learning resources
procedures	15	ways to get things done(including teamworking)
staff/ing	12	hiring, problems, firing etc.
reports	9	information about how things are going
external events	9	not intrinsically part of a team's activity
training	6	organization and delivery for pattimers/members
publicity	4	matters taken up to get the provision known
miscel- laneous	4	unclear items and oddities
students	2	individual learners and student associations

Total %   101

Table 5.1.2 Percentage distribution of content categories into which
minutes items fell with category definitions. 1851 responses, all
five teams and terms.

What the teams engaged in when they met during the year was, for
over half the work, about systems -- *publicity* to get learners
there(4%), *facilities* and *staff/ing* to support learning(30%),
procedures(15%) to ensure the delivery system worked, and *reports*(9%)
to keep in touch with it.

Teams did discuss *students*, but rarely, and usually when there
was a problem with an individual or recommendations from learners and
learner groups.

Teams discussed *training* for teachers and volunteers. This is
more directly relevant to the learning setting than continuing to see
that the learning setting was undisturbed, as attention to categories
like *facilities* or to *staff/ing* imply. *External events*, too, could be
seen to be curriculum-related. They appear, at any rate, to fit with
the learning setting more than with systems or individuals.

The relationships between goals and the work are summarised in
Table 5.1.3.

Goal category	Goals in it	Work category

About people and their needs

37% of the goals		*2% of the work*
C. the content of AE	suited to adults' wants/needs job/qualifications, skill/leisure, relevant.	students(2%)
D. what else AE provides	meet people, new directions fulfillment, confidence, cope/help.	

About the learning context

19% of the goals		*15% of the work*
E. atmosphere of AE	fun, stimulating, positive atmosphere.	training(6%) external
G. style of AE	informal, not like school	events(9%)
H. teaching/ learning	adults learning, teachers/students, teaching form of tuition	

About systems

32% of the goals		*58% of the work*
A. AE programmes as a whole	right time/place free/affordable, varied, flexible	publicity(4%) facilities(18%) staff/ing(12%)
B. who the AE system serves	open to all society's need	procedures(15%) reports(9%)
F. status of AE	image/status well-funded	

Table 5.1.3 Goals of team members compared with minutes content analysis categories.

We have stretched and wriggled to compare the work categories to the goal categories, and have not been particularly successful. The goals are mostly about learners and learning, and the work mostly about systems.

Member analysis of what ought to be and what is

Some team members were aware that what they did as managers was not the same as what they wanted as adult educationists. We know this, because each team member analysed the components of his/her own definition of what adult education ought to be. The precise form this took is described fully in Appendix 3.4.

Here is how one South member put it, after s/he had contrasted the organizational side("cheap", "economic", "cost effective", "linked to employment") to matters of structure("free to learners", "low class numbers", "not just adults") to what s/he termed

development("atmosphere", "curriculum" and "availability"):

"The organizational side is not as linked to the teaching
side as it should be. I have this ideas they have two
separate hats.... I [feel] torn...[at putting] the
development and the money/organization on two separate sides
when they should be linked...."

It would be inaccurate to claim that all team members were as
clear about the disparity between goals and day-to-day work as this.
Other were more concerned with other issues, as Table 5.1.4 shows.
The description above came from one of the first round "management"
grids with an organizational/educational. focus.

| Round A | | Round B | |
Focus of analysis	Number of members	Focus of analysis	Number of members
Learner oriented			
Why come	4	Why come	4
What happens: teacher role	3	What happens: structure/classroom	3
What happens: tensions	5	What happens: individual/group	4
Outcomes	8	Outcomes	3
Subtotal	*20*		*14*
Structure oriented			
Management		Provider: admin/consumer	4
		Provider: organizational/ educational	6
	4	Provider: AE/institution	3
	1	Provider: local/national	2
Change	9		0
Subtotal	*14*		*15*
Miscellaneous	0		1
Total grids	34		30

Table 5.1.4 Team member analysis of definitions of adult education:
Both rounds.

Table 5.1.4 and the example above both suggest that the
"management" analyses from the first round and the "provider" analyses
from the second give us team member views on the disparity between the
team members' predominantly learner-centred goals and the quotidian
work of managing. Here, we discuss some of the ideas that mark team
member awareness of these as issues affecting their work as managers.

The four remaining first round management grids each had their
own way of understanding the differences between goals and managing
action. One, termed the "jobs" grid, contrasted teaching and course
structure with, first, day-to-day running of the service and, second,
with organization, which included where provision was mounted and the
policy that informed organizing activities.

A second management grid, nicknamed the "division of labour"
grid, constructed a triangle, with the manager at one corner, the
teacher at the second and the fieldworker and the learner at the
third. Learners were strongly linked to the fieldworker.

```
                    Teacher
                    /  \
                   /    \
                  /      \
                 /        \
                /          \
               /            \
               - - - - - - - -
    Manager                 Fieldworker/learner
```
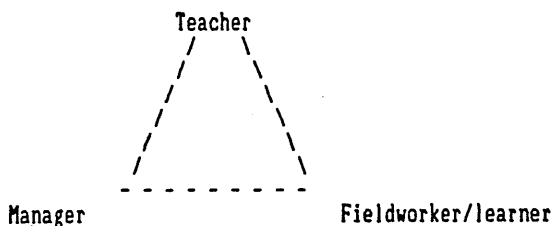
The third concentrated on the fieldworker, who considered
him/herself an investigator as far as learner need was concerned, and
a pressure group to get those needs met. Here s/he is as s/he links
three parts of his/her definition -- "providing what adults ask for",
"given higher priority by official bodies" and "fun":

> "The process of finding out is interesting[providing what
> adults ask for]. [You] stir to get higher priority plus fun,
> I'm going to have fun doing both, so it goes in the middle."

```
investigation------------------fun---------------pressure group
```

To make this even more concrete, "investigation" is linked strongly to
"how the centre manager sees it" and the stirring to get higher
priority for adult education linked to "how academic board sees it."

The final management grid is just as complicated, for here the
team member admits to being "up to here with abstract theoretical
stuff" from a recently attended adult education course. S/he
contrasts educational aims of the provision with how it is operated --
s/he believes that this power should be with the learners. The
components of his/her definition are either "provider-centred" or
"student-centred". The links s/he makes tie student-centred to
provider "responsiveness", which, at this stage, may be the vehicle in
his/her view, for empowering learners.

The structure grids from the second round suggest the balances providers must consider: those among administrative/consumer issues, organizational/educational issues, adult education/institution issues and local/national issues. Each is discussed below.

Administrative/consumer issues: Adult education managers coordinate and liaise to balance demand and supply, and to provide opportunities for both access and for realisation of learner goals. As part of this process, managers, expecially those who run adult education centres, both investigate below and exert pressure above them to reflect learner demand up the management tree. Time for this administrative function is necessary, so that outreach with consumers, which is the job adult education teams do, can be successfully done. Issues of learning contrast with the flexible system the adult education manager sets up, almost a "them" and "us" situation, in which the limitations are imposed by finance.

Organizational/educational issues: There are many organizational and educational issues to be considered in relation to each other. Educational decisions are about learning needs, quality, about a caring and informal atmosphere, the individual, the learner, the teacher and his/her job, the purpose of education and the fieldwork which discovers learner "want/need/ought". Organizational decisions are about resource, about constraints, about flexibility, location, and the manipulation of money -- the "practice" of adult education.

Adult education/institution issues: There is a contradiction between how adult education wants to look -- informal and outreach-based, and the demands of the institution for structure. Andragogic and democratic learning and managing may conflict with the paternalistic system within which adult education is set.

Local/national issues: Ideas from outside the institution are a source of change in the classroom as much as learner requirements are. The provider tries to look to the longterm and national trends in relation to local needs, but the consumer wants to satisfy his immediate requirements and pressures from without seem also to reflect the immediate rather than the longterm.

The Round A analyses about *change* were mostly about structure too. The key question is this: How should the adult education system change?

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Adult education should change its presentation of itself so that learners know what they are buying. Adult education publicity should be improved so that it need not continually point out what a good thing adult education is. The old traditional system must change to a new adaptable one, established as a right. The new system will link with other providers and agencies, and balance them with the demands learners make of it. Instead of one-off, isolated groups with set curricula, adult education should be part of a system which itself explores.

Now that we know something of what team members thought the contrasts and contradictions in adult education goals and adult education managing were, we can attempt to set the work the teams did in their meetings against their analyses' foci.

Round A		Round B		
Focus of analysis	Number	Focus of analysis	Number	Work category

Learner oriented

53% of the analyses				*6% of the work*
Why come	4	Why come	4	
What happens: teacher role	3	What happens: structure/classroom	3	training
What happens: tensions	5	What happens: individual/group	4	
Outcomes	8	Outcomes	3	
Subtotal	*20*		*14*	

Structure Oriented

47% of the analyses				*79% of the work*
Management		Provider: admin/consumer	4	students publicity
	4	Provider: organizational/ educational	6	staff/ing facilities procedures
	1	Provider: AE/institution	3	reports external
		Provider: local/national	2	events
Change	9		0	
Subtotal	*14*		*15*	
Miscellaneous	0		1	
Total grids	34		30	

Table 5.1.5 Team member analyses of definitions with corresponding work categories. Both rounds.

Analyses changed over the study year and the five teams differed from each other, too. We will discuss this side of team member definitions and analyses later(Sections 6.1 and 6.2). Here we want to identify what team members would consider effective.

Effectiveness and team member goals

Many team members have said that they were interested in adult education helping people learn, and for that reason they analyse the tensions and contradictions in the learning setting, or the reasons why learners come to adult education, or what learners want to get out of adult education. Team members who adopted this orientation, and all did to some extent, were condemned to a team working life full of system, organization and structure -- the detail work that makes up managing.

We discuss these team members first because their goal-derived criteria of effectiveness would relate to learners and learning. The teams in their day-to-day activity didn't do very much of that. It is hard to see how the goals mentioned by these team members could be met effectively by team action during the study year.

For those who were concerned with systems, structure and organization in their definitions and their analyses, we may be able to derive some criteria of effectiveness. For them, effective managing might be matters of engaging with, and moving towards solutions for, the contradictions team members brought up in the "management", "provider" and "change" analyses. Table 5.1.6 offers a sample of possible team member effectiveness issues.

Summary

When team members compared adult education as it should be to adult education as it is(Table 5.1.5), they emerged with similar results to the previous comparison of the work the teams did to team member definitions of adult education(Table 5.1.3). Whatever the goals of the service may be, the work of managing is a series of efforts to accommodate what can be done to what should be done. Legitimate activity in adult education managing may well be achieving satisfactory resolutions to changing problems as goals and reality interrelate.

1. *Relationship between adult education administration and consumers*
   balance demand and supply by coordinating and liaising
   provide opportunities for access and realisation of learner goals
   investigate below and exert pressure above
   find time for outreach with consumers(the job the teams do)
   marry issues of learning("them") with issues involving the flexible
      system which delivers it("us")

2. *Relationship between organizational and educational decisions*

Organizational decisions are about	Educational decisions are about
resource	learning needs
constraints	quality
flexibility	caring and informal atmosphere
location	individuals
manipulation of	learners
money	teachers and their job
	purpose of education
	fieldwork which discovers "want/need/ought"

3. *Relationship between adult education and the institution it's in*
   adult education wants to look informal and outreach-based, but the
      institution demands structure
   andragogic/democratic learning and managing conflict with
      paternalistic system within which adult education is set

4. *Relationship between local and national priorities*
   balance learner requirements with national priorities
   balance learner and national shortterm goals with longterm good of
      the adult education service

5. *Change*
   advertise so that learners know what they are buying
   publicise to raise the status of adult education
   traditional adult education system versus new, adaptable system
   establish adult education as a right
   link with other providers and agencies
   balance liaison-derived links with learner demand
   set up adult education as a system which itself explores

Table 5.1.6 Sample of effectiveness issues from team member analyses.

5.2 Team members on effective teamworking

As we looked closely at the work the teams said they did in their
meetings, and at members' own goals for adult education and their
analyses of them, so now we turn to how members thought teamworking
helped or hindered managing adult education.

Team member opinion of the year's work

As Table 5.2.1 summarises, members reported problems of *time* and
external *restrictions*, with *individuals working in teams*, with *team
processes* and with *negative effects on teaching*. They also listed

```
          Help                        Hinder
                S E A O C  T                   S E A O C  T

General help   6 1 4 4 1 16   General hinder  3 4 2 1 3 13
```

Time						
-delay	1	4	-	-	4	9
-one's own	2	2	3	1	1	9
-as a team	1	-	-	-	-	1
Restrictions*	9	6	1	1	3	20

Information								Problems(individuals)						
-areas of work	9	2	1	1	1	14		-in teams	2	3	3	3	1	12
-idea sharing	1	2	-	2	2	7		-pulling weight	3	-	2	-	-	5
-sharing skills/								-getting on	1	-	1	-	-	2
experience	2	3	-	3	1	9								

Positive processes								Negative processes						
-communication	1	2	3	-	1	7		-things lost	1	4	1	2	3	11
-roles/division of														
labour	-	1	5	-	1	7		-decisions	-	4	1	1	2	8
-ideas to action	1	1	-	1	1	4		-more teamwork than						
-subgroups	1	1	1	-	1	4		teams working	1	-	1	4	-	6
-miscellaneous	1	1	2	-	1	5		-empires	-	-	1	1	-	2
								-between teams	1	-	-	2	-	3

Teaching,positive								Teaching, negative						
effects	-	3	4	-	3	10		effects	2	1	1	1	1	6

Positive effects						
-students	1	2	1	1	1	6
-member power	1	1	3	2	1	8
-member support	2	2	1	3	1	9
-product	2	3	-	1	3	9

```
Miscellaneous  - 1 1 - - 2    Miscellaneous  1 2 - - 2 5

Totals       28 26 26 18 19 117        28 30 17 17 20 112

*itemised restrictions:   S E A O C  T
                outside   1 5 - - 3  9
                meetings  4 - - - -  4
                money     2 1 - - -  3
                staff     2 - 1 1 -  4
                Totals    9 6 1 1 3 20
```

Table 5.2.1 Team members' help and hinder responses at end of study
year by team. 30 people, 41 team member places, 229 responses with
overlap. Warning: Area Teams listed first.

informational benefits, positive team processes, positive effects on
teaching, and positive effects on students, members and team product.
There follows a description, in team members' own words as far as
possible, of ways that teamworking helped and hindered the kind of
adult education each wanted to see.

Teamworking takes time in more than one way -- "I've got things
more valuable [to do] than meetings", as one member put it. "The
slowness of it hinders some things from happening" and time can get
used for something besides managing adult education:

"I suppose [a hindrance] is that it's time-consuming when the

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team is a newly-operating one and it takes time to set up the modus operandi and expectations and so on..."

"It hindered because we weren't a team for long enough to work together"

Restrictions on teamwork imposed by external conditions were a source of teamworking frustration. Team members saw restrictions from management above the teams, from the budget cuts and money in general, from lack of staff, and from problems getting to meetings:

"The thing I found annoying was not within our group but a lack of communication about money, about the budget, not between groups but on high if you like..."

"It's been extremely unfortunate that the budget's been cut so that we've been making plans into nowhere. [It's] really undermined anything we could have achieved together."

"The main hindrance for the teams has been staff turnover..."

A few people talked about individuals not *getting on* together or not *pulling their weight*, but the bulk of comments on problems with *individuals in teams* were more subtle. On the one hand, "it's the ones who shout the loudest [who] get their own way" and, on the other,

"working in a team is hard work because...back to this thing about subsuming your own interests and allowing people close enough to be able to...it ensures that there's some sort of watering down, not necessarily less effective, but it does even out personalities."

Team members were clear about negative team processes too -- *things get lost* for straightforward reasons, for instance, "if people don't report back", or "not knowing who's responsible for what", or, more complexly,

"You can pull all sorts of strokes and be democratic and get your own way when you wouldn't ordinarily get your own way and it's always a function of nobody being quite sure where the buck stops. But the converse of that is that you've got to be more responsible about not letting things shuttle past or shuffle past or go by on the nod."

We have already seen that team members pointed out that delay in decision-making could create problems. Some members reported problems with achieving *decisions* and compromises and teams seeming "to go through processes that were for form's sake and then do what we wanted to anyway." Here is a member speculating about two different teams:

"I think we've got an egalitarian concept in our team but there are certain people vying to lead [the other team] instead of letting people contribute and I've found that very difficult because it's more of a hierarchical approach there and people say well, I'm representing such and such a thing, I should be in on this. More of the process of how you make decisions rather than everybody chipping in which is what we tend to do. They're very different teams."

Responses sometimes tried to take the newness of the teams into

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account, as this member talking about *more team-working than teams working*:

> "I suppose there's been more team working than adult
> education so it's hindered. We've been more bothered about
> getting the team working right, I suppose, so we've not been
> thinking about what we're doing as much as we would be once
> we're established."

People build *empires* using the team(or defend them),

> "What I do see as a contrast, there is a great contrast in
> other teams, to a certain extent it might be in x team, I
> don't know, is that there is a marked reluctance on the part
> of some team members to undertake what they do not see as
> traditionally their role...they're not prepared to share their
> expertise because expertise is power and power..."

and *communication between the teams* can hinder as "teams can take on a personality...that can be a bit intimidating", preventing access by outsiders. "Being sociable rather than having a working outlook" makes it hard for outsiders to relate to teams too.

Informational advantages of teamworking were seen to be sharing information on areas of work, sharing ideas and sharing skills and experience.

> across *areas of work*: "My mind's cluttered up with recent
> events. All year. I think it's helped theoretically. I've
> become more aware of people's aims and objectives and
> constraints and frustrations."

> *ideas*: "I think we've really got a buzz out of[working with
> people from different backgrounds and skills] and gone off at
> all sorts of different tangents, added to each others' work.
> Certainly broadened my education."

> *skills and experience*: "If it's the kind of thing where I feel
> I'm not so confident about I can go back and say, well, I'm
> thinking about doing this in a [place]. I haven't done it
> before. What do you feel about it? So I can draw on other
> members of the team's experience."

Positive team processes, most of them occurring in meetings, were *communication*,

> "Working in a team is a platform for airing views and
> communicating those views to all who are participating in the
> team so all are aware of the goals of the team. [It's a]
> help."

sensible *role* adoption and division of labour,

> "We actually decided our own roles and responsibilities and
> own areas of expertise and where the crossover points were and
> where the overlap was so that there was never any... no
> actions were ever seen as devious..."

the translation of *ideas to action*,

> "I think it's helped because you get so many contrasting
> ideas. You get so many personalities together, so many ideas
> that are going about that you get higher standards"

> "But when the thing is functioning, it's a super-efficient way

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of making decisions and getting those decisions functioning in the shortest possible time because it doesn't rely on a line management approach where everybody's got to be informed of a decision and wait for a decision and so forth. Decisions and devolvement are part and parcel of the same process."

and the formation of *subgroups* to do team work -- "you get little offshoots working towards one particular goal".

The positive effects overall were *benefits for learners*,

"I think it should help, should be able to relate what students are wanting to the people that make the decisions. Anything that can make the decisions respond to... making decisions as close as possible to what students want, anything that helps that has to be good."

more *power* for team members,

"...can help in concentrating funding. More power to one's elbow with a team approach, team approval rather than itsy bitsy."

support for members,

"Helped because this year I changed what I'm doing...very involved in certain projects and I've needed the team to sort me out over a lot of things and they've been very supportive."

"It's helped me broaden my horizons...prevent me from working blinkered."

and an *improved product* generally.

"But when it's done it's done properly."

"the College actually acknowledging that there is life out there in community centres after all. Perhaps we[the College] ought to go out and find out what all that untapped manpower etc."

Teamworking was seen by some to have positive effects on *teaching*, and by some to affect teaching adversely.

"It will also affect your attitude towards students as individuals -- not authoritarian."

"Means that your thoughts as a teacher are fragmented and your time is broken into"

Helps and hindrances as effectiveness criteria

These helps and hindrances suggest how team members judged their own teamworking at the end of the study year. Some are noted in Figure 5.2.2 with the number of individuals, the number of observations they made, and the number(and identity, sometimes) of teams who deemed them important. Some team members served on more than one team, and are assumed to have taken their opinions with them, so are counted more than once. This, and the fact that members could list as many helps and hindrances as they wished, meant that the total for observations is higher than the number of people providing them.

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Hindrance or help	Members	Member responses	Teams
1. Hindrance: time.	6	9	5
2. Hindrance: restrictions	13	20	5(E,S)
3. Hindrance: individuals in teams	9	12	5
4. Hindrance: decisions	4	8	4(E)
5. Hindrance: things lost	5	11	5(E)
*6. Hindrance: teaching	2	6	3
Subtotal member places		70(63%)	
*6. Help: teaching	3	10	5
7. Help: information(areas of work)	6	14	5(S)
*8. Help: idea sharing	5	7	4
9. Help: sharing skills/experience	6	9	4
*10. Help: students	5	6	5
11. Help: member power	4	8	5(A)
12. Help: member support	6	9	5
13. Help: product	4	9	4
Subtotal member places		68(58%)	

Table 5.2.2 Summary of selected team member hindrances and helps
with sources by member, member responses and teams. Key: * is
explained in text.

Many more helps and hindrances were mentioned than these(Table
5.2.1). If only a few people mentioned a point, or if the comments
were characteristic of only one or two teams, then the observation was
classed as an interesting opinion rather than a possible criterion of
effectiveness with some corroboration. Ten helps and hindrances were
specified by more than three members, in at least four teams, and were
mentioned at least 8 times by team members, achieving a percentage
score of 4% of all help/hinder responses; it is these that appear in
Table 5.2.2, with the exceptions described below.

These conventions eliminate interesting possible criteria we have
met before when we discussed team member expectations in Section 2.5,
like the *sharing of ideas*, which team members thought, at the
beginning of the year, would be the most helpful aspect of
teamworking. It also leaves out *positive effects for students*, which,
as the year began, 8% of members expected would be a teamworking
benefit. We have added these two strong expectations.

We also lose teamworking's effect on *teaching*, for only three
members(two of them served on more than one team -- an "overlap"
effect) saw positive effects, and, though all teams had at least one
member who mentioned negative effects, there were only six entries in
the category. Like the strong entries from team member expectations,
the significance of this will become clearer when external criteria of
effectiveness are discussed in the next chapter.

Finally, team members anticipated, as the year began, that there would be problems with achieving *agreement* in the teams. This was the highest-scoring negative effect of teamworking -- a hindrance foreseen with gloom by some people:

"If it wasn't a cohesive sort of group, you'd get everything spread very thinly around and a very poor use of resources and a lot of talk and wind..."

This category did not occur in the second round response analysis, and is probably legitimately represented by *problems with individuals* in teams.

Table · 5.2.1, too, shows that some aspects of teamworking were more important to some teams than others. We will discuss them now, for we have used team distribution of responses to identify effective teamworking criteria. South, for instance, reported more help from *sharing across areas of work* and more general help statements than other teams. Its problems came from difficulties "to get to the meeting, teaching at the same time, eating lunch over meetings...", and, in the view of two members, individuals *not pulling their weight*. East members mentioned all of the help categories equally, with a bit more emphasis on *sharing skills and experience*, and identified more general hinders than other teams, more problems with *delay* in decisions, *restrictions* from outside, and *problems with individuals in teams*, as well as *things lost* and problems with *decision-making*.

This does not necessarily mean that East lost things, or South did share across areas of work, for team members were not asked which team they were discussing when they mentioned helps and hindrances. That ABE identified *division of labour* as a major positive team process did not mean that they did it well, for instance. ABE members served on other teams, and may have observed it happening elsewhere. Outreach's relatively strong response on *member support* reflected other patterns from earlier analyses -- their emphasis on *reports* in the minutes analysis, for instance -- but that must wait until all the evidence is in. Centre, by this time, was almost co-terminous with East in membership, so what Centre members said could equally have applied to both teams, or either.

Because of overlapping membership, East/Centre members got all their opinions entered twice. Negative responses from East and Centre were, to a certain extent, balanced by positive responses from ABE,

which held three members in three teams each. We will return to this effect from time to time, to make sure it does not cloud any conclusions we may reach. For now, suffice it to say that East and Centre responses had a better chance of being included in this particular discussion than those of other teams.

Summary

Factors team members used to evaluate their teamworking year are identified. As such, these points are called criteria, or bases on which judgements can be made. In the next section, each is examined to see whether it can be substantiated.

5.3 Verifying team member criteria of effective teamworking

Were team members right? Did East lose things? Was everything in the South garden as rosy as team members presented it? A problem arises in demonstrating these team member effectiveness criteria, for, though some could have been predicted, some are results of the study, and so information to substantiate them was not planned. An example of this is effective teaching by team members, which is not in the remit of the study. About some, however, other evidence is brought to bear, to see whether the teams member statements about teams were accurate.

5.3.1. *Time*

There were three aspects of time as the teams saw it. The first was a South opinion -- "we weren't a team long enough to work together." This was not corroborated by any other team member, nor by the evidence in Chapter 4, for all the teams showed evidence of undertaking work, and, even among helps and hindrances we are discussing now, all teams had members who described positive team process and informational benefits. The weight of team member opinion and of the minutes analysis is against this statement.

The second aspect of time was *delay*. This came from two members of Centre/East and from a South member. All were concerned that the slowness of teamworking hindered some things from happening: "when there's been different ideas[in a meeting] about how the thing should be approached and therefore it doesn't get approached at all -- can delay decisions." Under negative team processes about decisions, "we seemed to have to go through processes that were for form's sake and then do what we wanted to anyway", according to an East/Centre member.

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Another witness to East said, "...it's more of the process of how you make decisions rather than everybody chipping in", identifying East's concern with the *how* of things which we have seen in the minutes analyses. The other "decision" points were about compromise, both of them from one East member who said that East didn't do it. In East and, to an extent, in South, then, delay in decision-making was seen as a problem, though it could be part of a number of team processes identified by team members. Certainly when we looked at how teams disposed of minutes items, decisions in the same meeting in which the item arose were the preferred mode(Section 4.3.4). In ABE, the *defer* option for disposing of minutes items was used more frequently(Section 4.5.6, *Dispositional variations*), and ABE members were suspiciously silent about decision-making delay. East had a somewhat higher *defer* rate than Centre, South or Outreach, but nowhere near so high as ABE's.

The independent evidence we does not support the time problem that team members called *delay*. It may be that it is part of a team-working process to which the teams were becoming accustomed, and it is appropriate that it should loom largest in the analyses of members of the newest team. It was related by an East/Centre member to the conversion of *ideas to action*, a process which is certain to delay matters.

The third problem concerning time was termed *one's own*. Here evidence from another source is available. The more experienced existing team members in the first round were able, usually, to give some sort of estimate of how much time "working with the team" would take. The data is not complete, as some parttimers were not asked the question at all. As one pointed out, "It's an unrealistic question. I'm on a ten-week contract". By the end of the year, most people were able to report how much time teamworking did take. Generally, members reported it took less time than their estimates at the beginning of the year(Appendix Table 5.2.1 contains detailed information). Another factor affected this, however: team members' changing definition of "working with the team".

The first round definitions were varied:

"That's a tricky one because I haven't worked out what you mean by teamwork. Do you mean just sitting with the team? 10%.... If for "team" replaced it with "centre" I would say

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at least a third if not more."

Imbedded in this member's answer to "How much time do you think
working with the team will take?" are the two most common definitions
of "working with the team" used by members during the study year.
"Sitting with the team" means attending meetings; "working in the
centre", to paraphrase, means doing team-based work.

Some people went even farther:

"40% of my time because the remaining 60% would be applying
the ideas and aspirations of the team in the 40% time of
meeting."

For some, working with the team meant meetings("to pass on
information, etc., about an hour"). For others, working with the team
meant every activity("all my time"). To make matters more
complicated, some staff were parttime and some fulltime -- one
parttimer said "It seems to me that I'm going to be working for free
more hours than I'm being paid now". Finally, some teachers saw their
work as teamworking anyway --"it's very rare I'm on my own". So for
someone who thought that working with the team meant just meetings,
spending more time on teamwork would be ineffective. Someone who
thought that teamworking involved all their time might well be be
pleasurably surprised to find it didn't. Criteria of effectiveness
depend on what a team member thought "working with the team" meant.

By the end of the study year, Outreach thought that "working with
the team" meant meetings. No ABE team member thought that "working
with the team" meant meetings only. For Centre, about a third of the
members thought teamworking was work done for the team as well as
meetings, and this proportion was shared by East and South. These
proportions mark a change, for all teams moved towards a "meetings
only" definition(Appendix Table 5.2.2 presents this in more detail).

We are not discussing how much time the teams actually took, but
how much time team members thought it took. Centre, Outreach and East
members estimated   teamworking was going to take more time than
it did. For Outreach members at any rate, this appears to be because,
at the beginning of the study year, Outreach members had a wider
definition of working with the team than they did at its end.

Summary

So did teamworking take too much time? Team members' perceptions

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of the time it would take, particularly in East and Centre, were higher than they reported it did take. Outreach changed its definition of working with the team dramatically. ABE remained relatively consistent -- for it, working with the team was not meetings. South, whose estimate appeared to be accurate(it matched its report, at any rate), seemed to have more members who thought teamworking meant meetings by the end of the study year. Their definition, too changed. So only in East, and to a certain degree, Centre, do we have evidence that, rather than teamworking taking too much time, it took less than expected.

5.3.2. *Restrictions*

In Chapter 4, teamworking appeared restricted by the necessity of responding to budget changes in the teams' second Spring, the same time as the second round interviews were being conducted. The second restriction from outside identified in that chapter was membership change, which was shown to have affected South most. The third restriction was the effect of the academic year. All of these created changes in the distribution of the work of the teams, but not so much as internal causes stemming from the teams' briefs and their developing relationships.

Team members viewed restrictions differently than their minutes testified. South and East members between them contributed three-quarters of the restrictions mentioned. Three East members were firm about lack of commitment from management above the teams to teamworking -- "it's not just our management, goes right up to the top of the College; it's no good blaming our immediate management because they can't have a foot in both camps...". Two of these members felt so strongly that they made the point twice each.

One South member already quoted termed this lack of communication about money from "on high", making the same point as the East members, but bringing in South's interpretation. Two South members thought that the budget cut --"all this business about money" -- undermined the teams' ability to achieve anything. East's restrictions were about structure, and South's about the cut and communication problems.

Four South members had trouble getting to meetings -- eating lunch over meetings was a South member thinking about his/her digestion. For East members, this was not so much of a problem.

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Finally, problems with lack of staff were raised four times, three of
them by this researcher occupying three overlap places. What seemed
important to me did not bother the teams much at all except for a
South member who said that what could be done depended on the
"man-hours that were available".

So what limited the teams depended on who you asked and, I
suspect, on when the question was asked. These reports about
restrictions say more about the teams than about the restrictions --
they could almost be said to represent distinctive team analyses from
the two new Area Teams for, except for this researcher, no ABE or
Outreach member mentioned any restrictions at all.

5.3.3. *Individuals in teams*

Team members reported that there were problems with individuals
in teams. Enough reported it so it must have been a problem. In
which team did it loom largest? Problems were mentioned more
frequently by East, ABE and Outreach members than those in South or
Centre.

South and Outreach mentioned problems of people working in teams
-- more from the point of view of the demands it makes on individuals
-- as the study year began, but it was East and Centre who speculated
most on problems of getting agreement in teams in the first round.
Six East members were concerned about this at the beginning of the
study year. By the end, only three East members thought it was an
issue. East's own reports, then, may indicate that there are reasons
for teamworking difficulties besides the problems of working with
individuals.

The study did not focus on the roles of individuals in effective
teamworking, for the contract made with team members included an
agreement that no team member would be identified. The minutes
analysis indicates that no team was inactive during the year, so we
may suspect that, whatever problems teams had, they were, if not
overcome, at least adjusted to.

5.3.4. *Decisions*

This point was made mainly in East(and Centre members probably
talking about East). Is there any evidence that East was any worse at
making decisions than anyone else from the disposition analysis? The
minutes analysis reports East making the same proportion of decisions

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as all other teams with the exception of Outreach, who tended to receive more *reports* than other teams. The discussion about delay in the *time* section above(5.3.1) is linked to this, and so is the discussion about *things lost* which comes next.

5.3.5. *Things lost*

This is primarily an East/Centre pattern. Again we see that members of these two teams were apt to be more critical of their teamworking than others. They said decisions were delayed(5.3.1), and were hindered(5.3.4) and things got lost, too. From East's point of view, as well, there were problems with the teams' interface with the managing superstructure(5.3.2). From what we know of East, its solutions to problems were apt to be structural and procedural, and so were their criticisms of their own working. There is a consistency here, though we cannot demonstrate the validity(or lack of it) of the statements.

Summary of "hindrances"

Members have so far reported interpersonal difficulties, which we cannot corroborate. The time restrictions which members reported appear to be more related to how they viewed working with teams than with actual time spent. Restrictions from outside as identified by team members were different from those which the minutes analyses showed. Teams, especially East, criticised their decision-making and thoroughness(another way to describe things getting lost), though what evidence we have shows that, grossly speaking, all teams but Outreach made brisk and frequent decisions.

Now we turn to the ways that team members thought teamworking helped the kind of adult education each wanted to see. First, we look at teaching, the main job of many team members, then we move to informational benefits of teamworking and benefits to product as team members saw it.

5.3.6. *Teaching*

A marker of problems in teams can be seen when people retreat to their own jobs. On the other hand, when people's own work is neglected, then a lack of organizational clarity and problems with accountability are possible determinants(Table 1.4.1). Three members did report problems with their own work and teamworking -- one South member who had a lot of teaching and couldn't get to meetings("I know

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I'm in everyone's bad books") and one of the East/Centre members --
"[teamworking] means that your thoughts as a teacher are fragmented
and your time is broken into" though s/he listed more ways his/her
teaching was helped than hindered. The third was this researcher who
thought that teamworking would hinder because it "pulls teaching and
managing" with an ensuing polarisation enjoining people making
choices, "then they might decide not to take power and that would be a
hindrance." This didn't seem to arise frequently in the statements
people made about the year's work, so one marker of effectiveness from
literature may be demonstrated -- team members were able to balance
their other responsibilities with those created by teamworking.

5.3.7 *Information across areas of work*

South thought this was a major benefit -- the other teams were
not so interested, though members of all teams mentioned it(ABE and
Outreach's scores were overlap effects -- the researcher again).
Three of the six who mentioned this as a benefit were from the English
for Speakers of Other Languages(ESOL) area of work, which, because it
had enough to do, could have been pardoned for not knowing much about
the general adult education provision before they started working in
teams.

We have evidence of a change in Outreach members' definitions of
adult education by the end of the study year which may corroborate
information sharing across areas of work, as Outreach members did sit
in on Area Team meetings. We shall discuss the changes in team member
definitions in more detail in the next chapter. For now, it
appears(Appendix Table 5.3.1) that Outreach's definitions were more
like ABE's at the beginning of the study year, and more like those of
the Area Teams and Centre at the end. In fact, Outreach was
significantly similar to East and Centre in the second round, whereas
the only team to which it was significantly similar in the first round
was ABE. The additional information in Appendix Tables 5.3.2 and
5.3.3 shows us in which categories the similarities lie -- Outreach
members lost their interest in *atmosphere and style*, in the *status* of
adult education and the characteristics of the flexible adult
education *programme*, and instead concerned themselves with matters of
interest to the majority of team members -- they still didn't care a
great deal about the *content* of the balanced AE programme, but they

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specified more about *who the system serves.*

The evidence of some members from ESOL and Outreach's move towards the mainstream of team opinion documents team members' reports that areas of work communicated with each other. If team members actually talked about the teams they were in, then we can say that South was the team in which this happened most notably, though the Outreach results indicate that East and another area team not included in the study affected Outreach members enough for them to change their definitions of what adult education should be.

5.3.8. *Idea sharing*

Some reports of ideas being shared occurred but not nearly so much as team members expected from the first round, when mainly Outreach thought that this was the major reason, along with member support, for working in teams. South, East and Centre concurred, though less strongly. By the end of the year, East, Centre and Outreach thought idea sharing was worth reporting, but not enough to qualify for inclusion as a team member criterion of effectiveness.

Did ideas get shared? Again, for corroboration or contradiction we look to an analysis we have already examined for all the teams, members' own analysis of their definitions of adult education. The gross movement from round A to round B was one from learner-oriented to structure-oriented, as Table 5.1.4 earlier in this chapter shows(Appendix 5.1 gives more detail by team for all members). There were 27 team members who analysed issues raised by their definitions twice, once in the first round interviews, and once in the second(Appendix 5.4 presents this information in detail).

These 27 people occupied 38 team places, with most of the overlap places in the structurally-oriented analyses. There were nine people who stayed with learning across the rounds, and seven who stayed with structure. Those people who showed consistency in their analyses, whatever happened during the study year, occupied 26 team places across all the teams. They accounted for all but one of the overlap places.

The people who changed the focus of their analyses tended to be serve on only one team, which implies that their change had something to do with the team on which they served. Seven people changed from learning to structure; three from structure to learning. A

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Centre/East member who built a *change* analysis in the first round shifted focus to *what happens* in the learning situation in the second. The other two were both *management* analyses -- the "jobs" and "division of labour" grids -- who refocussed on *what happens* in the learning context, the first from ABE and the second from East.

All the changes from learning to structure were from *outcomes/what happens* to *provider* analyses. The changes took place in ABE, Outreach and South, with two changes in each of the first two teams and three in South.

What conclusions can we draw from this somewhat confusing picture? I think it means that in ABE, Outreach and South, something happened to make members more aware of managerial issues. I suggest that it might be the rise of the Area Teams, and members' involvement with them. This affected members' ideas about what adult education should be, and directed their analyses towards thinking out structural questions involved in adult education. This result shows that ideas were shared because the teams were there, even though the relationship is not the clear idea-sharing in a team which improves provision, as the team members saw it in the first round.

Another implication of team members' analysis of issues in adult education emerges from this discussion. Members of East and Centre did not change the focuses of their analyses, as a rule. Most of the people who stayed with learning or with structure were members who served on more than one team. Most were also former Centre members. Just as the teams had cores(people who served on them for 75% of the year, Appendix 3.1), so perhaps the network that the teams formed had a core, too, of managers who had a sense of the issues involved in adult education worked out when the study year began.

5.3.9. *Sharing skills and experience*

Six team members said they *shared skills and experience*, three of them new staff in East and South. There was a practical flavour to their statements -- "advice, hints, tips, guidance" and, from another, "expert advice". In Outreach, in addition to the practical points, a new member defined what s/he could contribute from his/her distinctive background, echoed by an existing team member who said the same thing.

The statements made about *sharing across areas of work* and *sharing ideas* were corroborated; *sharing skills and experience* is harder to

find evidence for.

Some data on how team members saw changes in their abilities to work in groups was collected. If it is assumed that the source of this learning was actually working in groups, and that new modes of group working behaviour are learned by watching others perform in groups, team members' views of their roles in teams could serve as an indicator of *sharing skills and experience* in group working.

Most people(Section 2.5) saw themselves in teams as *team workers* -- helping people work together -- or *company workers* helping the team work to the goals of the overall enterprise. These are maintenance roles, in Belbin's terms, and he includes *chairperson* among them. There are roles which seem to be about development, too, *shaper*(who leads from the front), *plant*(who prefers the ideas to the people) and *resource investigator*. The monitoring roles are *monitor/evaluator* and *completer/finisher*(Appendix Table 5.5.1 contains full definitions, and Appendix Tables 5.5.2-5.5.4 provide additional information supporting the discussion which follows.).

There were few differences between the first and second rounds. A few more people saw themselves more as *company workers* and as *plants* than before, and fewer scored *team worker* highly. *Completer-finisher* and *monitor-evaluator* had somewhat lower scores, too. All in all, it looks as if wherever *skills and experience* were shared, it wasn't in teamworking roles, until we remove the 27 repeated interviews from the total scores, to see if new and departed members caused the differences.

Among these 27 in the second round, *team worker* lost ground, and *plant* gained as a general pattern. It was the repeated interviewees that contributed to these changes, rather than the members who left. We can see more of which teams were involved by looking at repeated interviewees' first choice roles.

Of the 27 people with repeated interviews, about two-thirds changed their first choice. In East, where the change was most dramatic, we see *company workers* changing to *team workers*, against the overall trend, and two *completer/finishers* changing to *company workers*, away from monitoring roles to maintenance roles. One member, undecided between *company worker* and *monitor/evaluator* in the first round, chose *monitor/evaluator*. Belbin's presumption is people change

towards what the team needs, if the team is working well. These
changes point to a need for working together better, working to the
goals of the team, and a bit of checking on the side. The two
unchanging East members were a convinced *resource investigator*, and a
team worker.

South, very differently, had three members who changed to *plants*,
two of them from checking and maintenance first choices respectively.
Two other changes were towards *company worker*, and four people kept
the orientation with which they had begun. If any trend is visible in
in South, it is that team members felt more ideas were what was
required, against a solid(and unchanging) maintenance base(a *team
worker*, *company worker* and *completer finisher*).

For comparison, we look at the established teams. Centre, for
this analysis, had almost the same membership as East. They looked as
East did. ABE and Outreach showed different trends but first, we look
at a somewhat embarrassing validation of the instrument used. The
researcher, with three overlap places, changed from a *shaper* to a
plant. Part of the reason for doing the research at all was to leave
the teams to develop in ways that the researcher might have prevented,
had she been trying to make everything go right. The questionnaire
spotted this by chronicling the change from *shaper*, who leads from the
front, to *plant*, who just likes to throw in ideas. This change
accounted for three of the "within category" changes.

This said, Outreach moved towards the development roles and
within them. A single member tried to keep things anchored by
shifting wholly to *company worker*. In ABE, two members diversified,
taking a higher number of preferred roles at the end than at the
beginning of the study year. One of these, who changed from a
completer finisher to a *company worker/completer finisher*, was a
member of two other teams, and may have compromised among the roles
required by them all. The other moved towards *completer-finisher* from
company worker, perhaps trying to keep ABE on course.

So members changed how they saw themselves working in teams.
Some of these changes may be results of events in members' private
lives we know nothing of. If they were effects of teamworking, we see
that more change of a consistent shape took place in South and East,
the new teams, than in the establshed teams. East's move towards

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working together, and South's towards ideas, leads us to think that, to a certain extent, skills were being shared as far as teamworking was concerned, and that members were changing their roles to suit what the team required.

This analysis also substantiates East's teamworking problems. Three people shifted, against the trend, from *company worker* to *team worker*, the role which, above all others, tries to reconcile interpersonal opposites, is evidence for the teamworking problems East must have had over the study year. Nevertheless, an East member remarked:

> "I think we're actually getting somewhere to people taking responsibility for their team role and a greater awareness when they're in a team role and when they're in an individual role and the fact that...different implications of those two. Nearly all the team seem to be becoming sensitised to that, which is a help, because that system is still developing."

and a member who had gone from South to another team said of the team s/he had left:

> "Nobody ever said we are all equal round this table, but everybody made a conscious effort to contribute more or to hold back or to take on a role that traditionally they would never have seen themselves doing, and they all made that decision on their own without any overt influence from other team members."

or, from a South member, after the second round interviews:

> "[My colleague] asked me why I was talking so much during the meeting. I told her I was chairing it and she never noticed."

Summary of "helps"

Sharing across areas of work, sharing ideas and *sharing skills and experience* were reported by team members, and we have some corroboration that this did take place. Now we come to the last four criteria mentioned by team members, those about positive effects on aspects of the *product* of the teams' work.

5.3.10. *Students*

Five people from all teams talked about benefits to students. Teams make members better informed, so they can better help students get around the Centre, which echoes the information sharing benefits above. Teamworking helps because "[you get] interaction between staff to create programmes for students", almost as though communication enhanced quality automatically. Teamworking also helps because teams can "relate what people are wanting to the people that make the

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decisions". This can be done because "we're out there finding the
needs of the students in their own environment". These two points are
reminiscent of the centre manager analysis mentioned in a previous
section and other analysis issues summarised in Table 5.1.6. A final
benefit to students stemmed from the area structure of the teams which
ensured that management was not rendered "impersonal" by covering too
great an area of the city; area teams are a logical managing
structure. All but one of the members giving these responses were
incomers; they arrived during the study year. Only one existing team
member thought teams helped by benefiting students. It is almost as
if, with the generous responses given under this category in the first
round, existing team members had moved on to considering other issues
about teamworking, focussing on the teams themselves rather than on
what they produced.

5.3.11. *Member power*

The two ABE teams felt this most strongly, and the score was high
because of overlap -- two of the people on three teams each thought
that "there are areas where we could exert more pressure than we could
as lone voices" and "giving everybody a part of the power, and power I
reckon is deploying the budget, I think it's done that." The other
two responses echoed the "lone voices" statement. All responses were
from experienced rather than new members.

5.3.12. *Member support*

Members were supported in these statements from or about South --
"helpful to be able to run to somebody", "supported each other when
the going's been hard or the workload's been heavy" and "members of a
team can be very caring". One Outreach member listed three ways the
team had supported him/her through a change in personal and job focus.
Two East members talked about support. The first found the team
prevented him/her from "working blinkered"; the second almost
wistfully talked about what team support could be:

> "I would like to see expansion of people's skills and
> expertise so they're not just and only contributing their
> strengths but are learning new things and enjoying that,
> hopefully, rather than feeling swamped by it, because it's
> just been pushed on them."

Here we see member support an issue which at least one member of
each team thought was important, and in each team, some worthwhile

support had been received. Perhaps members who did not mention
support, like those who did not mention benefits to students, were
thinking about the teams and teamworking itself rather than concrete
benefits it can give. These responses were given by a mixture of new
and experienced team members, unlike those in the sections on
students(incomers) and *member power*(experienced members).

5.3.13. *Team product*

What did the teams produce, in these four team members' view?
"Fair" programmes in various evening centres, talking about the right
things in meetings, linking a specific College-based programme to
community centres, gaining volunteers for training, wider publicity
for adult education and, more generally, "but when it's done, it's
done properly". This is a varied view of product, and not necessarily
one that we might find anywhere else. At least one member in each
team(except ABE) talked about at least one thing s/he thought the
teams had made a success of; they were a mixture of new and
experienced team members.

5.4 Afterword

The teams created themselves during the study year, a product if
there ever was one. In their statements about helps and hindrances to
teamworking, team members identified some of the characteristics --
positive and negative -- of the teams they produced, as it were. We
have discussed these as though they were criteria of effectiveness,
and tried to see whether the team members judged rightly. Where we
had no evidence, we simply reported the responses as testimony.

We must conclude, overall, that East was likely to judge itself
harshly, and South leniently. ABE and Outreach were hotbeds of
support for teamworking, and Centre followed East, partly because
Centre members mainly talked about East when they listed hindrances
and helps.

What's missing from these team member judgements of teamworking?
It's easy to see that they did not spend energy looking at the
products of teamworking to judge its effectiveness -- they were much
more interested in process. The form in which the question was asked
allowed them to go either way -- "How has teamworking helped or
hindered the kind of adult education you want to see?" could have
engendered lists of positive or negative concrete achievements, and

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for a few members, it did.

Teams were dismissed as hindrances by four team members, two of
whom were polite about it -- "not much hindrance"; "it didn't hinder
much but the achievement is no higher than the hindrance". Three of
these were East members; one a member of South. Three more team
members said that teams hindered because of "teething troubles", two
from South and one from East. These were all counted as statements
that said teams hindered; all came from members who worked in the
teams throughout the year. Eleven people said that teamworking
helped, among them the member that said "not much hindrance". His/her
positive statement was

> "and then on the other side of it it's very difficult to say
> how teamworking hinders that goal[the kind of adult education
> s/he wants to see] because most people are actually working
> towards it..."

This is an interesting treatment of a problem we have seen in another
guise in Section 5.1, that of the gap between goals and actual
practice in teamworking.

Four of the people who found teamworking helpful were new
members, the other seven were experienced. Mostly these members were
from South, ABE, and Outreach.

The external criteria identified earlier like innovation(is *ideas
to action* a form of innovation?), collaboration(which appeared in
various forms in the analyses of definitions) and balance(which
appeared in some definitions and some analyses of definitions) were
not criteria that came readily to mind as helps or hindrances. Team
members would not have termed them measures of effectiveness, rather
as characteristics of ideal adult education towards which they were
working in their various ways, and which, as we have seen, many
members were fully aware were goals, not achievable management
targets. When team members evaluated their teamworking, they looked
for practical things, in the realm of the possible.

When we, in the next chapter, turn to external criteria for
effectiveness, we will discuss other ways to judge effective adult
education, teamworking and individuals working in teams. Then we will
return to the team member views we have discussed here at some length,
and compare external and internal criteria.

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CHAPTER 6

EXPLORING EFFECTIVENESS: EXTERNAL CRITERIA

Most complicated things have an internal and an external logic.
Social science is based on this, for what you can see from inside can
be compared to what an outsider might see, looking in. The
literatures of adult education, organizational effectiveness and
teamworking in Chapter 1 yielded seven perspectives for judging
effectiveness(Table 6.1.1). They stand as substitutes for the
outsider who asks "why do you do it that way?" Now the detailed
information on team activity and opinion presented in Chapters 4 and 5
becomes relevant in a new way, for we can see whether any of these
perspectives helps understand the teams and whether or not they were
"effective".

> teamworking: structures, team role adoption, changes in member
> analyses
> managing/teamworking: identification of jobs
> adult education: balance, innovation, collaboration

Table 6.1.1 Summary of external criteria for effectiveness. Section
1.7 refers.

Section 6.1 discusses effective teamworking, starting with
benefits of teamworking to team members, working to observations made
in Chapter 1. Section 6.2 discusses goal consensus. Goal consensus is
useful both for understanding how people worked in teams, and for
evaluating the effectiveness of the teams within the differentiated
system around them. Then we move to other criteria by which effective
managing can be judged in Section 6.3 -- information
management/identification of team jobs, and decision processes.
Finally, indicators for effective adult education are assessed in
Section 6.4 -- collaboration, balance and innovation. The discussion
focusses on the new teams. The established team data allows
comparisons. The conventions for presentation are the same as
heretofore: explanations and comment are in this text, and detailed
information is in the appendices.

The basic contrasts made, as in earlier chapters, are among
bodies of data(meeting data, team opinion, and adult education
programmes), across the terms of the study year, among the new and
established teams, and among groups of team members.

6.1 <u>Members in the teams</u>

        The interaction between member benefit and organizational
benefit is complex.   Some of the points discussed in the introduction
to this study are summarised below in Table 6.1.2.

        for individuals, teamworking helps to
            develop a sense of belonging
            define self in relation to others
            get support for own ideas
            share in a common activity for its own sake
        for the institution, teamworking helps to
            control members
            socialise new members
            develop an alternative status structure
            communicate information
            provide social support
            increase members' knowledge of the whole institution
            reduce members' isolation
            develop individuals(because appreciate other members enough to
                collaborate with them)
            take chances that lead to increased efficiency
            maintain morale
            if group norms and organizational goals coincide,
                -increase goal attainment
                -encourage employees to utilise energy/efforts in concerted
                    direction

        Table 6.1.2: Summary of teamworking benefits to individuals. Source:
        Chapter 1's discussion from Handy 1976(1983), Turner(1980), Turner(no
        date), Legon(1981), Patten(1981).

        So, on the one hand, the individual benefits because the
organization does, and, one the other, if individuals profit, so does
the organization.   We try to reach conclusions about this complex
relationship by recalling changes in members' understanding of working
in teams from team role, definitions of working with the team, member
analysis of team working processes and member analysis of definitions
of adult education.

        First, more than half of the members in repeated interviews
modified their first choice role in teams(Section 5.3.9). This result
can in no way be termed significant as far as demonstrating that these
groups worked effectively as teams, but it is suggestive, for members
changed either towards what the team appeared to need(East and its
team workers, ABE and its checking role increases) or what we
perceived the climate of the team to be(South, Outreach and ideas is
the clearest illustration of this).   These are indications that the
teams were functioning as teams, for their members reported acting
differently at the end of the year than at its beginning.

        Second, members generally had a more economical definition of
working with the team by the end of the study year(Section 5.3.1),

particularly in East and Centre, where the experienced team members
started making less all-embracing statements about how team working
and their own work interrelated(Section 5.3.13). Working with the
team meant meetings for most people; the major exception was ABE
members, which shows us that there was more than one way of
understanding working with the team -- an exception that proves the
rule, as it were. A changing definition of working with the team,
too, says that teamworking has had an effect, if only to make members
more realistic in their sense of what group working involves.

Third, team members, particularly in Centre and East, had what
might be called a more sophisticated analysis of teamworking processes
at the end of the year than at its beginning(Appendix Table 2.3.1
shows first round responses by team, Table 5.2.1 second round
responses by team). At the end of the year there were more
disadvantageous group processes listed, and more disadvantages
generally. The comments on hindrances and helps were more specific --
people did not make blanket statements about *benefits to students*, for
example, in quite the way they had when the study year began. There
were more statements in both categories -- help and hinder -- this
points to a broadening of experience by team members, and indicates
that they assessed that experience. Again, working in teams affected
the people who did it.

South, ABE and Outreach took other stances. South's new members
were much less critical of teams than the East/Centre members we have
discussed. They found it useful to have joined a functioning team,
which to them South was. They almost sounded smug in their loyalty to
teams as a way of working. The two new members of East shared this
pattern, though with more caution. ABE tended to focus on what the
teams could be, hence its generous support for positive processes and
positive effects for students when its members listed advantages and
disadvantages. Outreach, in comparing how Outreach worked to how
other teams worked, mostly found its own methods satisfactory. They,
alone among interviewees, specified which teams they were talking
about when they were asked about teamworking. Outreach was the team
with the strongest sense of itself during the study year.

Finally, members analyses of their definitions of adult education
showed increased complexity. More different issues were mentioned in

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the grids which elicited members definitional analyses. Appendix
Tables 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 summarise this and shows the data from which it
comes. Appendix 6.1 summarises this increase in complexity in more
detail. The second round analyses, whatever their main interest,
usually had more than one main cluster, those clusters tended to be
more highly correlated internally, and to contain fewer elements.
These internal indicators show that team members saw themselves
differently in teams at the end of the study year from at the
beginning.   They also changed the way they assessed team working --
their evaluations were more complex than their expectations.   Members
also had a richer analysis of what was involved in adult education,
and, for some, in its managing. How does this compare to the
aggregated benefits of teamworking summarised in Table 6.1.2?
These internal indications show that team members saw themselves
differently in teams at the end of the study year than at its
beginning. They also changed the way they assessed teams, working --
their evaluations were more complex than their expectations. Members
also had a richer analysis of what was involved in adult education,
and, for some, in its managing. How does this compare to the
aggregated benefits of teamworking summarised in Table 6.1.2?

Returning to the benefits table, we can identify some which
appear on both the team and the outside lists. A few team members did
say that they "got support for their own ideas", though far more
prominent was the notion of sharing ideas to create something
different. We suspect that some new South members might well have
"developed a sense of belonging", and Outreach's comments about itself
did have a feel of "us". It is in Outreach's analysis of its working
structures, too, that we see Outreach members using their own team as
a benchmark for judging other teams. South members did this too.

We have evidence from the minutes chapter of the teams
"socialising new members"(Section 4.5.2) and "communicating
information"(especially 4.5.7). The analyses of definitions presented
in Section 5.1 illustrate an increase in knowledge of the issues
around managing, not just about adults learning; some members reported
a sharing of skills and experience and sharing across areas of
work(Section 5.3.7). All three together can be taken as an "increase
in members' knowledge of the whole institution". That teams did

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provide support was mentioned by members both before and after the
study year, with illustrations(Section 5.3.12). Sometimes this
support was personal, and sometimes more abstract -- "keep[s] me from
working blinkered". Team members saw support as a legitimate function
of teams, especially in the Area Teams and in Outreach. They did not
see it as "social support", which carries overtones of keeping the
troops happy.

"Individual development" through appreciation of others enough to
collaborate with them would have been translated by the teams as
sharing skills and experience, which did happen(Section 5.3.9). Team
members would not have recognised this benefit as it was stated.

The team members did not mention "maintaining morale" either, and
perhaps we might not expect them too. They did continue to function
to produce the programme during some highly contradictory signalling
about it during the cuts period in Spring 1986 -- perhaps that is an
indication of morale's contribution(Section 4.5.1). South members
continued to report benefits for teamworking no matter what happened
to it, especially among its newer members. That may be morale, or
just effective union against an educational world demonstrably
unfriendly to adult education as the teams saw it.

"Sharing in a common activity for its own sake" was not
demonstrated because the teams were convened to do a job as part of
their work. We do not know whether the institution was better able to
"control members" because they worked in teams: perhaps teamworking
kept them busy and out of mischief. Evidence of an "alternative
status structure" as a benefit to the institution was not shown,
though a cynic might point out that member satisfaction at working in
teams, or pressure from the expectations of colleagues, might make
members work harder. "Taking chances which lead to increased
efficiency" must remain unsupported, too; it is not demonstrable from
the data we have.

The two statements at the bottom of Table 6.1.2 contingent on
coinciding "group norms and organizational goals" are interesting, for
they suggest that "increasing goal attainment" and "concerted action"
can be beneficial results of teamworking. If we interpret group
"norms" as group "goals", focussing on what people think they should
be doing rather than on their tacit rules for interacting and

interrelating, then the section which follows will allow us to comment in a more informed way.

Summary

The benefits of teamworking culled from the literature were also aspects of teamworking that members reported, or for which independent evidence is available. That these can be demonstrated is evidence that the teams were working effectively, in that their teamworking yielded some of the benefits commonly imputed to team activity. Team members increasingly saw themselves as managers, and had a more complex understanding of group processes and issues relevant to managing in adult education by the end of the study year. Teams are not just about member benefit, however, and in moving to goal consensus, we begin to consider some of the organizational benefits of teamworking discussed in Section 1.4.

6.2 Goal consensus

Goal consensus can be a benefit to the organization, for the differentiated system within which the teams worked(the College) should profit if its staff share goals with it and with each other. Goal consensus between individual and organization creates a better climate for carrying out the policies of the organization; goal consensus among individuals helps them communicate to get the work done. In exploring goal consensus, we look both at managing effectiveness, for one criterion of effectiveness of differentiated institutions is goal consensus, and at teamworking effectiveness, for people working together may well affect each others' views of the aims of the enterprise.

The policies of the College were discussed with those of the School and the briefs of the Teams in the background to this study(Section 2.1). The community-oriented goals of the institution were to be "responsive to the needs of the community" as well as "stimulating the prosperity of the community" as a "district resource". The School's policy committed the teams to "working with people to identify their learning requirements, then seeing that these requirements are met". The focus of the School in the College policy division of labour was on individuals in their neighbourhoods; that of the College on the well-being of the District as a whole. The Area Teams' brief(Section 2.4) was "the task of establishing a 'coherent

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and comprehensive provision of education for adults' in their own districts", a level which seems to be between the College's widescale view and the School's emphasis on individuals (for the Area Teams, "district" meant local area). Making sense of what was on offer in adult education seemed to be part of this team brief("coherence"), and so did wide-ranging("comprehensive"). This vocabulary was one way of identifying goals in a complicated organization.

Some indication of team members' goals lie in the definitions of adult education each gave at the beginning and at the end of the study year(Section 2.5 introduces the categories into which they fell, Appendix 3.3 describes how the categories were generated and Section 5.1 explains the categories fully). Members had analysed their own definitions too(Section 5.1, Appendices 5.1 and 6.1), and at least one linked his/her definition and its analysis to communication among individuals:

> "I think it made me think about the way I describe things, probably gives you an idea about why people misunderstand you so often. I think it should be relevant [to] everybody talking about a completely different thing all the way around the room..."

The main result of members' own analyses of their definitions was the movement to "provider" analyses on the part of many team members. Just under a quarter of team members interviewed in the second round moved from considering educational imponderables towards consideration of the tensions in managing. These were South, ABE and Outreach members, for East and Centre members tended to retain the orientation of their analyses across the year -- those who started with considering learning issues stayed with them, and those who preferred to analyse structure kept to structural issues. East/Centre members were those used to the idea of working in teams to manage adult education.

On the face of it, East and Centre were thinking about problems of structure and system from the beginning, and so were a good number of members of other teams. A pull towards learning issues existed in all teams, though, ensuring that both orientations were represented in team interactions. The main movement, however, was towards issues which might be termed "managerial" -- system, structures and tensions among them -- as if team members were beginning to believe they were indeed managers. The issues members thought important are summarised

in Table 5.1.6.

The definitions from which members' own analyses came are lists
of desirable features of adult education as the member being
interviewed saw it at the time. If a team member says adult education
should be "fun", would s/he consider building "fun" into adult
education a priority? Is "fun" a goal for that member? There is no
way to tell. But if, at the end of the year, that member is most
concerned about matters of liaison in his/her list, it means that what
s/he considers important in adult education has changed. In this
sense, we are discussing the adult education goals of that member. In
the discussion that follows, "goals" and "definitions" are used as
synonyms.

Goal category   Goals in it

About people and their needs

C. the content   suited to adults' wants/needs, job/qualifications,
   of AE   skill/leisure, relevant.

D. what else AE   meet people, new directions, fulfillment,
   provides   confidence, cope/help.

About the learning context

E. atmosphere of AE   fun, stimulating, positive atmosphere.
G. style of AE   informal, not like school

H. teaching/   adults learning, teachers/students, teaching, form
   learning   of tuition

About systems

A. AE programmes   right time/place, free/affordable, varied,
   as a whole   flexible

B. who the AE   open to all, society's need
   system serves

F. status of AE   image/status

One round only

I. Other(in   bias
   one round   well-organized, student-run, lost opportunities, a
   only)   system/linked

J. Miscellaneous

Table 6.2.1 Categories into which team member definitions of what
adult education "should be" fell, re-ordered by general interests they
represent.

Here we compare changes in the categories which help us
understand team member opinion, not the opinions themselves. If I
think as a team member that adult education should be "free" and my
colleague thinks that adult education should be "within people's

ability to pay", we are both concerned with *adult education programmes as a whole*, though we might be at daggers drawn in a meeting discussing fee structures. My colleague who thinks that the content of adult education should be related to getting a job may argue that there should be more vocational courses, while I defend people's ability to choose a course which allows them to develop a leisure skill. We may disagree in a debate, but we agree that the *content* of adult education is important to understanding what adult education "should be". Finally, if I say that adult education is about personal fulfillment, and my fellow team member adds that adult education, among other things, is for people to meet others and build new social relations, we may disagree when I argue that quality in instruction is everything, and s/he argues for an expanded canteen so that people can eat together between classes, but we are both concerned about *what else* adult education provides for users.

Team member definitions changed over the study year. Change patterns are summarised in Table 6.2.2, explained in the text below, and substantiated in Appendix 6.4.

1. Adult education definitions were about people and their needs, the learning context, and systems to provide learning opportunities.
2. Members of established working teams changed their goals more than members of new teams.
3. Some definitional change stemmed from people influencing each other.
4. The new adult education managers changed their definitions towards those around them.
5. The new adult education managers were, at the start, more interested in the ultimate goals of the system, rather than those which must be achieved to get there.
6. Admin staff definitions were more stable than those of academic staff; new team definitions more stable than those of established teams.
7. Definitional change was towards more realistic targets rather than general principles.

Table 6.2.2 Summary of effects of changes in team member goals

Statement 1: Adult education definitions were about people and their needs, the learning context, and systems to provide learning opportunities.

The goals seemed to indicate that there was a team network of which we have only seen traces before. Various parts of the network had different emphases -- Outreach's first round allegiance to *atmosphere/style* is one example, the admin staff's concentration on *people and their needs* in both rounds another -- but, for all groups analysed, the categories pointed out differences and similarities.

These categories represent the shared understanding that allowed team members to comprehend what people said "all the way around the room". It seems sensible to assume that any managing network would have a similar set of concepts, and show similar variation in considering them.

The balance among *people and their needs*, the *learning context* and *systems* changed by group, by team and over the year. It did not disappear -- the structure explained as much about, for example, the ESOL groups within South and East, as it explained about the teams' change over the study year for which it was developed. The minor categories(e.g., *relevant*), the major categories into which they fit(*content* of adult education), and the three-part grouping finally used to understand the category distributions(*about people and their needs*), was as real, for those teams in that year, as the fabric of the Centre building or the economic fee system.

As a system, it probably had its flaws. For now, we recognise that it existed, and use it to understand goal consensus during the study year.

Statement 2: Members of established working teams changed their goals more than members of new teams.

Statement 2 is about established teams, for their members changed their definitions more than members of the new teams did(Appendix Table 6.4.8). Paradoxes like this abound, for Centre members in their own analyses of their goals, kept their orientation to learning or structure(Appendix Table 5.1), while the constituents that bred the members' own analyses, the parts of the definition of adult education, changed for the Centre team. We may have a tool in repertory grids to look at the subtleties of changing one's mind, not, clearly, an all or nothing process, but one which lasts, as the grid theorists say, for some time.

Changing what you think about what you do is a luxury: it can be painful, too, especially when there are witnesses. Here the distance between what the teams actually did every day in their work and the general goals to which they subscribed(Section 5.1) worked to the advantage of goal change, for a change of mind could remain invisible until it was thoroughly digested. A Centre member beginning to think seriously about the benefits of informal atmosphere as Outreach

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presented it could afford to think the matter over for a while, because a decision about informal atmosphere was unlikely to arise next Thursday. An Outreach member discovering that not everyone on a team assumed that the only adult education clientele was that which had lacked access to education could spend some time thinking out what interrelationships there might be between the Outreach orientation to client groups and a broader adult education view of programmes for the city's residents.

Statement 3: Some definitional change stemmed from people influencing each other.

In this established team goal change, which appeared to emerge from contact of Outreach and Centre members on East, and, probably to an extent, Outreach members on South, is not only about member learning, but about accommodation to change. It explains one reason why change from outside a network like this is more likely to be difficult to engender -- it may be resisted because the time to understand, the period of learning in which someone sees a difference, identifies it, and relates it to what s/he already thinks, is missing. The learning we have seen in these teams is a developing of awareness which proceeds at the learner's own pace, an accepted characteristic of adults learning.

Change from inside a managing network, which works from what managers see as demands of what they do, and change from outside, which works from some external analysis of what has to happen, should not be referred to by the same English noun, and, probably, not studied by researchers in the same terms. However, the redefinitions which incorporate what comes from outside into what exists inside have, like all processes of digestion, the potential for inventing new validities -- an informal adult education programme, perhaps, in the way Centre and Outreach understood the term.

Statement 3, then, is about the nature of learning in a managing setting, and its potential for, in many unique managing contexts, creating new orders out of what seems to be chaos.

Statements 4 and 5: The new adult education managers changed their definitions towards those around them.
The new adult education managers were, at the start, more interested in the ultimate goals of the system, rather than those which must be achieved to get there.

Statements 4 and 5 are about members new to the managing network.

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It is not a surprise to find that new members' definitions of adult education changed towards that of the network -- it would be hard for them to operate as network members otherwise(Appendix Table 6.4.15). What may be more interesting is the nature of the change -- they began with a relatively strong focus on what might be called the ultimate goals of the enterprise, *people and their needs*, especially *what else* adult education provides, and moved to more balanced definitions as the study year progressed(Appendix Tables 6.4.11 - 6.4.12). Whether all newcomers to managing or to networks like this one adopt the same approach to understanding what they are involved in is a question for other research.

Statement 6: Admin staff definitions were more stable than those of academic staff; new team definitions more stable than those of established teams.

New member change and established team member change raises the necessity for some sort of anchor. It may be that the admin staff's adherence to the more fundamental purposes of adult education, and their healthy scepticism with regard to the advantages of teamworking, allowed the teams to change. (Here we refer to staff using their phrase for themselves -- admin, rather than the longer "administrative".) This is the source of Statement 6.

Evidence of the necessity for some sort of stability, even in member goals, more protected by their relative invisibility than member action, lies in the relative lack of change of the Area Team groups. New members to East appeared to "normalise" its goal distribution(Appendix 6.4), preventing the changes that showed up in Centre and must have affected East, because all those Centre members were there. South's new members seemed to ensure that South's goals, taken as a whole, had to retain their distribution across the year. Accommodating differences and building towards understanding is a job to be done. Once this is achieved, perhaps it is possible to work from that base to change, as the established teams did.

Statement 7: Definitional change was towards more realistic targets rather than general principles.

Finally, we come to Statement 7, about the nature of the change for all team members. It was from the general to the specific for all teams but ABE. The new categories, except for "student run", are all versions of general ideas present in Round A made more concrete on

Round B. Instead of broad improvements in the general status of the service, or in flexible programmes and serving society's need, team members wanted to make the service better organized, more linked in with other provision, or for people who had lost opportunities when they were younger. One set of goals did not replace the other, rather members seemed to be able to see ways of moving towards the general goals by doing something more specific. That the new categories were distributed by team -- South was all for "well-organized", Centre, East and South for "lost opportunities", for example, leads us to think that the Area Teams' hard work in establishing the groundwork for agreement was beginning to pay off.

There was a Statement 8 which was not included. It was about the role of ABE, or the three members who overlapped across the teams, providing a channel through which information and attitudes could flow. There were undoubtedly other structures through which this happened -- the ESOL team, contacts among the admin staff, the other area teams in the Department, friendships across teams -- ABE is the only one visible to us in this study. All of the new categories, even "lost opportunities", appeared in ABE, which was among the highest scoring teams for *one round only* categories. It also had a big *miscellaneous* -- matters it thought important which did not appear in the structure for team goals we have used to understand goal consensus. The incomers in their first round, and, somewhat, in their second, had high *miscellaneous* scores too. Something about ABE made it possible for new ideas to percolate, though not necessarily to bear fruit, if one can imagine an orchard of coffeepots. It may be that the curriculum role of ABE, or its contacts outside the team network and the City, or its overlapping membership across all teams, affected the way its members thought about adult education. There is no tidy answer to an interesting pattern, like many another which arose in the course to trying to understand teamworking during the study year.

Summary

Member goals changed over the study year, and changes depended on both the team/s in which they served and their status as new or experienced team members. New teams showed more stable goals than established teams. Admin staff goals were more stable than those of academic staff. Most team member goals changed towards the goals held

by the network as a whole. Goal change was towards the specific, not the general.

Institutional goals were too general to be compared to team member goals, unless to observe that they were not necessarily dissonant. Team members themselves built a basis for agreement in their goals over the study year.

Given that team members' views of themselves in teams changed, that their analyses of group process and issues involved in adult education grew more sophisticated, and goal agreement increased, especially in two of the established teams, we have a basis for saying that teamworking was effective using the criteria identified in Section 1.7. This does not, however, mean that they managed effectively.

6.3 Effective managing

One of the interesting questions the teams' work and this study raises is this: were the teams managers? If they were, then some of the criteria for effective management of differentiated institutions which were identified in the introduction can be applied to them. In this section, we tackle this question using evidence from the minutes data(Chapter 4). Then we turn to criteria of effectiveness, and examine how the teams performed.

The teams as managers

This study concludes that the teams were managers because they did what looks like managerial work as we saw it in Section 1.2. It was characterised by "brevity, variety and fragmentation" if the minutes are anything to go by, and by much contact outside the managerial unit judging from *outside* minutes items, member reports of their contacts and the growing number of *external events* dealt with by the Area Teams. Overall, similarities and differences in the work they reported appeared to stem from their status as managers more than from more context-based determinants(Section 4.6) From the informal team structure described in School policy documents(Section 2.1), the Area Teams began to take their roles in the formal management structure, making themselves more systematic about how they did it as they went. The teams were largely administrators, as the goal/work disparity showed, not unlike middle managers in industrial and other situations. They were administrators dealing with various forms of bureaucratic

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control, facilitators clearing a way through College processes and
liaison workers inside and outside the College. Their work was more
characteristic of lower level than higher level managers, for there
was more crisis handling and negotiating than formal representation of
the organization outside it. We did not observe role specialisation
by function, however, which is characteristic of lower level managers
-- even teams which had a main aim, like Centre, tended to take on
many functions, and sometimes, combined ones, like that of *arranger*.
The role of *information receiver* was important to the teams too, and a
more active process than the name implies, so much so that an
hypothesized *seeing implications* role arose.(Appendix 6.2 describes
teams' functional roles in more detail.)
Managing effectively

If we accept that the teams were managers, the criteria
appropriate to judge them are those from Weick and Daft's
differentiated system(Table 1.5.1): goal consensus, information
management and identification of jobs(which we discuss together), and
decision processes. It is argued that identification of team
jobs/information management stands for their "interpretation of
environmnent".

We have already looked at goal consensus, and established that
the disparity between goals and the work of managing described in
Section 5.1 would make it difficult to use member goal achievement as
a measure of effectiveness. This is similar to the middle managers in
educational institutions who are administrators, not academic
leaders(Section 1.2). We might suspect that their goals and their
work, too, were as disparate as the teams'.

We also know that team members as a whole changed their goals
over the year towards a pattern which we discussed in the previous
section of this chapter and in Appendix 6.4. Though some area of work
groups did not adhere to this pattern, the members grouped as teams
seemed to. Team membership affected member goals in a complicated
way, perhaps best characterised by the new categories which arose
during the study year, each of which had a team affiliation(Section
6.2, statement 7). The sample of new members we examined changed
their goals most, and, certainly in the case of South, towards team
patterns.

Member goals were affected, in a complicated way, by team
affiliation. Whether these goals were like those of the institution
is open to question, for why would the College have tried to cut the
entire programme if it agreed with what the teams, and adult education
as a whole, was doing? Certainly some teams thought there was a
problem here, for questions of the relationship of teams to the
institution were more important in the second round responses than the
first. On paper, goals of the institution and of the teams did not
look different. This is a gap familiar to anyone who manages -- that
between policy and practice, and it is not the job of this thesis to
solve it. Suffice it to say that goal consensus as a measure of
effective teamworking is proven; goal consensus between the teams and
the institution is probably not a useful way to look at effective
managing without a more thoroughgoing analysis of institutional
practice outside the scope of this study. We now turn to a matter no
less difficult, that of information management, and the identification
of team jobs.

There are those who would say that managing information was all
that the new teams were able to do. The incidence of *new* minutes
items showed how much new information there was. The decreasing use
of the *seek information* category showed that the teams knew when they
didn't know something, and, perhaps, thought they knew more at the end
of the year. The changing use of *reports* in Area Teams showed that
the teams were concerned to find out, and find out regularly(Section
4.5.6). They viewed information management as one of their jobs. That
ABE, Outreach and Centre kept roughly the same incidence of report
receiving all year shows that, in an established team, *reports* is part
of what goes on as a matter of course.

Here we see that identification of team jobs and information
management interrelate in a complex way, for a minutes item is both a
report of information that a team member thinks should be considered,
and a proposal that the team do something about it. A minutes item is
somewhere between information and work: if it is acted on, we might
say it becomes work.

Our example of information management/identification of team jobs
is in the content analysis images(Figure 4.4.2.1 and accompanying
statistics, especially Appendix Table 4.2.2.9), for we remember the

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poodlish shape of the two new teams in Autumn, when the programme had to be maintained, and in their second Spring, when they were both planning the programmes, and had a year's worth of team action under their belts. This demonstrates something of what the two new teams' potential distribution of work might turn out to be. The distribution of work varied with a number of factors, one of them the age of the team. South, the team with marginally more experience but tough adjustments to make(to the rise of East and to membership change), showed a greater consistency in what it chose to list as minutes items over the year than East, which had everything to establish. The changes in these images were determined by team member information management, for if an item was not raised by a team member, it could not have appeared in the analyses to be turned to a team job.

In sum, the team members knew they had to manage information. The team minutes showed that they did, and the incidence of content analysis categories demonstrated the shape that team information management took. Was this effective management with regard to information? It would appear so, though it is hard to test, for there is nothing to compare it to. Perhaps as cultural analysis is increasingly applied to managing work, other studies will arise which can confirm or deny what looks like a positive result.

Did teams turn information they considered into team jobs? Yes, for they made decisions on most minutes items, or dealt with them in ways that made them into team work. We are fortunate here to have such a clear link between incoming information and the sense that is made of it by adult education managers. Again, this identification of team jobs must be tested elsewhere, for, as far as this researcher can see, there is nothing to compare it to.

Decisions are another area in which effectiveness can be measured in differentiated institutions. The teams were concerned about this too, East more than South. There is no doubt that decisions were made, and team preference was to make them rapidly. Team members reported problems with decisions, but we suggested that part of this criticism was a product of team members trying to understand their working processes(Section 6.3, *Managing effectively*). The major criterion for deciding whether decisions got made was the performance of the teams in adult education effectiveness terms. Did they get programmes out?

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Yes. Were the programmes the work of the teams? No, they were the work of team members joined into teams. Is there evidence that maintenance of programmes was done by team members? Yes, insofar as maintenance questions were dealt with in meetings during the study year(Section 4.3.3), and sometimes delegated to people outside of their immediate adult education functions, for example, ESOL staff tried to analyse fee systems delegated by East, though their own provision was free.

What marks good decision-making? Making the right decisions. Did the teams do this? Yes, in setting up their working structures, for we have seen that work was actually produced. Yes, in team member reports about *sharing information* across areas of work, *sharing skills* and *experience*, and, to an extent, *sharing ideas*. Were decisions made that hindered the sharing? Probably, but the sharing didn't stop.

Sometimes teams identified jobs others thought were inappropriate. For instance, South wanted to appoint its own members. In the view of the Head of Department, this was his/her job. S/he agreed that team members should share this task by consultation about job descriptions and personnel specifications(the paper machinery for appointments used by the College) and by input to interview panels. In a second example, East decided that a team handbook should be compiled. Was this more or less appropriate than South's effort to appoint its own staff? East went ahead and produced its handbook, in which it explained itself to itself and to others. Comparing staff appointments to area handbooks shows the absurdity of the kind of parallels we try to draw when we compare all the work teams undertook during the year. Each activity had antecedents and results, some of them unpredictable and some affecting more than just the team which originated them. Here we again see that, sometimes, internal judgements of effectiveness are necessary, because only the people who made the decisons can assess their relative validity compared to everything else that was done.

Summary

Did the new teams manage effectively? Their work together changed members' views of adult education, so team activity did lead to a different consensus than that which existed when the teams began working together. Goal consensus developed, and this is one kind of

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effectiveness, though it is not clear what relationship this bore to the institution's goals. Second, the teams managed information and, in doing so, identified team jobs. This was effective managerial behaviour, though whether it demonstrates effective management depends on whether what they achieved as a result, or product, was effective. It does show the nature of their interpretation of their environment, however. Finally, they made decisions and followed them through. This is effective managerial behaviour, again, though we do not know as yet whether what they did with these effective managerial methods was worth the trouble of inventing them. They looked like managers, and acted like managers. Was what they produced effective?

The main job of the new area teams was to produce and maintain an adult education programme. We saw the teams maintaining the 1985 programme, mainly through the efforts of members with identified job descriptions who also met as a team. This happened before the teams actually produced a programme that could be said to be theirs. It is to a comparison of the 1984 and 1986 adult education programmes that we now turn, along with consideration of indicators for effective adult education -- collaboration, balance and innovation.

6.4 Effective adult education

Collaboration, balance, and innovation are this study's markers of effective adult education. The reasons for using these as criteria have already been discussed in Sections 1.6 and 1.7; when this study was planned, the three criteria were thought to be examinable from the adult education programmes which the new area teams were to produce.

In the event, the markers of effectiveness as defined at the beginning of this investigation had to be modified, because the programmes themselves were shaped, not so much by team analysis of area learning requirements, but by other exigencies. The programmes were a less sensible place to look for signs of effective product of a year of teamworking. The discussions of collaboration, balance and innovation which follow thus widen their focus to include a year of teamworking as product, as well as the more concrete adult education course offers and the maintenance of the programme.

6.4.1 Collaboration

Collaboration is not just a characteristic of adult education, but of managing as a whole. One characteristic of managers is their

high collaborativeness -- informing, liaising and working jointly are
all part of the job, as we have seen in Section 1.2, when the nature
of managing was discussed, and in Section 6.3, when we saw the teams
as managers.

Collaboration in adult education managing was defined in Section
1.7 as

> "joining forces with users and other providers appropriately
> to modify the compromises made between local people's
> learning requirements and the changing demands of the
> developing lifelong learning system."

This definition specified two "partners" -- users and other
providers. It also, as team members did(Table 5.1.6), termed the
process of collaboration a series of compromises between individual
learning needs and the requirements imposed by the educational system
as it changes. This was far too simple a definition to encompass the
collaboration undertaken by the Area Teams in their first year.
First, members of the new Area Teams worked with each other to manage
adult education in areas and to produce an adult education programme.
Second, the Teams collaborated with a number of organizations besides
just educational providers -- funding bodies, the Local Authority,
community groups, and even other parts of the College. By the end of
the year, too, the Area Teams were collaborating with each other as
teams in an agreed way: a year of team working yielded yet another set
of groups to collaborate with.

The teams received information, jobs and just minutes items from
outside(Section 4.3.2). Team members worked with other organizations
in their planning projects(Section 4.5.4). By working together to
identify appropriate adult education for geographical areas, the three
major areas of work -- adult education, ESOL and ABE -- themselves
collaborated, reported that they did(Section 5.3.7) and even changed
their definitions of adult education through their joint work(Section
6.2).

How much collaboration demonstrates effectiveness in managing
adult education? It is perhaps simpler to try to imagine no
collaboration at all. It is conceptually possible to receive a
budget, plan a programme and maintain it with no consultation and no
outside contact, except with individual students when they come along
to enrol. In this scenario, students are made to fit into the

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unchanging adult education plan. In a less absurd version of this, students make their views known to the programme planner, who incorporates what s/he discovers into next year's effort.

Instead, over the year appeared new course offers, team members going out and contacting organizations, organization members coming to team meetings, reports of other departments in the College offering courses as part of team programmes, and the ever-absorbing search for more money to mount adult education programmes. Though the work categories in the minutes analyses took up much team time, so did *planning*, and, for South, ABE, Outreach and Centre, projects with others outside the teams were planned. Even East, concerned though it was to get the ground rules for teamworking right, acted in the world outside the teams. Perhaps East is the minimal case which demonstrates that no adult education manager can operate without collaborating; some do it more, simply put, than others.

We have evidence that the teams collaborated to meet their brief -- "establishing a coherent and comprehensive provision of education for adults". They were more successful in collaborating than in offering a "comprehensive" programme -- there is a limit to how much comprehensiveness their relatively small budgets and labour power would buy. Establishing the machinery for this collaboration could be said to be effective in terms of the goals the institution provided for them. The teams could also be said to be effective in the speed and collaborativeness of their response to the cuts in Spring, 1986, and the rapidity with which they abolished the collaboration when it was no longer necessary. During the study year, however, they were not effective in attracting more money to adult education -- that came later, when the Department of the Environment bids, written after the study year, were granted. Here, too, the teams proved effective, for they orchestrated their response to the DoE bids, again using the criterion we are trying to demonstrate to make their practice more effective.

The minutes analysis indicated that the teams(as teams) collaborated with users infrequently -- South circulated a questionnaire about the programme, Centre received information and recommendations from the student association which was based in the Centre, as did East. The teams linked with other providers -- the

local extramural service was the main collaborator, along with other
sections of the College -- but their main interactive planning was
with local organizations in the development of the Department of the
Environment bid preparation. These were associations with other aims
than educational ones, foreshadowing a wider cooperation in the
District among not just individuals and providers, but individuals in
organizations too.

With a few exceptions, team members did not think of their work
as part of a system of lifelong learning *per se*, though this
information was not specifically sought. Instead, team members saw
themselves as actors in a series of compromises between administration
and consumers, organizational and educational decisions, adult
education and the institution and national and local priorities(Table
5.1.6). The managerial decisions made during the study year were apt
to work to these parameters, and not the wider ones specified in this
study's draft definition of collaboration.

Summary

Collaboration as a criterion of team effectiveness was misdefined
in the study plan, for the Area Teams' collaborative activity was part
of the process of teamworking, as well as of what the teams produced.
If by collaboration is meant "acting with individuals and groups
outside the immediate organizational unit", then the teams did
collaborate, and some of this collaboration affected the adult
education programmes they produced.

6.4.2 Balance

Knowing what we now know about the teams and their work, we
discuss kinds of balance visible during the study year. Balance was
defined in Section 1.7 as

> "a series of compromises among areas of work which
> themselves reflect views of local people's learning
> requirements."

As such, balance was seen as a characteristic of adult education
programmes when this study was planned. ("Areas of work" refers to
Mee and Wiltshire's curriculum categories below rather than to the
areas of work of team members as we saw them in Section 6.2.) Other
kinds of balance appeared during the year of team working, too.
First, we examine the adult education programmes Centre, South and
East published in 1986. Then the balances implied by decisions made

In response to expenditure reductions are discussed. Finally, the balances from team member opinion are recalled and applied to this overall discussion of effective balance in adult education programmes.
Balance in adult education programmes

Mee and Wiltshire reported balance in the design of adult education programmes in the mid-seventies. The educational objectives in programmes were "craft and aesthetic skills", "physical skills" and "cognitive and intellectual skills". In the programmes Mee and Wiltshire analysed, the equilibrium appeared to be half craft and aesthetic, a quarter physical and a fifth cognitive. The Area Teams would have called these "educational grounds" for justifying courses. A final 5% of programmes were for the disadvantaged, the "educationally less well-endowed". Learner aims, too, were taken into consideration by Mee and Wiltshire, especially gaining skills related to the home, to leisure purposes, to physical enjoyment and health and the acquisition of cognitive and intellectual skills. Their classification system appears in Table 6.42.1 below: methods for applying it appear in Appendix 3.6, and aspects of the programmes which the teams inherited are outlined in Section 2.6.

1.Craft and Aesthetic Skills	
1.1 Courses related mainly to personal care and the household economy	34%
1.2 Courses related mainly to leisure time enjoyment	19%
2. Physical Skills	
2.1 Courses related mainly to the maintenance of health and fitness	10%
2.2 Courses related mainly to leisure time enjoyment	14%
3. Intellectual and Cognitive Skills	
3.1 Language courses	12%
3.2 Other courses	6%
4. Courses addressed to Disadvantaged Groups	5%

Table 6.42.1 Mee and Wiltshire's curriculum classification with proportions of courses in each category(1978, 32). Sample: 22,761 courses.

East, Centre, and South programmes are compared to each other using the same statistical procedures adopted throughout. First we compare the teams' programmes for 1984, then for 1986, then we compare 1984 to 1986.

In 1984, adult education programmes in the areas which were to be allocated to the Area Teams looked different from Mee and Wiltshire's typology, with the East and South Area programmes departing from it

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more significantly than Centre(Appendix Table 6.5.4). The major difference lay in the extent of "other" cognitive skills courses offered. The inclusion of vocational courses here, as explained in Appendix 3.6, accounts for much of this disparity. The 1984 programmes also displayed more advertised courses for the disadvantaged, relatively few language courses and few physical skills for leisure purposes. The two area programmes in eastern and southern parts of the city were significantly similar to each other(Appendix Table 6.5.5). This indicates that, for an area programme in the institution, what we might call an agreed balance existed in practice before the teams did.

In 1986, again, all team programmes were significantly different from Mee and Wiltshire's distribution, and South and East areas were more different than they had been two years before(Appendix Table 6.5.4). Centre changed least of the three programmes compared here, though it was still significantly different from Mee and Wiltshire's distribution. The biggest differences lay, again, in the "other" cognitive skills, in provision for disadvantaged, and the relatively low attention to physical skills for leisure. This time, less large, though still significant differences, lay in more health and fitness courses, especially in East, and even fewer language courses than usual. The programme staples, craft and aesthetic activities, were most like Mee and Wiltshire's distribution.

When the teams are compared to each other(Appendix Table 6.5.5), East and South have drawn apart -- their programmes are not significantly different, but East and South as a pair lie at the different end of the statistical distribution. It was expected that the Centre Team would show least change, as it had a well-established pattern of working, no matter what happened to it. This proved to be so; Centre ran a programme similar to that of two years before. The newest team, East, might be expected to show the most change, as the most recently convened managing group. This expectation was met, for East's programme was not similar to any other programme, not even the eastern area programme of two years before. South, it was expected, would probably fall somewhere in between. This was not so. Like Centre, South was significantly similar to itself in the two programmes analysed. Centre and South, then, had established balances

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for their programmes before the study began: East's balance was still in development.

As far as Mee and Wiltshire's distribution is concerned, South's programme in both terms was most different(Appendix Table 6.5.4). In fact, it got more different over the study year. The differences were in its attention to "other" cognitive skills, which, in this interpretation, is in its vocational bias(Appendix Table 6.5.3). Even when the budget was cut, it increased its examination work. Its work with disadvantaged groups increased, too, as did Centre's. East's appeared to decrease mainly because the ABE programme at a literacy centre near Centre ceased to be termed part of East in the publicity -- it was advertised as part of Centre. It is probably fair to say that the bulk of the advertised programme for the disadvantaged was ABE, and part of the ABE team's work and budget.

So far, then we have seen that all the programmes were different from Mee and Wiltshire's typology. Centre, the established team, kept the rough shape of its curriculum, as did South. East's programme increased health and fitness courses, and other cognitive and intellectual skills rose too -- courses like "make your money work", psychic awareness, antiques, local history and others of specialist interest(Appendix Table 6.5.3).

Over these three years, the adult education advertised programme and the number of learners served fell, as we saw when we discussed programmes in Appendix 3.6. The Department's priorities, whatever those of the teams, included a commitment to its programme for the disadvantaged, which held steady, and even modestly expanded, as Appendix Tables 3.6.2 and 3.6.5 show. The teams, in their discussions and in the programmes they produced, showed somewhat different patterns.

The cuts and balance

Other kinds of balance affect adult education programmes. Distribution of courses across geographical areas, whether the courses are day or evening, and distribution of courses among available fee systems are three which affected the adult education programme produced by the Area Teams during the study year. We know that these were additional criteria for balance because, in the spring of 1986, a 70% cut to the Area Team parttime salaries budget looked likely, and

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East and South assembled "cut" programmes. In its proposals, South
retained some geographical, day and evening and fee system spread;
East retained some geographical spread and its proportions across day
and evening, but abandoned one of the fee systems -- vocational.

A paper produced for the adult education working party suggested
a set of balance criteria which took the subject of the course, the
staff teaching in adult education, and the centres at which the
courses were offered into consideration when building a cut programme.
The "subject" category combined Mee and Wiltshire student aims and
educational grounds -- skill, job/vocation, leisure, and exam/access.
"Staff" balance included whether adult education work was a staff
member's sole income, his/her participation in the work of the
Department as a whole, "loyalty" and participation in in-service
activities. "Centre" factors included geographical spread, whether
the centre recruited locally or city-wide, high attendances and the
quality of the facilities. Additional factors added in Interteam
meetings included day and evening balance, a balance among fee systems
including the economic profit target required of the teams. Only East
suggested that there be a balance which took priority targets into
consideration(unemployed people, pensioners, women with children and
other fee remission learners). Two other factors showed the
practicality of the teams -- courses for those who can afford to pay
and fulltimers available to teach courses(fulltimers did not drain the
parttime salaries budget).

In the event, the 1986 parttime salaries budgets were cut by 22%
for East and Centre and 17% for South in the context of an overall cut
of 8%. This cut affected Centre, East area and South programmes.

Student numbers decreased for Centre, but not for the East area.
South advertised fewer courses and attracted fewer students(Appendix
Tables 3.6.1 and 3.6.2).

South and Centre chose to maintain their programme for the
disadvantaged. The number of fee remission learners rose in Centre
and South, but decreased in East(Appendix Table 3.6.3). The balance
of day and evening courses stayed the same in Centre. East and
South's proportion of day courses rose(Appendix Table 3.6.4); many of
these were designed for a disadvantaged clientele. All teams
increased their vocational programme(Appendix Table 6.5.3 and 6.5.4),

with South expanding most in this area of work. This was not a money-saving strategy, but a curricular decision.

Over the three years of successive cuts, both East and South tried to rearrange the geographical distribution of courses. In 1984, each area had seven centres. In the 1986 advertised programme, four independent centres functioned in East, and five in South. Both teams operated a scattered programme of day classes on various sites, and both had a "major" centre -- Centre in East with 88 courses plus 68 Saturday Schools(short economic courses), and the South Centre, with 20 courses.

Workshops(without a teacher), day schools, short five or six week courses, economic courses(costed so that learners pay the full cost of the course) and attracting fulltimers to teach in an area all allow a team to advertise more groups. Table 6.4.22summarises the use of these strategies in 1984 and 1986. East and Centre increased day schools, South managed to attract more fulltimers, one deployed from Centre and the others from ABE. There were no extra workshops, and the development of short courses stopped; both of these were curricular innovations which the teams could not maintain under the circumstances. East increased the number of full cost courses, thus raising its student numbers. This was the curricular increase in health and fitness seen earlier -- economically costed keep fit courses to boost learner numbers and courses. This is a curricular decision determined by funding, not learner requirements, though some cognitive/intellectual courses were expanded, not all of them economically costed.

	Workshops	Day Schools (full cost)	Short courses	Fulltimer teaching	Other full cost courses
Year	84/ 86	84/ 86	84/ 86	84/ 86	84/ 86
Centre	19/ 19	90/ 68	4/ 0	18/ 18	1/ 2
East	0/ 0	0/ 8	1/ 0	5/ 4	18/ 31
South	2/ 1	0/ 0	5/ 0	5/ 8	19/ 16

Table 6.4.22 Summary of devices for dealing with cuts: workshops, day schools, short courses, increased fulltimer teaching and increased use of full cost courses. Centre, South and East. 1984 and 1986(Source: Department prospectuses)

Effectiveness

Increasing learner places in the face of cuts is expertise, and could be judged effective. East and Centre, by this criterion, are the most effective of the teams. Centre and East rationalised more, too trying to keep fewer independent centres open than South did. South, on the other hand, appeared to try to follow where its principles led it -- vocational it had started, and vocational it wanted to stay, hence the consistency of programme across the base and team programme years.

Balances in adult education managing

There are other kinds of balance, however, than those represented by curricula and criteria for cutting programmes. These are the balance issues raised by team members themselves, when they analysed the kind of adult education they wanted to see. It is perhaps the job of later work to examine these in detail. For us, at this point, it is worth raising a few points that team members proposed.

Given that adult education should be as team members described it in Section 5.1, the balances that must be achieved, according to team members when they analysed their goals(Table 5.1.6 summarises these), are those between management requirements and the requirements of learners. Some added another layer, trying to analyse the tensions between adult education managers and the managers(and the College) above them. Some went further, and related adult education managing, in its student-linked hinterland, to national policies affecting what happened on the ground. Members were interested in more kinds of balance than one, and, between the beginning and the end of the study year, widened the amplitude of what kinds of balance had to be considered.

These balances were a result of the study and of the way information was elicited from team members, as well as from the acuteness of the members themselves. Perhaps later work on the data can relate these complexities to the work the teams did. For now, we merely accept them as indicators of richer balances than those planned for the study.

There is, too, the balance implicit in members' definitions of adult education -- attention to *people and their needs*, to the *learning context* and to the *system* that delivers adult education.

This section has had, perforce, to spend most time on the system, because expenditure reductions made changes to it that were not driven by team or member goals, but by reality. The devices for dealing with expenditure reductions summarised in Table 6.4.22.(and there were others) shows, again, that disparity between goals and managerial action already discussed in Section 5.1 -- it was not so much curricular decisions that changed the South, East and Centre programmes, but educational cuts. Were we to characterise the Area Teams using Mee and Wiltshire's five basic concepts(Section 1.6) -- teaching/didactic, recreation, participation, compensatory and community -- we would have to conclude that, in team member(Section 5.1) and team views(as expressed in the section above), all strands appeared, but the most prevalent were 1) a combination of "teaching/didactic" and "recreation" which was about learning in the learning setting and 2) a combination of "compensatory" and "community" strands which was about "providing" adult education and the tensions in it(Table 5.1.6). Elements of "participation" did exist, but they were mostly contained in goals, not managerial action.

Team members were more likely to analyse the interrelationship among strands as they increased in experience, rather than take an approach and stick to it.

Summary

Just as the teams showed collaborativeness in unexpected ways, so the programmes they produced showed balances stemming from unpredicted sources. A working definition of a balanced area programme did exist before the Area Teams established themselves. It was different from Mee and Wiltshire's distribution mainly in the increased amount of vocational work and work with the disadvantaged, and less language and physical skills for leisure. Expenditure reductions affected how the Teams modified their programmes during their first official year -- East towards offering more student places, South towards expanding its vocational programme at the expense of learner places. Centre's programme showed less change, maintaining a balance already determined. The balances which team members identified when they analysed their own definitions of adult education -- mainly between organizational and educational decisions, the requirements of adult education and of the institution, and between local and national

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priorities -- provide potentially fruitful areas for further
investigation, as does the balance among definitional elements --
people and their *needs*, the *learning context* and *systems* for adult
education. All in all, the Area Teams mounted programmes with an
identifiable balance in difficult circumstances, and even managed, as
East did, to deflect the effect of the cuts and, as South did, to
change the balance of courses offered. This is effective managerial
behaviour.

6.4.3 Innovation

In Section 1.7, innovation, too was an aspect of adult education
programmes:

> "content and structure new to the programme which reflect
> the manager's developing view of area learning requirements
> and the state of the lifelong learning system."

Innovation in programmes in response to the cuts did occur, as
the last section demonstrated. Modifications were made by East to
provide more learner places, deploying the economic fee system to
mount more physical skills for health and fitness courses. South took
the cut and reduced other parts of its programme to build up
examination and vocational work. Some innovations in the programme
were abandoned, like short courses, because reductions made them
impossible to fund. In another year, perhaps the definition of
innovation in adult education programmes might have measured
differences and similarities among the teams; during this particular
year, it did not.

We have discussed the considerable burden of *new* to the teams as
a problem of information management above. Now we discuss innovation
as the "process of bringing any new, problem-solving idea into use",
after Kanter (1983,1988ed). But first, we look at another view of
innovation created by Mee and Wiltshire, and originally planned for
this study.

To create indicators for their innovation index, Mee and
Wiltshire used the presence of graded courses, daytime courses, short
courses and courses for the disadvantaged, set against the major
thrust of the programme -- courses about household economy and
maintenance of health and fitness. As the area programmes already
exhibited these characteristics before the study began, Mee and
Wiltshire's innovation index would have required extensive revision,

and time was not available for this task. This is explained in Appendix 3.6. It would be too easy to claim innovativeness for the teams when it was not their efforts, but the progress of adult education as a whole in the years since Mee and Wiltshire's survey which accounts for their effectiveness in innovating. This is one of the more cheerful results of this study.

If Mee and Wiltshire's innovation index had been revised for this study, a number of factors could have been included: in-service training, pre-service training, access work(new ways of bringing people in to adult education), innovative scheduling(for example, dusk and weekend courses), the building of vocational as well as leisure progression into programmes, the development of independent learning(non- and partly-staffed workshops, peer group teaching, skill exchanges), the encouragement of learning organizations(older learners' forums), student associations, student participation in managing adult education, stronger links to other educational provision, to name but a few which we have seen, either already developed or developing during the study year. Examples of these activities are below.

The community teachers course which took place in Spring, 1986, conducted by the South and East, with support from Centre, ABE and Outreach staff and staff from the teacher training part of the College was the seed of later years' pre-service and in-service training in informal adult work and in adult education. ESOL already had a teacher training programme, and ABE developed one in ensuing years. ESOL and Outreach already built access programmes in innovative ways in community centres, church halls, local clubs and other venues, with the support of the staff of other organizations. With the advent of the DoE money, adult education teams began to mount adult education programmes in the same way. Dusk and weekend courses already took place in Centre and extended, as we have seen, to other parts of East. South began its vocational development during the study year; ABE was able to schedule support groups in South wherever English and maths examination work was conducted. This spread to East and other areas. Centre had already developed a workshop programme, which arose for learning reasons -- many learners had been using adult education for social reasons for years, and needed tuition only at particular points

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in their learning projects -- fitting a bodice in dressmaking, for example. ABE and ESOL already had strong volunteer programmes and training for them -- this was considered adult education for the volunteers, as well as provision for the educationally disadvantaged.

Centre already had an older learners' forum, in which participants organized their own lecture series: the Department had procedures for registering affiliated societies of learners who desired to organize their own learning activities. Outreach groups already diversified in unpredictable directions -- newsletters, books, and, later on, the organization of events. The Centre student association was, during the study year, active, as its petition against the cuts recorded in the minutes analysis sample week shows(Appendix 4.1). Learners did not participate in managing, though South did organize a "user group" around its major centre the following year and there were learner representative places on School and Department Boards. Stronger links to other educational provision, during the study year, mainly took place with the local extramural department and with Manpower Services Commission and Local Authority funded community initiatives in the course of outreach work in ESOL and ABE Outreach; these contacts were made firmer as the DoE money was applied for.

Innovation changes with time; today's good idea is tomorrow's provision. The basis of a flexible adult education service is and must be change. What adults want or need to learn should govern this. One point of having adult education professionals at all is their translating ability -- they are used to modifying a learning requirement into some form of learning setting, intelligible enough procedurally so that it can become "provision". Experience and, increasingly, training, helps adult educationists see what might be possible in complex, malleable settings.

The other side of malleable, or flexible, is ductile. The cuts discussion illustrates what happens when a service is stretched. Team members said it in their evaluation of the teamworking year -- "it's been extremely unfortunate that the budget's been cut so that we've been making plans into nowhere. [It's] really undermined anything we could have achieved together". One small example is the dropping of short courses(Table 6.4.2.2.): subjects which can be learned better in

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shorter periods. This development was abandoned, because the teams
had other problems to which they had to adjust. Here is an East
member exploring what consequences the budget restrictions had for the
teams:

> "and I think that if there had been a bottomless pit of
> finance I don't think we'd have had the arguments and the
> strained relationships in the team which when it falls back to
> money, how we're sharing the money out, relationships are
> stretched..."

Teamworking, at the time this study began, was a matter for the
School policy's "informal teams" or curriculum groups like Outreach
and ABE, who both ran programmes and saw to an area of work. ESOL
operated in much the same way. Centre, it was tacitly agreed, managed
the adult education centre and had been doing so for some years.
South was feeling its way towards cooperating to run an adult
education area, but no one knew about it.

If the new Area Teams, during the first year of their formal,
Department-agreed, operation, had shown that they could not agree(as
East almost did), or could not train new staff quickly enough to mount
a programme(as South almost did), or had given the impression that
teamworking was an uneconomical way to work, for instance, by
insisting on meeting more frequently than was acceptable to the
institution, then the Area Teams would have been abolished. After
all, the Department had been running perfectly well without them for
some years. In a minimal sense, that they continue to manage area
programmes and are seen to be doing so as this thesis is written in
the summer of 1989 -- they survived -- is one criterion of
effectiveness. That the Department and School Boards have been
reorganized so that Area Teams are represented as well as areas of
work is another. That a programme was produced and agreed across all
the Department's teams under difficult circumstances during the study
year(as we have seen above) is a slightly less minimal index of the
relative success of the teams. That the teams responded effectively
to the circumstances -- East in its increase in full cost courses and
maintaining its cognitive/intellectual courses, all teams in their
protection of courses for fee remission learners, South in its
development of a vocational programme -- shows effectiveness of a
different kind. Here appear changes that were not necessarily
funding-led, but reflected team decisions about what should should be

available for learners in their areas.

This chronicle of what team members thought and did, however, says more than that. The new teams adapted the ways of working they found and knew about, responded to new demands as they saw them(from *reports* as a formal part of teamworking to coordinated bidding for new money from the Department of the Environment), and both identified and did what was required to collaborate to mount adult education programmes. The record of what they did and thought shows that they were not perfect, but they were in there inventing during a particularly difficult year for adult education in the City.

Does innovation in how professionals cooperate to mount an adult education programme make for more effective adult education? If the need for liaison pervasive in the adult education literature is anything to go by, yes, in the long run, adult education will be more effective if run collaboratively. What the two new teams proved during the study year was, given the circumstances in which they worked, managing adult education programmes by team can be done.

In a sense, whatever we may think of what the teams produced in concrete terms -- courses and students -- they created new ways to work together. This in itself is innovation, and the whole thesis is a record of that achievement.

6.5 <u>Summary</u>

The teams collaborated, tried to maintain and modify the balance in their programmes, and innovated, particularly in what they did during the year rather than in the programmes they produced. That the plans for this study assumed that programmes could measure achievement in teamworking is itself an index of researcher naivete, for, as the minutes analysis chapter showed, there is more to collaboration, balance and innovation than their existence in adult education programmes. It is in the maintenance of their existing programme and in the creation of ways to work together that the teams collaborated, devised more balances than this researcher imagined could exist, and innovated.

Chapter 5 discussed in some detail the ways that team members evaluated their teamworking. They tended to be uncomplimentary, and to underassess the value of what they had done. Paradoxically, they were far more ambitious than the effectiveness literature indicates

they might have been -- they had a broad view of the kind of adult education they wanted to see, and, by the end of the study year, a complex, and, to an extent shared, view of what the problems were in getting to their ideal.

In applying external criteria to team action we have seen that, were we to give the teams a mark on their year's work, it would be "not bad" and, in some areas "excellent". Their own mark for themselves would have been "could do better" and not, interestingly enough, "there's no point in doing it this way". These contrasting evaluations indicate, strongly, that teams who manage, and individual managers too, need ways to make themselves more objective in understanding what they do. For now, we summarise the criteria which seemed to be most productive of understanding the teams' activity and its effectiveness.

> teamworking: team role adoption, changing definitions of working with the team, more sophisticated analysis of teamworking process, increased complexity of issues considered in own analysis of definitions
> managing/teamworking: identification of team jobs/information management, decisions, goal consensus
> adult education: balance, innovation, collaboration in production and maintenance of adult education programmes

Table 6.5.1 Revised summary of external criteria for effectiveness. See Table 6.1.1 and Section 1.7.

CHAPTER 7

EXPLORING EFFECTIVENESS: COMPARING CRITERIA

This chapter assembles conclusions from the comparisons and analyses made in previous pages. These are summarised in Table 7.1.1 The minutes analyses have made more concrete the work of managing adult education, the opinion data and programme analyses allow some comparison of internal and external criteria for judging effectiveness. The sections which follow ask: Did this study adopt the right effectiveness criteria for evaluating the teams' year of working?

The broader benefits of teamworking are discussed first, including the teams' relationship to change. Then this study's managerial work results are reviewed, and broadened to apply to the work of an individual manager. Managerial interpretative systems are defined and discussed, along with their relative effectiveness. Output measures of efficiency and effectiveness are evaluated for their potential utility. The position taken throughout is that managers are, among other things, monitors, and one of the most useful aspects of their work to understand is their own effectiveness.

7.1 Benefits of teamworking

Detailed benefits of teamworking were discussed in Section 6.1, which concluded that it was difficult to disentangle benefits to the organization from benefits to the work from benefits to individuals. It was also hard to apply criteria devised for leadership systems to group-run structures.

Here the three broad benefits of teams to organizations mentioned in Section 1.4 are discussed -- coordination, limits of individuals when undertaking complex tasks, and managers' relationship to change.

Coordination

Teams were seen to be useful when difficult coordination between highly skilled experts was required. Coordination may mean, in management terms, getting highly-skilled experts to pay attention to each other. "Highly-skilled" is probably applicable to these teams, whose members worked in an institution dependent on recruiting people already equipped to do the jobs for which they are hired(Section 1.5).

1. <u>Goals(Chapters 5 and 6)</u>.

   about people and their needs
   about the learning context
   about systems

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2. <u>Managerial work(Chapters 4 and 6)</u>.

   decisional: disturbance handler, resource allocator, entrepreneur,
   negotiator
   informational: monitor, disseminator, spokesman, (active information
   receiver)
   leadership: liaison, (legitimiser), (convenor), (lobbyist)
   across categories: (arranger), (planner),

   about

   planning, facilities, procedures,
   staff/ing, external events, training,
   publicity, students

----

3. <u>Internal criteria(Chapter 5)</u>.

   Given the time it takes
   and the restrictions
   V
   there are balances among
   V <   <
   informational benefits < V > interpersonal problems
   process benefits   < V > process problems
   benefits to teaching   < V > problems with teaching
   V
   yielding   <   <
   V
   product benefits

   taking into account *change* and the balances among

   administrators and consumers
   organizational and educational decisions
   adult education and the institution it's in
   local and national priorities

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4. <u>External criteria(Chapter 6)</u>.

   teamworking: team role adoption, changing definitions of working with
   the team, more sophisticated analyses of teamworking process,
   increased complexity of issues considered in own analysis of
   definitions
   managing/teamworking: identification of team jobs/information
   management, decisions, goal consensus
   adult education: balance, innovation, collaboration in production and
   maintenance of adult education programmes

Table 7.1.Summary of results and indicators in this thesis.

Team members reported that sharing across areas of work took

place, and there was some corroboration of their opinion(Section

5.3.7). At least the basis for coordination was laid during the study

year, even if there was no concrete evidence of actual projects
undertaken across the three major areas of work of the team members --
ABE, ESOL and Adult Education -- other than their creation, together,
of the two new Area Teams.

Limits of individuals

The "lone helmsman" was said to have limited knowledge and
experience for working in complex settings, so teams might provide a
better base from which to do complicated jobs(Section 1.4). Managing
adult education can be termed a complicated job on grounds of its
multifunctionality alone(Appendix 6.2). There is both team member
testimony that sharing of skills and experience took place, and
independent evidence for this, indicating that the foundation for
further development was laid during the study year. Moving from such
collaboration to producing better adult education was not corroborated
because of events during the year, though activity during the year was
both highly collaborative and innovative, and the programmes produced
displayed balance.

Teams and change

Teams are said to adapt well to change(Section 1.4): they may do
this by 1) being receptive to new ways of operating and new ideas; or
by 2) being a setting in which agreement about change can be reached,
so it is less threatening to individuals and thus more likely to be
carried out by them; or perhaps 3) teams may be more able to redefine
what they do to accommodate to new circumstances. (A team member,
reading this in draft, offered the fact that with a team, there are
"more ears to listen out" -- this brings advance notice of change from
without.)

We will discuss the redefinition aspect of teams and change in
Section 7.3, and turn now to receptivity and agreement.

Receptivity: Receptivity to new ideas and ways of working arose
in a number of ways in the team member opinion and meeting data so far
examined. First, staff in the new area teams were experimenting,
throughout the study year, with how to collaborate to run adult
education. That they did this at all is evidence that, as
individuals, these team members were flexible professionals. Perhaps,
if we find any evidence of increased receptivity to new things, we
will just be looking at what would have happened anyway, because of

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the quality of the staff which made up the teams.

Second, most of the study year saw team members' experiments with working groups, meeting structures, ways of organizing themselves and understanding what they were doing, as Appendix 6.3 reviews. There was enough of the new to satisfy anyone, even if we do not count the amount of *new* minutes items with which the teams dealt. Of course, that they dealt with new things does not mean necessarily that they were more receptive to the new than an individual manager would have been. This may be a useful focus for ensuing research.

Third, there is, on record in team member testimony, a feeling that approaches fretfulness about team members who were seen as not accommodating to teamworking -- the comments about lack of *compromise*, about team members not *pulling their weight*, about *empires*. This generally substantiate that, not only did these problems exist, but team members were aware of them as barriers to teamworking. They were evincing an awareness of the necessity of finding new ways of working in a complex and changing setting.

One way of looking at this receptivity is to assume that teams support their members, hence they feel more secure, hence they are more able to deal with the new. It is here that the comparison between the new and the established teams helps us, for we might assume that the established teams would show different ways of coping with new ideas than the new teams, for whom the year was consumed with teamworking(and more of it than teams working, according to some members). ABE and Outreach did, overall, seem more convinced that teamworking was a good thing, and each struggled with ideas new to it -- the accommodation of mentally handicapped learners into literacy provision, the role of learners in convening other learners for conducting student writing activities, to name but two new things in the study year. The major new thing in our data is the existence of the Area Teams, and participation by ABE and Outreach was relatively high, if we are to judge by the effects of Area Team ideas on Outreach thinking shown by their changed analyses of adult education issues(Section 5.3.7), or by the regular attendance of ABE members at Area Team meetings(Appendix Tables 3.1.8 and 3.1.9).

Centre, of course, is a different case, for existing and former Centre members had a hand in creating the Area Team structure in the

first place. The Centre team showed a change of focus over the study year, building their Area Team philosophy into their work in East, and pulling the Centre Team's work back to running the facility, as the minutes analysis showed. We have seen that, because their membership was coterminous with East by the end of the study year, this was no threat to most Centre members. If people have a hand in creating the change, they are more likely to be supportive of it.

Staff were receptive to building change into what they did as adult education managers. The Area Teams were their way of helping this to happen. Some members even reported, in their analyses of their definitions, that this was what they wanted to see in adult education -- the "democratic" managing grid in Section 5.1 is an example, as are the nine first round *change* grids(Table 5.1.6 and Appendix Table 5.4.2).

Agreement: There is a large literature on the implementation of change, and a larger one on how change can be resisted. Team members were aware that, by agreeing what they did, they were both inventing the kind of change in which they were involved and in implementing it too. One team member even pointed out that this was economical -- "super-efficient" was the term used.

Some members reported that teams supported their members -- Outreach thought this particularly important. It may be that the supportive function of the established teams made it possible for their members to experiment with the new ones, especially when we talk about the East, Centre, and ABE links(these were discussed in detail in Sections 2.4 and Appendix 6.4, *Effect of overlap, membership change and extrateam communication*). South was largely excluded from this network -- so it had to provide support and innovate too, almost on its own. That it did so, and, to an extent, almost more than East as far as the external world was concerned, is an interesting result of the study. The rise of East, and South membership change, actually prevented South from continuing what it had planned. That its member goals changed less than those of members of other teams may show that when everything else changes a lot, general aims must remain stable(Section 6.2).

It is interesting, too, that Centre, ABE and Outreach members, all three, changed their goals(Appendix Table 6.4.8) more than the two

Area Teams did. If, as we shall hypothesize later, goals are among
the most secure of managers' tools for dealing with the work they
do(no one can see them!), then that the established teams' members
were able to tinker with the basis of what they thought they were
about is evidence that working in teams gives some sort of security
against the threats of change.

There was certainly no lack of change from outside the teams
during the study year, change for which the teams had not contracted,
even knowing that they would be creating themselves during the year.
Their reaction to budget cuts took a particularly cooperative form in
the interteam meetings. There is no evidence that this made much
difference to the fact that the budget was regained, though it did
create a new structure for dealing with pressure from without.

This study's criteria

From the array of possible ways to judge teamworking, this study
has asked three questions about member analyses: Did members
increasingly see themselves as managers? Did members increasingly
understand more about working together? Did members affect each
others' views? The answer to these questions was yes. Members also
changed the roles they adopted in teams, here considered more as
evidence of member learning(Section 5.3.9) than of effective teamwork
in a broader sense.

These criteria for effective teamworking were about member
learning, not necessarily about teams.

An additional insight came from the goal consensus statement
(Section 6.2, *Statement 3*) discussion in which it became clear that
teams' receptiveness to change may well be an artifact of the space
teams give their members to learn, especially when they learn from
each other, and not from outside pressure.

More interesting criteria for judging teamworking might emerge
from exploring questions like these: When did the language of a team
begin to develop? When did signs that people were seeing themselves
as a group distinct from others begin? When did people begin to
change the roles they played in teams? All these, and other aspects
of team working, would be better explored by other researchers,
perhaps small group specialists, supported by observation. This study
has had to rely on individual reports about the work of the teams, and

on teams' reports on themselves through the minutes.

A weakness of the study -- that of relying on reported rather than observed data -- is a strength for the task this chapter undertakes, for managers understanding their own work are unlikely to have observers around with which to check their conclusions about their own effectiveness, that is, unless they work in a team.

Monitoring is one of the strengths of working together. People watch each other, try to understand the implications of ideas new to them, and give feedback. Isolated managers do not have this kind of support to call on.

It is perfectly true that these team members could have learned from books, or from courses, or from observing other managers. These valuable ways of achieving objectivity in one's own work should not be ignored. Reflection-in-action, however, is a more economical process, and learning is more possible if there are witnesses with which to interact when post-mortem time comes.

Teams should not be set up just so staff can learn. There must be other reasons, and for this, the criteria for managerial and adult education effectiveness were included.

Summary

The benefits of teamworking suggested by the literature appeared to exist in the ways that the teams worked together to manage adult education. Receptivity to change and agreement about change are supported by the study results, though the teams seemed to exhibit these characteristic benefits of teamworking when they had some control over what was happening. In the next section, the work of managing is considered in a wider sense, which allows further exploration of how effectiveness can best be measured to the benefit of managerial work.

7.2 Nature of adult education managing

One central problem confronted by this thesis has been lack of information, both about managerial work in general and about managing adult education in particular. Comparative opportunities are limited, too, because the managerial work studies discussed in Section 1.2 observed behaviour, whereas this investigation could only do so at one remove, through the minutes analysis. It was fortunate that the teams adopted such open working structures, for through their accumulated

agendas and frequent meetings, we could see their management tasks as
they saw them, and as the jobs arose.

This section reviews the minutes analyses results to make clear
what adult education managing work is, a necessary step towards
finding criteria for judging it.

> "Managing work in any field can feel patternless
> to a manager who, if s/he is like these teams, is
> always trying to fit something new, or something from
> outside, or a decision about whether a decision is
> necessary, into the total fabric of what s/he thinks
> s/he is supposed to be doing. We found, however, that
> the content of what the teams undertook over the year
> was not patternless, but fell into place in categories
> with names. The new, and outside influences, and even
> decision-making, have shape over even one year of
> working. Managing is not chaotic -- there is sense to
> it if we can but see it."

Bad taste though it may be to quote oneself(this is part of the
introduction to section 4.5), the point is an important one. The next
step, of course, is who sees the patterns, and to what purpose? This
thesis takes the stance that people who manage should be able to
become more aware of the patterns in what they do, and and we discuss
methods for doing this later.

For now, we speculate about the nature of adult education
managing work by relating what the teams reported they did to the work
of adult education managers in general. Section references are
eschewed for economy's sake: the information from which this comes is
reported in Chapter 4.

To manage adult education, managers should be aware that there is
a workaday minimal base that clusters around *facilities, staff/ing,
external events, publicity* and *students*. There is, too, a basis of
ways to do things -- the teams' *procedures* -- without which nothing
would work: fee systems, enrolment, statistical returns, seeing to the
car park tickets, and, for the teams, working together. Here some
work can be delegated once the systems are set up. We are lucky that
much of this work was done by the teams so we could see it -- a better
organized, or less new, system might have staff particularly hired for
administrative matters like these. As it is, this is analysis is most
likely to be inaccurate insofar as the more experienced teams buried
matters of detail in compendium minutes items.

Reports linked members to each other in their support guise

within teams, and were one way the teams communicated with each other. For an individual manager, *reports* are one kind of information to digest(and to produce). What would a lack of reports, of incoming information on work done, indicate? Probably that the reassessment of the shape of the job would be retarded, for without understanding the new relationships created by activity, development is impossible. This is a practical version of "monitoring". If it goes on inside a manager's head, it might well be the unrecognised source of the bright idea that comes in the bath.

Planning is the fairy at the top of the Christmas tree, the function that makes an administrator feel like a manager. *Planning* was part and parcel not only of the programme, but of things the teams chose to do during the study year, and, interestingly enough, part of what they did in the ordinary workaday categories that make the adult education world go round. Here a drawback in the way the content analysis was done worked to our advantage -- planning that was part of a work category went in the work category, not in *planning*. If the distribution of *planning* in the work of the teams has a message, it is that planning divorced from everyday work is a different animal, as the *planning* category was. It may be the place where a manager's brief can act on what s/he does without interference from the rest of the work. We have two kinds of planning, then, quotidian planning and brief-related planning.

What of managers who delegate the workaday matters? They may end up remote from planning linked to everyday work, and the profitable learning that comes from it. The brief-related innovations suggested by managers who plan at one remove from what everyone else does describes more precisely resistance to "top-down" change. One advantage the teams had was that agreement and implementation of what they planned was part of the same team process. If a team agreed to do something, it was acceptable change, though teamworking experience indicates that there are ways to deal with enforced change -- things the teams didn't agree with -- they got discussed over and over, like the fee system problems, until some working compromise was reached.

All in all, if a single manager's work was distributed over seven days as these teams' work was over a year, we would expect to see more than a day on *planning*, a day on *facilities*, most of a day on

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procedures, half a day each on *staffing*, *reports* and *external events*. There would be a couple of hours on *training*, just over an hour on *publicity* and on *miscellaneous* matters, and just over half an hour on *students*.

This half hour is an uncomfortable finding for adult educationists. Perhaps the best analogy is the supermarket manager who deals with consumers occasionally, but mainly creates the structures that allow them to consume. A straightforward industrial analogy is hard to find, for a foreman manufacturing soap powder probably spends a lot more time making sure the product is what it ought to be than talking to soap packets. This is a widespread misunderstanding about the nature of managing, particularly in service professions, where managers would be apt to say "but it's all about students".

This managerial working week, studentless or not, would be affected by a number of factors, all suggested by the sources of difference we have discussed. First, occurrences affecting budget or funding would probably swell *planning* and *procedures*, as it did for Outreach and the Area Teams. Second, the rhythm of the academic year would affect the work distribution in a week -- in Autumn, there would be more attention to the work categories, and less to *planning*. Winter would see a reduction in most things, and a time to catch up and communicate -- maybe national meetings should take place during this term, instead of the Spring. Even if adult education converted to a year-round programme rather than one based on schools' terms, the relative frequencies would not be greatly different in our imaginary week's work, if the experience of Outreach is anything to go by. In fact, the year's work would look more like our fictive week than it does now, for more activities now spread over the academic year would take place in shorter units of time.

New managers must learn the ropes -- the procedural rigging that deploys the sails -- or invent it, as East and South had to do. What the Area Teams invented, in addition to their concrete programmes and planning projects, was a communication system which involved, among other things, establishing a position for themselves in the Department and among other teams. Not every Centre team will happily dissolve itself, so the lessons of recognised complementarity must be learned,

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as ABE and Outreach discovered to their cost when they tried to merge after the study year ended. Centre retained its facility managing functions, referring to East matters for area coodination; ABE and Outreach did not find so straightforward a division of labour.

The pattern of who a manager refers things to, what s/he postpones, what s/he ignores and what s/he decides just to get rid of may not so readily translate from the teams' story. After all, the teams had to reach agreement as well as deal with business. A single manager would not need to use *reports* as Outreach did, as a validation of what s/he had done -- that function requires an audience(though satisfaction at a job well done is a pleasure individuals can enjoy). But the preference for deciding, of the paper only crossing the desk once, would act on an individual manager just as it acted on the teams we've discussed. Managerial preferences for action, like the frequency of the *new* and interactions with *outside*, are documented elsewhere in the management literature. That other options exist, and might be better used than what we might call disposal decisions, is a lesson which might be learned from the teams who were not afraid to *defer* something for later discussion if they did not understand it.

A managerial brief -- what a manager is asked to do, or hired to do -- affects what s/he does in unpredictable ways. Facing outwards, as ABE did, frees a manager from the constraints of the academic year but can divorce him/her from the working context created by the brief. Looking inward, as Centre increasingly did, could, in circumstances of less joint membership, have isolated the lessons of running a centre from the lessons learned by understanding the work as a whole. ABE and Centre demonstrate two kinds of potential isolation in adult education managing, though neither of the teams here yielded to temptation. If East had not existed, Centre would probably have extended its functions again. ABE paid attention to the rise of the Area Teams and to wider issues they thought important, as the cuts discussion indicated.

But even these two different teams showed the same kind of relationship to *new* things and to the *outside*. This result was puzzling, for Centre and ABE should have shown a different relationship to the unpredictable, if we can use that term for the *new*, and to the setting *outside* the teams. Centre should have been

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the team which had seen it all before, and ABE, with its *external events*, the team which saw more of the *new*. Centre should have had fewer links with the world outside the centre, and ABE more. This was not true.

So it may well be that our single adult education manager in his/her working week must expect to deal with *new* things for about a third of the time, and with matters from *outside* a bit less than a third of the time. *New* things have to be fit into the pattern somehow, and so are a source of change to that pattern. Adult education managers, too, appear to be linked to affairs *outside* their managing setting whether they set out to be so or not.

From time to time we have referred to management studies outside of the public sector, and outside of adult education. Some of the dipositional, status and source results are characteristic of all managing, not just of teams managing in adult education. Another pattern, that of the "managerial project", is characteristic of other kinds of managing too, when a manager decides to undertake something that is his/her special effort. We saw something of the teams' version of such projects when we looked inside the *planning* category at brief-related undertakings during the study year(Section 4.5.4 and Appendix 4.4).

This study's criteria

For this study's attempt at understanding successful managing, effectiveness issues for differentiated systems were used -- goal consensus, information management/identification of team jobs and decision processes(Table 1.5.1). Members were found to be more interested in effective process than product, so their evaluative comments tended to be most relevant when discussing teamworking and the process of managing, rather than its results.

Goal consensus as used here proved to be more useful for understanding the effect that working in teams had on team members. The institution's goals at the time were too diffuse to say other than there was broad agreement between the teams and the institution -- a few key incidents indicated that the disagreements were more likely to be about working structures(who hires South team members, for instance) or institutional procedures(when the programme budget is allocated) than goal conflict. It is true to say that in the

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College's policy interest in the economic development of the District lay future conflict with the goals of team members and teams, but teasing this potential out of the activity of the teams during the study year is truly another thesis.

The search for a way to understand identification of team jobs led to the minutes analysis in the first place, one of the most productive of the analyses conducted in this research. Identification of team jobs came from blockages to teamworking(Table 1.4.1) but its potential as an indicator for "interpretation of environment" was soon clear -- a job identified is an environmental interpretation, if, by environment, we mean the teams' institutional and urban working setting. As a sensitizing concept, this criterion for judging effective managing was useful. Like goal consensus, identification of team jobs is both an indicator for effective teamworking and for effective managing -- both teams and individual managers find difficulty in understanding what they are to do when in complex managerial contexts. The minutes analysis showed that, whatever else the teams did wrong, they did increasingly understand what their jobs were. This cumulative understanding was so specific(and so specifically defined by the minutes analysis) that comparisons among teams and among terms could be made, so that the teams' changing job identification could be traced.

Information management was easier to see because it, too, was specifically identified in minutes. One aspect of the increase in sophistication in handling information -- the Area Teams' use of the *reports* category -- identified important changes in identification of team jobs as South changed its way of working. *Reports* would not have been visible if 1) the information management criterion had not been part of the study plan and 2) if the established teams, who used reports consistently, had not been available to set up the content analysis categories.

Decision processes, an artifact of a different approach to understanding the work of managing than that taken by this thesis, was not so productive as the other criteria. It was important to include as a criterion, because team members found it a relevant way to understand their own work. Counting the number of decisions made on minutes items and comparing that proportion to other ways of dealing

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with business created a result that, like many in this study, cannot
be compared to anything else because I know of no one who has done it
that way. Useful results of understanding decision processes by
counting the number of decisions made were these: 1) when team members
said they had problems with decision-making, the minutes analysis
results said that decisions were made, and made quickly, whether it
felt like that or not, and 2) that the teams acted like other managers
reported in the literature -- they preferred to made a decision
whenever possible.

All this begs the question of whether team members made the right
decisions. The right decision is a question of understanding the
managing context as a whole, not in part, for what might look like a
dumb decision can be part of another process. East's refusal to work
on the programme until they had a budget, for instance, best seen as a
tactic to force a decision from higher up the College, allowed South
and the other area teams(and East as well) breathing space for
consultation about what they would do with the programme if the worst
happened and the 75% cut was implemented.

Decisions as the teams made them were incremental -- many little
decisions led to team work as we saw it in the minutes analysis
images. These little decisions are the case law that makes policy.
It is the work of another thesis to understand the minutes data well
enough to say "This decision led to that". Suffice it to say now
that, using a tool like the minutes analysis, this could be done.

Other criteria for effective managing were tempting, for the
teams themselves were in a little Departmental growth system for which
"growth, innovation, adaptability and integration" seemed appropriate
as criteria(Table 1.5.1). The compromise made was to include
innovation as a criterion for judging product, and to, through the
discussions of collaboration and the teams and change, indicate that
generally speaking, the teams proved adaptable to their changing
circumstances. Differentiated institutions appear to need more than
one kind of approach to effectiveness, as the discussion of
Mintzberg's organizational design observations in Section 1.5
suggested.

Summary

The minutes content analysis produced five versions of the work of managing adult education. Some of it is content-free -- *planning, reports, procedures* -- and some process-free -- *facilities, staff/ing, external events, publicity, training, students* -- and in some lie the seeds of change -- *miscellaneous*. Five manners of recognising the content categories -- the teams' distributions -- yield a spectrum of possiblities for managers analysing their work, and there are bound to be others. The criteria chosen for evaluating the teams as managers were found to be productive of understanding, if not of absolute proof of effectiveness.

Having considered the results of the minutes analysis as managerial work, we now change our ground and explore the consequences of viewing the minutes content analyses as members' joint analysis of managerial work during the study year.

7.3 Interpretative systems

This study has examined what teams said they did in their minutes and what members thought about adult education and their own work as teams. In all this, patterns emerged that seemed to stand for the shape of managing in adult education. This is probably best represented by the "wallpaper" figure from Chapter 4, Table 4.4.2.1 -- images representing each team's work during a term. In the discussion that follows, vestiges of the teams' interpretative system for managing adult education are used to talk about managerial interpretative systems in general.

Defining terms

The tool a manager uses to find him/herself in the job is his/her *job definition*. This job definition, as Armstrong and Wieck and Daft persuasively argue(Section 3.2), is an interpretation of what the job involves. It is the answer to the question "what do you think you're doing?" Its limits -- "that's not part of my job, I'll get rid of it" -- are easier to see than its constituents. This job definition, frozen for a moment in time, is termed x.

$$x$$
$$\text{job}$$
$$\text{definition}$$

The minimal determinants of this job definition are what's

required, the *aims* of the postholder/s, and *events.*

Every job has its *requirements.* The job itself, somewhere or other, will carry with it a brief -- a set of characteristics of the job -- even if it is as broad as the Area Team brief was: "establishing a 'coherent and comprehensive provision of education for adults'". Even if the job is a new one, it will have a history, too: the post would not exist if someone, once upon a time, had not thought it necessary. Part of the history of the Area Teams lay in the shape of the adult education programmes already in existence in their identified geographical areas(Section 2.6), and in the established ways that teams already worked in the Department(Section 2.3). The job is, moreover, likely to have recurring characteristics, whatever the manager's aims, events, the brief or the job's history are. Procedures and schedules for mounting, monitoring and maintaining the adult education programmes which the Teams were to make more coherent and comprehensive existed. Planning an adult education programme has to be done once a year in time for the publicity, whatever Area Teams might have thought of the academic year and its constraints. Classes must be enrolled. Statistics must be collected. Taken together, the brief, history and recurring events identify what's *required* in the job.

In the job definition, too, lurk the manager's *own aims* for the job. At the beginning of the study year, Outreach appeared to have goals unlike those of other teams -- it wanted the *atmosphere and style* of adult education to be informal, showing a concern with *learning context* coupled with an interest in *systems.* East/Centre members were more concerned that *people and their needs* were balanced with the *systems* for organizing learning opportunities. The evidence of Section 5.1, the separation of aims from the actual work of managing, may mean that the aims of the postholder/s are the least likely of the determinants of the job definition to change.

Given what's required in the job, and the aims of those doing it, *events* occur while the job is being done which may or may not affect the job definition. In the teams' year, the cuts and the DoE bids(Section 4.5.1) are two which could be seen to have an effect on the Area Team job definition, and the teacher union action one which did not.

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Relationships among the required, aims and events

We have said that events, the required, and the postholder's own
aims affect job definition and changes in it. The rough sketch below
shows this visually.

```
                        required
                           !
                           !
                           !
                           v
                           x.
    events    ----->      job      <-----      own
                        definition              aims
                           !
                           !
                           v
                          xl.
                          new
                        definition
```
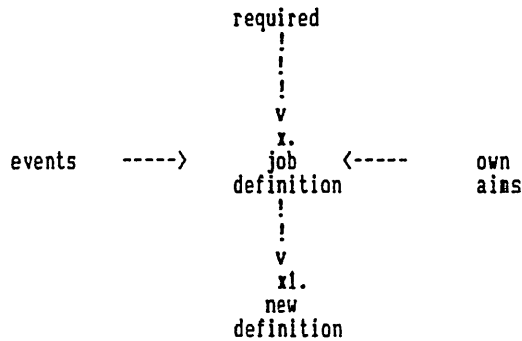
Is this how it ought to be? The arrows are placed rather
differently if we look at what adult educationists like Newman and
Williets and management writers like Ackoff say about managing:

```
                        required
                           !
                           !
                           !
                           v
                           x.
    events    <-----      job      <----      own
                        definition             aims
                           !
                           v
                          xl.
                          new
                        definition
```
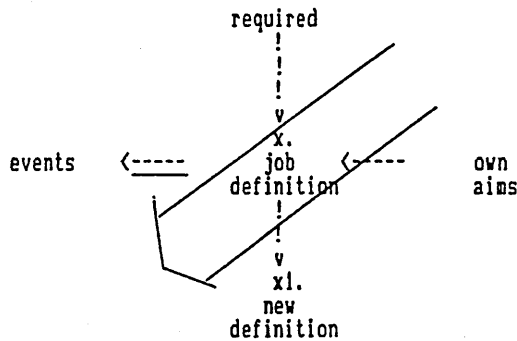
Here the required and the postholder's aims affect not only his
changing job definition, but events too. "Pro-active" is one way to
describe this almost muscular activity, which goes from top right to
bottom left. An example of pro-activity is East's staff handbook, in
which it explained itself to itself and to anyone who asked, including
teachers and other staff within East's ambit. Centre/East members, by
the end of the year, were among those(with South) most concerned that
the system appear coherent in the new *one round only* categories.
Perhaps their efforts on explaining Area Team organization affected
their aims for adult education.

How else might the elements link? A second image comes from the
opinion of team members -- "we always seem to be reacting to
everything". Here the required and events affect the postholder's

aims and his/her changing definition, a movement from top left to
bottom right.

```
                    required
                       !
                       !
                       !
                       v
                       x.
events    ----->      job   ----->      own
                   definition          aims
                       !
                       !
                       v
                      xl.
                      new
                   definition
```
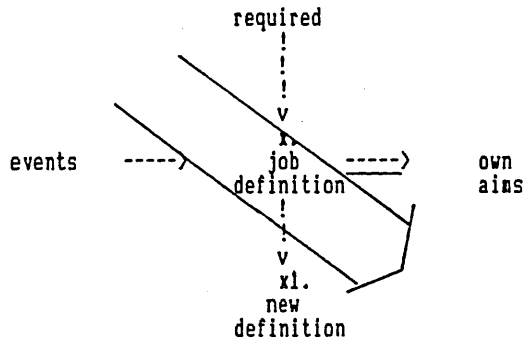
South's membership change is an example of unpredicted events
affecting the job definition and member aims as well as member action
during the study year. Along with joining the communication network
as East rose, South also inserviced its programme planners five times,
as parttime Heads of Centre came and went. Member aims were affected
-- "well-organized" was South's contribution to the new goal
categories. South had its own adult education working group -- the
parttime Heads of Centre and their inservicer -- that arose from the
change in staff, so its working processes were affected too.
Membership change may have had its effect on South's planning
projects, too, it was the originator of the informal work training for
teachers. With so much practice in training its own staff, perhaps
this activity seemed consistent with what it was doing already.
Events affecting South influenced what it saw it should be doing --
its job definition.

No analogy helps understanding if wrung out and hung to dry
indefinitely. A final version will help to comprehend the work of the
teams, though, which might, after Schon, be called "reflective":

```
                    required
                       ^
                       !
                       !
                       !
                       v
                       x.
events    <----->     job   <----->      own
                   definition           aims
                       !
                       !
                       v
                      xl.
                      new
                   definition
```

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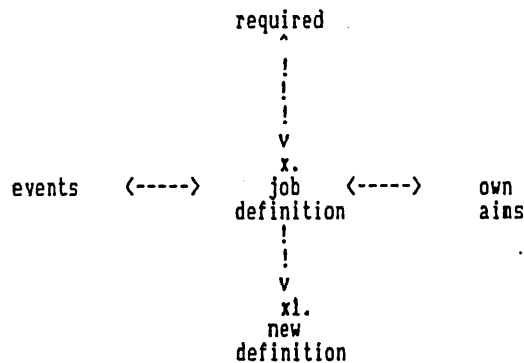
Here the required, events and aims all interact with the job
definition to yield a new job definition. It is clearer now that this
job definition is itself a product. It's striking that conventional
"product" -- a manufactured item, a place in an adult education class,
even smooth functioning -- are here divorced from the management
process itself because of what we have chosen to view.

The examples for pro-active and re-active managing above sit much
more happily in this "reflective" system, for East's handbook and
South's membership change both affected and were affected by how the
teams chose to respond to them. This is what a job definition is for
-- holding, for a moment, the change that seems to be in the nature of
management, so that managers can see and evaluate it.

The changing job definition also makes the teams' almost
obsessive concern with process -- teamworking, how decisions are made,
problems with people in the teams(Sections 5.2 and 5.3) -- clearer.
In order to respond and to act as a manager, it is necessary to
evaluate and evaluate again in every situation in which the required,
aims and events interact. No wonder the job definition changes. The
next section describes how changes in the job definition over time
might be analysed.

Temporal relationships

The diagram gets more complex because there is not only x, but
x1, and probably a lot more steps on the dx continuum), as the job
definition changes:

```
             x
            job
        definition
            !
            !
            v
            x1
            job
        definition
            !
            !
            v
```
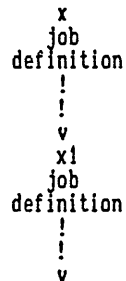
The clearest place to see the job definition changing is in the
Area Teams' Autumn Term, when they had to enrol and maintain the area
programmes. They both began to look like their all terms images.
What has to be done(the *required*) in autumn -- the job definition for

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the season -- may well be different from the job definition for winter
or for spring. There are probably predictable variations in any
manager's job definition: the Area Teams' variation matches the
academic year, but another manager's may change predictably with the
dates of institutional reviews, or every time sales figures go down,
or in tune with other rhythms characteristic of his/her managing
setting.

In the handbook and staff turnover examples, the *required, aims*
and *events* have all affected and been affected by the job definition.
It is not unreasonable to assume that the teams' job definitions at
the end of the study year should be different. Were they? For two of
the established teams, no. Outreach and ABE kept a similar shape, no
matter what the term(Appendix Table 4.2.2.9). The new teams did
change, each including more of more kinds of work in the general
direction of the all terms image. Centre changed too, as it handed
over functions to East(Section 4.5.7). This indicates that there may
be a base job definition from which it is unlikely that an established
manager will depart unless there is a good reason to do so, as
Centre's devolution to East demonstrates.

Judging from the ABE and Outreach images over the year, this base
can show much variation. The sources of such variation are easiest to
see in Outreach, where activities the team chose to do changed the
distribution of its work categories(Section 4.5.4) -- putting the
facilities van into use, for example, swelled facilities-related tasks
during the first term of the study.

The relatively blank sheet of a new manager, who assesses what's
required, his/her own aims and whatever events occur to arrive at a
working job definition, is represented by East. Of all the teams, its
imaged job definition in its first term is most different from what it
became by its second spring.

We show this new manager at the top of the image below, and add
the three models discussed above as though they were characteristic of
a single manager at different times.

```
New manager                              required
                                            !
                                            !
                                            v
                                            x
                 events     ----->         job
                 aims       ----->       definition
                                            !
                                            !
                                            v
Pro-active       [required ----->]          x1
                 aims       ----->         job      <----->    events
                                        definition
                                            !
                                            !
                                            v
Re-active        events     ----->          x2     [<----->  required]
                                           job      <----->   aims
                                        definition
                                            !
                                            !
                                            v
Reflective       [required <----->]         x3     [<----->  required]
                 events     <----->        job      <----->   events
                 aims       <----->     definition<----->     aims
                                            !
                                            !
                                            v
                                            .
                                            .
                                            .
```
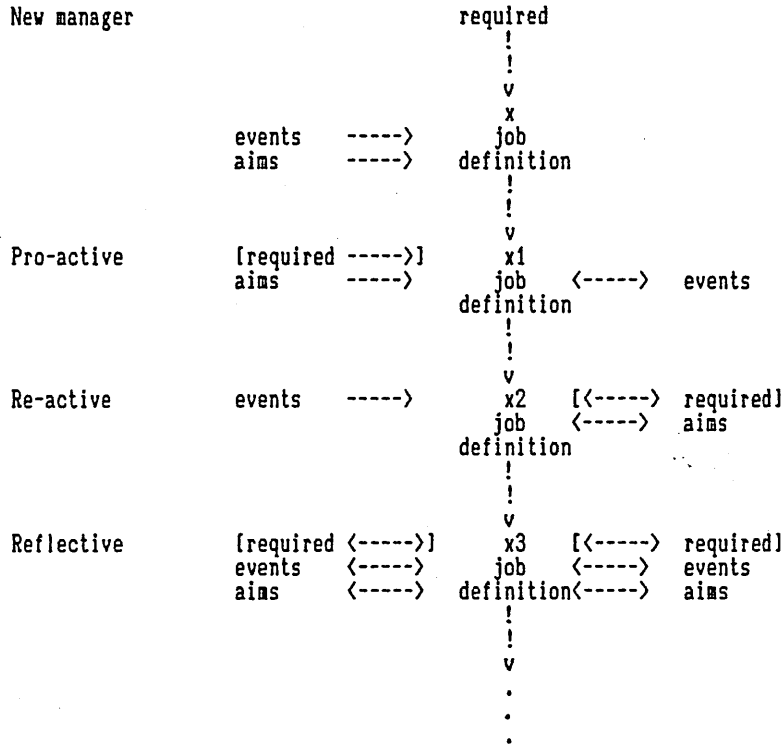
This composite image relates elements in the discrete diagram
with which we began. The pro-active and re-active managers are
distinguished by whether they affect events or whether they are
affected by them. They are probably managerial myths by which we
characterise the nature of managing. In the reflective image, events
both determine and affect the process of modifying the job definition,
a process more like what was observed in the teams' activity over the
study year.

This study's criteria

       This study did not set out to examine team member interpretative
systems, team interpretative systems or organizational interpretative
systems. That these systems are useful for understanding team action
during the study year is a result of the research. The richness of
the repertory grid in yielding team member opinion, however, meant
that team member definitions of adult education and team member
analyses of their own definitions could be compared to the minutes
analysis results, showing that what members thought they were about
was not what they were engaged in doing over the study year. Goals
and managerial action lived in different kingdoms. Marrying awareness
of goals to awareness of the patterns in managerial action ally the

kingdoms. Tools for managers to use to understand what they do can be understood best in this context.

Weick and Daft(1983, 82-6) make interesting observations about effectiveness of interpretative systems. To paraphrase some of their insights, they observe that the owners of these systems judge them by 1) whether they allow reconstruction of the incidents which led to the interpretative conclusions, 2) whether they are complex enough to allow many different things to be admitted to them and new relationships to be drawn from them and 3) whether, when used with other people, they allow "matches" of interpretative systems which do not demand total agreement(this would lead to lack of development of the systems).

This is not a matter of "Just a second, I'll get out my interpretative system" but a process of understanding an idea, getting the impression that it doesn't "fit" with one's own view, and playing with it to see if it might make sense. We saw this happen when Outreach members, between the beginning and the end of the study year, began to admit different emphases into their definitional distributions(Section 6.2), while East and Centre admitted Outreach members' *atmosphere/style* into their definitional components. Though this change does not represent an interpretative system, it does indicate change in Outreach's and East/Centre's. It also suggests that repertory grids may yield interesting results about people's systems for understanding the systems within which they work.

Effective interpretative systems are probably those which allow change while orienting the individual to that change. It may be that understanding the many grid studies in the social psychological literature from this perspective, might relate tightness or looseness of grids to the permeability of interpretative systems people use when they work. The increased dimensionality of team member grids collected at the end of the study year were used to index team member learning about managing(Section 6.1 and Appendix Table 6.1). They also may indicate the development of interpretative systems for understanding managing. Certainly the team member list of issues to consider in managing adult education(Table 5.1.6) would have yielded criteria as interesting for investigating the work of managing adult education as the external criteria adopted here. Contrasting team

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member definitions of organizational and educational decisions, then comparing that with what seemed to be organizational and educational decisions in the minutes analysis would have yielded a richer matrix than the two-part comparison made in Section 5.1 between frequencies of the minutes analysis content categories and the definitions of adult education.

Summary

The *required, aims* and *events* interact to form a job definition, the working tool of managing, which changes both to a regular pattern, and to particular choices managers make. New managers, like East, must create a working job definition, and managers whose circumstances change, as South's did with the rise of East and with membership, must modify their job definition. Because the study year lasted for only four terms, we do not know what South's definition looked like before the study's began, or what Centre's became after the year ended, though, by inspecting their minutes for these periods, we could probably find out. ABE and Outreach displayed similarity over the terms of the study year, suggesting that there is a base job definition from which an established manager works. This may show variation, but retains its overall shape.

Interpretative systems as a way of understanding the complicated analyses that managers make when they make decisions is one result of this study, and points the way to productive re-interpretation of existing studies and to future research.

7.4 Interpretative systems' effectiveness

The results of the minutes analyses have been described, first, as representing the work of managing in adult education and, second, as vestiges of team interpretative systems. It is very likely, as the information management/identification of team jobs(Section 6.3) discussion showed, that the content categories and their distributions can stand for both. A minutes item is, after all, both information and a suggested task for a team to perform.

The interesting question is, of course, whether the choices team members made when they brought items to team meetings were effective ones, in managerial terms. And, if the content analysis images can be considered as legitimate representations of the interpretative system of each team, how can we judge whether these, as systems, were

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effective?

Interpretative systems and change

Teams are more adaptable to change because, as discussed in Section 7.1, they are more receptive to it, they provide a setting within which agreement can be reached, and, to complete the third point not discussed, teams may be more able to redefine what they do to adapt to new circumstances. We cannot say whether these teams are more or less able to redefine what they do than other managers, though we do have a tool, in the changing job definition(as represented by the distribution of the content analysis categories) with which others can investigate the third of Glover's(Section 1.4) explanations for teams' ability to deal with change.

Implicit and explicit interpretative systems

Team members, of course, were not aware during the study year that what they brought to meetings patterned into what is now being termed an interpretative system. How can a system be used if people do not know it exists? Here again, we see what we learned when we compared goals for adult education and the work of managing(Section 5.1). Managers practice managing, they do not necessarily think about it unless something goes very wrong, or unless someone with power tells them to do it another way, or they find themselves doing something which directly conflicts with whatever goals they have for the job they do. It may be that isolation of goals from managing work protects the goals, allowing managers to live with contradictory situations because the contradictions are not explicit(Section 6.2). For example, the two ABE teams could admit "student-run" into their goals and live with the fact that students did not run ABE and Outreach.

Interpretative systems and effectiveness

It has already been demonstrated that the teams were relatively effective as far as member learning, teamworking and adult education programme/process quality are concerned. This may suggest that that the team interpretative systems which generated the results must themselves, too, be relatively effective. They are unlikely, at any rate, to be totally dysfunctional unless they were not artifacts of what was done at all, but simply manifestations of coordinative conversations that members had over the 163 meetings of the study

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year. There is enough evidence of results emerging from team
activity(some of this is summarised in Section 6.4.1) to refute this
worst case, even if we do not believe what team members said about
what they had done(Sections 5.2-5.3).

Now is the time to give what seem to be wishy-washy statements
about effectiveness a more systematic name. When we look at
effectiveness, we are looking at an array of behaviours, processes and
products whose relationship can be effective, within a given range.
The range is determined by the indicators used to make effectiveness
visible. This is allied to what "quantum" means in the new physics,
and what we are identifying is "quantum" effectiveness. This is
discussed further in Section 8.5.

The Area Teams learned to work together, members affected each
others' goals for the service, the work each had to do was identified
and done, crises during the study year were confronted and dealt with
cooperatively, members grew more sophisticated in their understanding
of group processes, and the teams themselves communicated effectively
to mount a coherent cut programme which even contained some
innovations. This is all well within the realm of the effective,
though it has taken many words to convey it.

7.5 Output measures

In circumstances of such complexity, it is no wonder that output
measures are used now, as they were during the study year, to monitor
what is done in adult education. It is worth understanding the
assumptions behind output measures to comprehend their relationship
with either organizational effectiveness or organizational
development.

What measures effectiveness depends on the type and complexity of
organization seeking to so legitimate itself. Using Table 1.5.1
again, it seems clear that "control", "clockwork" and "framework"
systems are those for which concrete output measures are most
appropriate. Other kinds of systems, like the "differentiated" system
we have used to select effectiveness indicators, find other kinds of
outputs more worth the measuring.

This study's output measures were innovation, collaboration and
balance in adult education programmes, all of them visible in quantum
terms. The catch is that they were almost invisible in what the teams

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produced. This is not only a problem of the cuts making innovation, balance and collaboration in a developing continuing education system more difficult, but a misidentification of what adult education product is. For the Area Teams, their teamworking process was part of what they produced during the study year. So was their identification of team jobs, as real(or unreal) a system as the poodles and tadpoles which represented it. So were the definitional categories -- about *people and their needs*, about *systems*, about *learners and the learning context*. These were all ways to understand teamworking and adult education during the study year, and they were all produced by team members working together.

What would have emerged had we used the efficiency and effectiveness criteria suggested by the Education Reform Act summarised below?

> *Efficiency(the relationship of outputs to inputs):*
> i SSR bsed on fte enrolled student and academic staff numbers;
> ii non-teacher cost per enrolled fte student;
> iii cost per fte student enrolled on a course;
> iv completion rates for students enrolled on courses, and the cost
>   per fte student completing a course;
> v rates of target qualifications gained for students enrolled on a
>   course, and the cost per qualified student; and
> vi rates of employment or progression to further and higher education
>   for students completing appropriate courses.
> *Effectiveness(the extent to which [the organization's] objectives are
>   achieved).*
>
> *Table 7.5.¹ Summary of efficiency and effectiveness indicators from HMSO
> Managing CollegesEfficiently(1987), 13,20. Key: SSR = student/staff
> ratio; fte=fulltime equivalent student.*

Efficiency

We could calculate the teams' efficiency in these terms, if we omitted everything that the teams wanted to know about how they worked. They wanted to improve their decision-making. They wanted to make it easier for individual members to learn in teams. They wanted the relationship between educational and organizational issues to become clearer. They wanted the systems they invented for working to operate more smoothly. They wanted the adult education service they described in their goals -- about people and their needs, about learning and the learning context and about systems for meeting both learning requirements and organizational imperatives. They would probably have felt pretty good had they achieved the efficiency measures, but, outside of mounting more big keep fit courses,

efficiency measures would not have helped them develop a balanced, innovative, collaborative service.

What we conclude is that efficiency measures justify activity, but do not improve that activity. They are not about quality, but about survival.

Effectiveness

We will not discuss the College's objectives here, except to observe that the teams, too, saw adult education as a "district resource" which should work to the learning requirements of people in the District, as the School policy stated. "Coherent and comprehensive" as objectives of the programme have already been discussed -- the teams' achievement of a balanced programme under constrained circumstances demonstrated that the teams were working towards coherence and comprehensiveness with the resources to provide neither. These are the "multiple and ambitious goals"(Table 1.5.1) of a differentiated system, and no one, during the study year, got depressed at not achieving them.

For realistic objectives, we have to look at the teams themselves. The clearest indicator of the developing realism of the teams over the study year is in their one round only goals(Appendix Table 6.4.7). "A system/linked", "well-organized", "student-run", and "lost opportunities" are all more achievable than a free adult education service, one that caters "for the most disadvantaged first", one that is "informal" or even one that is "free from bias". That three of these are about *systems* is no accident, for team members tended to consider systemic questions when they analysed their own definitions more at the end of the year than at its beginning. This is where the relationships among administrators and consumers, among organizational and education decisions, between adult education and the institution and between local and national priorities identify effectiveness issues for those team members who chose to consider managing in education rather than educational issues(Table 5.1.6).

What if the teams had systematically set objectives for their work over the study year? The answer is, of course, that they did. The assembled experience of team members told them that, if they were managing adult education jointly, they had to maintain the existing adult education programme, agree a new programme, and plan and

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publicise it. This is the *required* from the interpretative system
that goes with the territory, and, perhaps, an on the ground version
of the College and School's diffuse goals in action. The teams, in
these terms, met their objectives. If they had stopped there, and
gone on to another year of doing the same thing, then the developing
adult education system would stop developing. It is in their concern
for process, for taking collaborative opportunities, for seeing a good
idea and following it through as they did in their planning
projects(Section 4.5.4), that their potential strength lay. Setting
objectives and meeting them is like reading the last page of the
murder mystery first -- you are a lot happier because you know where
you are going. The teams did not take this option.

Output measures are not nonsense, and neither are objectives.
Both exist, and must be accommodated to, the former by achieving them
in the course of doing something consonant with broader goals, and the
latter by making tacit objectives held by each team member more
explicit.

7.6 Summary and conclusions

Aids to generalising: The methods used to analyse the teams'
activity in a qualitative way yielded results specific to these teams
in this setting. Some results have been applied to broader managerial
settings to better understand managerial effectiveness. This process
was greatly assisted by the external criteria of effectiveness chosen
for this study, because member learning, goal consensus,
identification of team jobs/information management, decision
processes, balance, innovation and collaboration all helped to point
out where each specific insight could best be applied to general
managerial work.

Analytical focus for criteria: There was very little innovation
in the adult education programmes which wasn't there before the Area
Teams started work, though team members innovated all year in creating
the Area Teams. The programmes as published showed little clear
evidence of collaboration, even though collaborative activity by teams
was lavishly documented in the minutes analysis. In both cases, the
criterion was right, but its proposed focus at product less valuable
to understanding team activity during the study year than aiming it at
team process. This led to thinking about team process as a product,

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along with the adult education programmes.

Effectiveness of interrelationship of indicators: It was found
that one criterion, applied by itself, yielded a partial picture of
effectiveness that "felt" wrong. For example, the ample evidence in
the content analysis images that teams identified their jobs over the
terms of the study year turned out to be related very tightly to their
information management, partly because minutes are information
management(Section 6.3). The interlocking of some of these patterns
with member goal change towards more balanced definitions of adult
education(Section 6.2) and in themselves as managers(Section 6.1) is
less interesting without the job identification which this study
asserts interacted to produce the goal change.

So, while single criterion effectiveness studies are undoubtedly
useful where the criterion relationships are well understood, it seems
wasteful of effort to plan and carry out single criterion
effectiveness studies when the setting(adult education), the
structures(teams) and the analytical focus(managerial work) have not
been investigated thoroughly.

Internal criteria: The abiding interest of team members in their
working processes, rather than in what they produced, is one result of
this study. Member report of the constraints to teamworking during
the study year were different from those described in the minutes
analysis(Sections 4.5 and 5.2, Table 5.2.1, *itemised restrictions).
The tensions or balances in managing(Table 5.1.6) identified where
compromises had to be made between goals and work, talking, as
repertory grids are designed to do, about the links between concrete
work and the goals which affect it in unpredictable ways. These
looked more and more interesting during the data analysis period, and
led to a higher profile in this thesis for interpretative systems.

Interpretative system effectiveness: The major omission in this
study was a way to comprehend the effectiveness of interpretative
systems. More cogent planning might have predicted how useful to
understanding team activity the goal change of members was likely to
be. Preparation in understanding the language of changing ideas may
well have given rise to a vocabulary analysis from transcribed tapes,
linking interpersonal activity in meetings with goals of individual
team members, and that to the concrete work of the teams as

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represented in the minutes analysis.

Teams and change: This chapter has examined evidence for teams' relationship to change and concluded that increased receptivity to it, agreement on it and definitional flexibility to accommodate it do appear to be strengths of teams, only partly because members are supported. Teams, however, accommodate very much better to change when they control its direction, as Centre did when it handed over to East, or as all teams did in their chosen planning projects. If the teams did not control what was happening, as when the cuts were proposed, they immediately broadened their cooperative base to deal with it(through the Interteam meetings). So teams may better accommodate to change because they are more equipped to seek cooperative solutions to problems posed by change. In these cooperative solutions, the benefits of teamworking -- pooling of skills and experience, coordination -- can be brought to bear on the irritation that, in oysters, result in pearls.

Managerial work: Understanding the nature of managerial work in adult education 1) allowed characteristics of other managing to be applied to the teams' work and 2) made visible regularities in their managerial activity(more precise effects of the academic year, effect of quotidian vs brief-related planning) which would have been impossible without the imposition of what at first seemed an alien framework. A productive result too is the potential of systematic minutes analyses for understanding all kinds of mutual action in clubs, bureaucracies, industry and wherever people use meetings to cooperate.

Output measures: Judging managing by what is produced yields history, not improvement in managing.

The next chapter considers implications of this study for research methods, for research into effectiveness, teamworking, managerial work, and interpretative systems before attempting guidelines for managers becoming researchers, and examining their own working setting.

CHAPTER 8

IMPLICATIONS

This thesis has been affected by the topicality of the concept of
effectiveness, because, as it was written, the rules for judging the
quality of what is done in education are changing. Middle managers in
education understanding their own effectiveness for the benefit of
their work seems at risk as efficiency and efficiency-related
effectiveness, highly dependent on centrally-agreed output measures,
percolate through UK educational institutions.

This chapter, after a short section which guesses what the
consequences of the changes will be for adult education and teams
managing in it, discusses research methods used in the study which may
prove to be useful elsewhere; then, in the course of summarising
general conclusions about effectiveness, teams, managing and
interpretative systems arrived at here, suggests further research.

8.1 Effects of 1988 education reforms

A thesis written from inside education, about education can draw
limited conclusions about the application of principles taken from
elsewhere(industry, organizational science) to education. It does
seem, however, that the thrust of current educational reforms 1)
admits parents into control of initial education(schools) with
competitive effectiveness as their criteria for judging satisfactory
education for children and 2) industrial representatives into control
of education for adults through Training Agency and college governing
body reforms, judging, too, by the kind of limited efficiency and
effectiveness criteria discussed in Section 7.5. Those elected to
represent localities -- local councillors -- have a planning and
monitoring role in these changes, not an organizational role.

A coherent system for agreeing what makes "good" education should
assist in the development of an integrated, comprehensive education
service for adults. Instead, new providers working to their own
priorities are arising. Vocational training funded outside local
authority control leaves local authority-based non-vocational adult
education services like that described in this thesis relatively
non-prioritised in the new legislation, and not linked to the growing
vocational initiatives. Private sector, full-cost education for

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adults is being developed too, sometimes by those who formerly provided a general adult education service. Special funding like that described by Charnley and Stock in Section 1.1, and sought by these teams in Section 4.5.1, still disproportionately influences what is developed in local authority-based adult education, which should be attending to its analysis of the requirements of local students.

The diversity of institutions offering education for adults may protect the general service in ways currently unpredictable, for just as Mee and Wiltshire had difficulty classifying the institutions which offered adult education in 1974, so, today, the same array of organizations, colleges, directly-funded bodies and local authority-based adult education still comprises the service. Time and the political eye turned in other directions may leave enough of this diversity from which to build should the climate change.

What will not change, however, is the need to build some sensible response to vocational requirements, or, minimally, access to vocational opportunities, into the general adult education adults have heretofore used for leisure purposes. Here, difficult liaison is required with the new training providers, across the barriers of different ways of measuring effectiveness, different methods for recruiting trainees, different priorities in setting learning goals, different rules for training staff, and even different salary scales. With the economically-costed, unsubsidised general adult education for interest's sake moving to different providers, too, the old links forgeable between learners of very different social backgrounds will no longer enrich what happens in adult learning situations, unless mututally acceptable partnerships can be agreed.

The cooperation to build a comprehensive system of lifelong learning which was this thesis's starting point, and its main justification for teams working in adult education, is not impossible to achieve -- the bits which must be linked are just different. The old general adult education service will not die overnight -- perhaps special funding will enable it to retain some existing functions until it is clear with whom to cooperate about what. This very rapid set of predictions about the effects of current education reforms seems to indicate that cooperation within and across organizations to make a lifelong learning system more coherent is still necessary. If this is

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so, then teams, with the utilities this working structure creates, are still required.

Implications of this thesis for teams, for managing, for research methods and research choices can still be drawn. The tools this thesis proposes for managers beginning to analyse their own work, however, should be treated with caution. Analysing the unique kinds of effectiveness present in single working situations, then combining the results within the adult education field, say, to achieve a broad-based view of effectiveness agreed by managers themselves, goes against the current climate of output-based success. Second, any tool which works can be used for any purpose. The legitimacy of those this thesis suggests rests in their use by managers to understand their own situations. Managers have the detailed knowledge necessary, for instance, to turn appointment books or team minutes into data for understanding managerial work, as we shall see in Section 8.4. The comparisons which managers make when comparing the results of these analyses with other managers are likely to be valid for improving managing as this thesis understands it. Internal criticism and internally-controlled change produces institutions which can cooperate with each other with confidence.

Summary

Recent changes stemming from the Education Reform Act and the separate funding for training adults vocationally are creating a three-part system of specially-funded projects for areas of social need, economically-costed and charged provision for general adult education and a separate training network of public and private organizations. New participative structures for running initial and further education will be controlled by output measures of effectiveness. Though the climate has changed, cooperation to create a coherent system of educational opportunities for adults is still required: this, as we have seen, is an appropriate job for team structures. Managers within this changing domain need ways to monitor their own effectiveness.

8.2 Research methods

The methodology chapter and its appendices presented fully the assumptions and the methods used for this study. Research approaches which may deserve further investigation are four: participant

observation, the use of repertory grids, minutes analysis and
statistical methods.

This study's basic research tool, in the context of which other
methods must be seen, is the separation of the analyses of bodies of
data, as explained in Section 3.6. Each set of analyses was like a
little research project in itself. This meant that the results of
each part of the research could be compared, using the concept of
effectiveness as touchstone.

8.2.1 Participant observation

Participant observation is not a tool for parttime researchers
studying their own working setting for the reasons discussed in
Section 3.3. Trying to build in a hermeneutic or participant
observation-like interaction with the data during the analysis process
did work, for the bodies of data were kept reasonably separate until
the time for comparisons between them was ripe, and the insights
gained during the analysis period for each body of data could be
recorded and responsibly evaluated and re-evaluated, as an
anthropologist would do in the field. This was greatly assisted
because analysis notes(analogous to field notes) were easy to keep on
a word processor.

Nevertheless, the advantages gained by conventional participant
observation in broad-based studies, mainly that of changing tack to
investigate something interesting which arises <u>during</u> the data
collection process, are too good to miss. There seem to be three
options.

Participant observers should never study their own working
contexts unless a team of researchers works, if not on the
observational material and data collection, then on the data analysis.
The process of having to agree implications of analysis-generated
structures from unstructured data is a partial control against
observer bias. If the participant observers are all from the same
working setting, then the setting itself will profit from such
inspection. Joint or cooperative research is often undertaken once a
researcher is experienced enough to apply for and gain grants for such
work; it seems even more useful to encourage joint research by those
who are learning how the research process works. For this study, a
key informant technique already described was a partial substitute for

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a full research colleague; the rules of confidentiality limited what could be done in this relationship, though the study log was very much enriched by having another witness to team activity.

A second option is that of participative research structures, in which the fieldworker coordinates and enables the explorations of people working together to understand what they do. There is a serious contradiction here if only the coordinator gets a degree out of the process, as is likely with the practitioner research structure prevalent now. Some modifications of the way that research is engendered seem required here, for participant researchers should profit, too, other than gaining the satisfaction of investigating their own context in an informed way. Perhaps a research climate will grow, in which assistance for such investigations will be available from research institutions, and a way to accredit this kind of learning for participants built into accreditation procedures in the research community.

Finally, though I could not be a participant observer for my own working context, others may be more able to eschew their own assumptions. The attraction of an independent investigation costing only researcher time is an attractive one. This would be made easier if 1) concrete observational training which sensitises the researcher to the problems his/her assumptions can create is provided before the research is fully planned; 2) an unequivocal time off ordinary work is granted the researcher, with a period before observations begin to "detoxify" from work and adopt an investigative stance; 3) a peer support system is provided by the supervising institution and 4) the time granted for such investigations is extended, for understanding field notes is a longer process than understanding structured data.

The potential of modified participant observational studies by insiders is a powerful one, particularly if a forum for combining their insights is agreed and established. The nature of insider insights may be different, and the nature of the contribution of insider studies is not yet evaluated. An opportunity will be missed if this is not done.

8.2.2 Repertory grids

Many researchers must be attracted to grids because of their power. Not many research instruments evoke "oh wow" responses from

research participants. The reasons for using grids in this study are described elsewhere; here what appear to be differences in the use of grids in this study are outlined and their potential discussed.

From the experience of this research, it is perfectly possible to generate a thoughtful grid with ten user-elicited elements and ten constructs in 45 minutes. It is true that grid administration was rhythmic rather than leisurely, and that some procedures like the checking of similar constructs, for instance, had to be omitted because of time alloted to the grid, but most grids were analysable, and could be used comparatively. That full grids could be generated so quickly was probably partly a function of the familiarity of the issues to the respondents -- most could offer a multi-part definition of what adult education should be because, in the established teams at any rate, they had considered the question from many angles before. A less familiar question for element generation would perhaps have taken more time.

These definitions themselves were used more thoroughly than the grid-generated contrasts were. They were the basis of the goal change material in Chapter 6 and the material representing aims or goals which was compared to the work category frequencies in Chapter 5. For other research, any multipart definition could be generated and used thus. It was an economical way to collect relevant data which could be grouped into distributions for comparing. The comparison of researcher-classified elements and participant-classified elements(represented by the constructs) was not done thoroughly, only impressionistically, as the discussion of results in Section 5.1 demonstrates. This comparison in itself could be a study, particularly if the grids were analysed by principal component analysis, which would reduce them to categories not unlike the definitional categories. This piece of research is still to be done, and will be a tool for investigating interpretative systems in later analyses of the study data.

The rough cluster measurement used to represent increased dimensionality as evidence of member learning is still to be compared with the grid literature. As it stands, it allows the meaning of grids to be compared without sacrificing all of the insights their structure might offer to a more experienced researcher. As it was,

the four-part comparison of grid clusters appeared to do the job it
was designed for without violating the content analysis rules used by
this research -- never use a number when a name can be put to
it(Section 3.6.3 and Appendix 3.4, *Analysis*).

The overweening advantage of using grids, however, was that the
control of the interview was turned over to the respondent. Ensuing
questions were asked in the context of the kind of adult education the
respondent defined for him/herself using the grid. In seven
interviews of the 65 completed, this did not work, for the grid
procedure put the four respondents, they felt, at a disadvantage, and
affected their responses to other questions. This sacrifice was
considered worth it.

8.2.3 Analysing minutes

The minutes analyses were an addition to the study plan. They
stood for the fragmentary agendas which were too incomplete to code,
and, in the absence of team-directed adult education programmes and
transcribed meeting tapes, provided data for discussing both team
product and process.

With hindsight, the minutes could not have been coded
responsibly(by responsibly is meant, as far as possible, without bias)
had procedures for dealing with unstructured data not been honed on
the analysis of the grid elements. These were already separated,
already on cards ready to be sorted, and all talked in the same
adjectival terms about the same subject. This was not true of team
minutes, which sometimes combined items, were not always clear without
referring to minutes before and after the target meeting or to memory
of participants, and were written on scraps of paper in hieroglyphics
in some cases. The rules for understanding them were the same, though
the process a much more painstaking one.

In Section 8.4, some of the problems in understanding this kind
of data have been summarised for the benefit of people who are termed
manager/researchers. For this method section, what needs to be said
is this: any minutes will couple unlike with unlike, and, across
minutes items, compare the incomparable. The decision to code a
process like *planning* in parallel to a concrete work item fitting into
facilities was entirely mine, and made because I thought that I was
reflecting a way that the teams thought the items were concurrent.

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This kind of decision made the identification of the two kinds of planning(Section 7.2), for instance, possible. This is one reason that the minutes analysis can be said to be reflective of the way the teams as teams saw their work.

The minutes analysis presented a solution, too, to the agreement made with team members before the study began that no member would be identified. The basic contrast among goals data, the advantages and disadvantages of teamworking and the minutes analysis meant that no one had to be identified, as may have been the consequence of using transcribed tapes to identify team role behaviour, as was planned.

From the minutes analysis came the distinction between processual and concrete work mentioned above, the two kinds of planning, the regular variations of work over the study year, the differences in the working of new teams and of teams who change their role(Centre), a way to trace activity over the study year, and, most important, a way of comparing different approaches to understanding the work of managing education for adults. The imaged content analysis distributions are at the heart of this, for they allowed me to keep complicated distributions filed mentally. They may do the same for readers of this material.

The images are a double-edged sword. Why not an Area Team wolf, for example, or an ABE butterfly? Because my cultural background classifies wolves as aggressive and poodles as working dogs allied, in some way, to life as people live it. A butterfly flibbertigibbets from flower to flower. It works too, though popular imagery does not say so, so the flying bug took its place. Animal images and children's toys(the Centre tricycle) carry values too. They were an excellent way to remain aware of researcher bias towards the teams and what they tried to do.

Such images serve a different function for other investigators, especially those new to research, for they allow serious people to play with serious things, and this kind of play is necessary to the development of objectivity. One of the trial runs for the tools for teamworking suggested later in this chapter produced a "flat cart", with students as the cart bed. Cart beds are not students, but seeing them as such allows the image generator to see what managerial wheels the cart has.

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Minutes analyses can be done for any meeting. The problems which will arise seem to me to be these: 1) many minutes are list of recommendations which do not stand for managerial work in the way these team records did, so some understanding of different kinds of minutes must be achieved before minutes analyses for different groups can be compared; 2) minutes are already in code, and generally the code is a tacit one, understood by the minutes' users, so either the users must do the coding of minutes, or consultation with them to check codes must be arranged, as it was in the report-backs for this study; 3) a coder may not look for the ordering that the minutes themselves display, but rather for signs of some model for group working remote from the minutes generators' intentions, so minutes must be seen as responsible creations of sensible people and their underlying structures sought, not determined.

This said, minutes analyses will probably prove to be an economical way to look at groups working as those groups see it. This is why they can be used as a tool for research, and for groups investigating their own work or their own histories.

8.2.4 Statistical methods

Statistical procedures are often seen as a quantitative tool, not a qualitative one. As discussed in the methodology, they are used here as a pattern-seeking technique as well as an economical way to report a result. The statistical spreadsheet was used once a firm grasp of the patterns in the data was achieved and, mostly, a statistical distribution similarity or difference summarised what the analyses had shown to the naked eye, so to speak. In a few cases(East's atypical use of *receive* for example from Appendix Table 4.2.5.7), the statistical procedures showed patterns that were not visible otherwise. These were incorporated into the discussions as they occurred, and would have been more useful if time for thinking about them had been included in the data analysis plan.

Using statistics as checking and corroboration did work, and did not violate the analysis rules used throughout(Section 3.6.3). Had teams, adult education and managerial work, all three, been more systematically studied in the literature, statistical procedures could have been used differently, for hypotheses could have been generated and tested, working to a more conventional notion of how science

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works. It is unlikely that such an option would have been taken by
this researcher, for reasons of outright bias and style stated in the
first three sections of the methodology. It is also true to say that,
in trying to check back at least some of the results with
participants, statistically-derived analysis procedures would have
ensured that participants could not comment on the epistomology of the
patterns they were checking. Most were happy enough with ordinary
monitoring statistics, but not at all pleased with chi squares.
Remote research procedures(and statistics qualifies as this for these
participants) guarantee participant alienation or, even worse, blind
agreement.

Counting, however, was basic to all the content analyses done.
This was because there was enough data to count. The distinction
between qualitative and quantitative methods is in where the patterns
come from, and the amplitude of data examined, and the open-ended
nature of results planned, rather than in whether numbers are used or
not. The more precise validating techniques used in quantitative
research depend on basic understanding of what should be measured --
an altogether different stage in research than the exploration common
to many qualitative research projects.

8.2.5 Other methods

Matrices were from time to time generated to try to group the
results of the analyses by team and by term. They were too big to
manage, so what has been called "third level categories"(Appendix 3.3)
were used instead. The matrices did show which boxes were vacant, for
instance, Centre never discussed *publicity* unless it was part of a
compendium item. For this researcher, there were too many vacant
boxes it wasn't worth the labour to fill -- more often, a short
analysis of a sample of data proved more productive. The sample
"week"(Appendix 4.1) in which all content and fate categories were
compared to each other, for instance, to understand 1) whether the
entire category corpus should be compared, each to each(that is, all
the content, disposition, status, and provenance separated and
compared, so we would know, for instance, how many *facilities* items
were *decided* on, or how many came from *outside*); 2) how to approximate
role behaviour implied by minutes items(Appendix 6.2). Other samples,
for instance, close inspection of all entries in miscellaneous codes

for all analyses, were productive too. Even the grids were susceptible to this kind of truncated investigation -- the "own choice" constructs(Appendix 3.4, *Grid procedures*) provided a stage by stage description of adult education in the second round(not included in the thesis) which echoed the third level categories in the content analysis, and, to an extent, corroborated them.

8.2.6 Summary

The qualitative methods used in this study among them controlled interaction with remotely-collected data rather than participant observation, repertory grids, analysing minutes and statistics, did what was required of them. Recommendations are made for the controlled use of participant observation, for adaptation of grids for use in studies like this, for analysing minutes and using the results, and for using statistics in qualitative studies for corroboration and for pattern-seeking.

8.3 <u>Research choices</u>

One reason for conducting broad-based investigations is the generation of interesting patterns for further study. The implications of the methods used in this study have been discussed in Section 8.2. From time to time in reporting results and their implications in this thesis, analyses not done or ideas not followed through have been referred to in the text. The first part of this section talks about some of these. The second part discusses the implications of this research for further studies into effectiveness, teams, managerial work and interpretative systems.

Throughout, this researcher has been fascinated by the number of questions which can be answered in what is already published, if one knows what to ask, and, even more difficult, if one can find where to look. The fundamental research suggestion for the United Kingdom is one which many others have made -- the databases which lead researchers to others' work are fragmentary and discipline-based, still. This is a coordinating job for public money, not a private entrepreneurial job, and should be taken on in a "coherent and comprehensive" way, centrally.

8.3.1 Further results from this data

Broad-based studies produce interesting relationships for later inspection. A few of these are discussed here, though two have

already been mentioned, that of comparing participant-classified grid elements to the researcher-generated classification(Section 8.2.2), and the wider comparison of all the content, disposition, status, and provenance distributions(Section 8.2.5). The first would explore the intriguing middle ground between managerial goals and managerial work, and the second refine the gross characterisation of the five teams' setting characteristics(*provenance, status*), analysis of it(*content* analysis categories) and structures for dealing with it(*disposition*).

The meetings by which the teams organized themselves exhibited unconventional characteristics. They seemed to enable the teams to work effectively, and to achieve some control over the information they received and the action they took. Though traces of other working structures exist in the minutes, systematic use of the coded minutes to compare them has not yet been done. Some investigation of group work literature needs to be done to understand more about what to look for.

Belbin's team role work was interesting to team members, because his questionnaire helped them see that there was more than one way to contribute meaningfully to the work of a team. He has added to his classification since the groundwork for this study was done, and others have tested his generalisations in the field as well as in management exercises, where his classification was generated. In the small changes in member scores between the beginning and end of the study year may lie more systematic insights into the differences and similarities between the teams. The usefulness of his team role perspective may then be more clearly evaluated for teams managing in adult education.

In evolving ways to present the complicated information on teams and their working, many kinds of profile presentations were tested. In the event, only the images, a pre-analysed version of chi square tables, flow charts, histograms and conventional tables were used. The consequences of using the images are summarised above(Section 8.2.3). This experience would lend itself to more systematic work on the effects of data presentation.

8.3.2 Further research

So far, research method implications have been discussed, and some future analyses on the data for this study were described. There

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exist, too, broader research implications for effectiveness, teams, managing work and interpretative systems. These areas of potential research are presented with the study results that suggested them.

Effectiveness

For teams: One result of this investigation into effectiveness was that some teams, mainly East/Centre, criticised their own working processes more thoroughly than the outside criteria suggested they should(South's relative happiness with their processes was probably a consequence of their attention being elsewhere: membership change and joining the team communication network). If assistance can be given while members are in a self-critical phase, then internal effectiveness is more likely to be improved in a way acceptable to team members, who will themselves have generated and agreed the changes. Established teams(ABE and Outreach) whose focus, during the study year, was not on their own process but on Area Teams and on their own ultimate aims(their goals changed most) will probably be secure enough to examine the effectiveness of their own working processes if they think there is a reason for it.

For managers: The influence of the concept of effectiveness on this research has already been discussed in Chapter 7 and at the beginning of this chapter. Some of the points raised should be briefly restated. First, effectiveness for improving managerial performance is best kept in the purview of the manager him/herself, and methods for helping and supporting managers as they understand more about what they do should be a research priority in management science. One of the problems with this kind of research is that it is marketed in many popular books as an answer rather than an investigation. Follow-through to understand the results each manager obtains is not often planned for in the United Kingdom, at any rate. Cooperative enterprises between manager-researchers and research establishments could be profitable indeed.

Research networks of managers investigating managerial effectiveness is perhaps a pipe-dream in a world in which competition for advancement is as much a part of managerial life -- in public or private sector -- as the complexity of the work of managing. Perhaps by linking this kind of investigation to participatory research networks, some progress can be made.

For organizations: The use of the concept of effectiveness to improve organizational performance or to prove organizational legitimacy is quite another matter. The efficiency and effectiveness output measures discussed briefly in Section 7.5 were shown to be mismatched with some organizations they "test" for effectiveness, for organizational type and complexity is not necessarily considered when output criteria, even if internally agreed, are identified. The internally-set organizational objectives(see Table 7.2) which will make the current educational efficiency criteria more nearly reflect organizational policies under the new Education Reform Act will probably be devised to many different models, but in a climate of payment by results, the danger is that they will start with broad, agree-able goals and move very quickly to provable criterion-based objectives, rather like achievable MBO(Management by Objectives) criteria which can be measured(Baron, 1983, 261). This process, already happening, would be a fruitful field for comparative research.

As a sensitising concept: In this study's flirtation with effectiveness, the interaction of the effectiveness indicators was much more interesting than whether any single indicator could be proven. The effectiveness criteria were treated much more like independent variables than like indicators of something else. The effect of the *required, aims* and *events* on what teams did and on team member goals was the result of assembling, from multiple sources, indicators which might demonstrate effectiveness or lack of it. Effectiveness thus both imposed a structure on the interpretation of the data and made that interpretation possible.Section 8.5 explores this potential further.

Summary: The usefulness of effectiveness as a sensitising concept for ordering data is demonstrated. Its value to teams and to managers examining their own working processes is likely to be high. Its misapplication to organizations concerned with output measures may well be devastating.

Teams

Teams investigating themselves: The machinery and the impetus for teams investigating themselves could be created by the research organizations which now are more often commissioned to study institutions than to help them study themselves. American formative

evaluation is one model mentioned in the introduction: there will undoubtedly be others. Among the mechanisms which need to be invented are ways for team managers to share what they have uncovered about their work.

Teams and managerial work: Teams are a good place to examine managerial work, as this study demonstrates. Parallel studies of teams or individual middle managers in both private and public sectors would more closely identify 1) characteristics of work in varied settings; 2) variation of managerial work by host organization complexity; 3) utilities and disadvantages of teamworking in varied organizational contexts.

Teams and training for change: The advantages and disadvantages of teamworking to organizations are suggested, but not validated in the teamworking literature, much of which is more concerned with getting teams going then supporting them or helping them change. This study showed that teams are a good way to get agreement to change, and are a setting within which members learn from each other, in order to understand the implications of change for their work. Training within organizations often involves sending the chosen off somewhere else to study how managing works. The usefulness of a working group learning together, and the potential of setting up ways to do this within big organizations, has been neglected in the United Kingdom and should be a focus for useful future research.

Teams and individuals: Individuals profit from being in teams, though some do not enjoy it at all. Longitudinal studies of the effect of team and task group work on members is an orientation which may be profitable for future managerial work studies.

Permanent and temporary teams: The permanent work groups this study examined are relatively rare in industry and educational institutions where teamworking is more likely to be a leader and his/her immediate subordinates or a temporary group set up for a purpose, then dissolved before the advent of other temporary groups. Most people's experience of teamworking is of this type, and probably this temporary structure creates different pressures than a permanent team group.

Collectively-run and "led" teams: Collective teams, too, are relatively rare, except in the voluntary sector. The nature of work

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and working structures in collectively-run teams and in "led" teams may well be different(Section 1.4). This, again, is a case for controlled comparisons.

Using meetings: Using meetings for managing or for completing tasks can take many forms, and many of them, though they do not look like conventional meetings, do work. The array of procedures and ways to do things that this study's teams invented, bizarre though they may have looked, did allow the teams to function effectively. Open-ended research on how people use meetings, would suggest alternatives for people who need to make choices on working methods for groups.

Summary: Teams, supported by research establishments, are well-equipped to 1) investigate their own effectiveness, 2) provide a setting for understanding managerial work, 3) create a training base of use to host organizations and 4) a research environment for understanding the effect of teamworking on individuals. Permanent, temporary, collectively-run and "led" teams all will exhibit different patterns of effectiveness and different research opportunities. The nature of useful meetings needs to be explored as much as the nature of managerial work, to which we now turn.

Managerial work

There are serious questions raised about whether it is worthwhile to study managerial work, for functions, structures, and contingency models generate hypotheses for systematic investigation. One consequence of the rise of cultural methodologies has been willingness to study what looks like nothing in particular in a broad-based way. Part of this, as the methodology section stated, is probably because a managerial unit is just that, something with boundaries within which much can be explored, analogous to the simpler societies of the ethnographic past. (Some of this simplicity was, in fact, a myth, but that is another thesis, too.) As research interests ebb and flow with fundable questions(for adult education is not the only field in which what is fundable attracts work), some central responsibility should be taken to make sure that research is conducted into how people do what they do -- manage, build businesses, raise families, invent leisure pursuits, change jobs, and on to other subjects discernible only when they arise as researchable areas. The irresponsibility of the free market research community is shocking to someone new to it -- social

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science research seems to be dependent on the seriousness of the disease a research project proposes investigating. It may be that the only independent research projects in the future will be those done by parttime researchers, and that will severely limit the scale of what is studied about social life in the United Kingdom.

This said, research topics in the broad field of managerial work are many. Only a few are mentioned here.

Managerial choice: Rosemary Stewart's demands, constraints and choices for managers were useful for thinking about managing(Sections 1.2 and 3.2). This study has not undertaken the systematic work she suggests to identify particularly the choices in different managerial work settings. The potential explanatory power of the managerial choice, it seems to me, is considerable, because it is here, as in brief-related planning and planning projects, that there appears to be room, in any managerial setting, for what a manager has learned to be applied. If, as Mintzberg says, all managers exercise this kind of choice, then we have a way to see particularly middle managers as innovators, and ways to support this kind of innovation can be devised once we know more about it.

Patterned variation in managerial work: The patterned variation in managerial work across the five teams in this study changed with academic year, with events, with the briefs of the teams as they saw them and with managerial choices too(Section 4.5). Other managing will show this kind of pattern for other reasons. Proven patterned variation can make sensible planning easier for managers and organizations alike -- holidays, training courses, organizational reviews, maintenance of offices and plant, all can work to the rhythms of specific managing contexts.

New managers: New managers are under different pressures from existing staff. Everyone knows this, and something is known of the kind of stress understanding what is to be done in a job involves. That new managers change their goals more than existing managers is not surprising, and perhaps one reason for importing a new manager when a new job is to be done -- s/he will bring in new ideas but, if the organization works well, will soon be socialised towards the organizational climate, if organizational units work as these teams did. This is another reason for investigating the "new broom"

philosophy of renewing organizational units, for changing the way
people work together might well have the same effect. If newly
convened groups are like these teams, then goal change will be less in
the newer groups. What effect this has on managerial action is not
clear, though it suggests that perhaps new groups are less venturesome
than some established ones, which, in this study, were experimenting
with their goals rather than retaining those with which they
started(Section 6.2).

Managerial training: This brings research into training managers
to the fore, because one of the major results of the study was member
learning(Sections 6.1 and 6.2). This happened in both the new and
established teams, if goal change does indeed reflect a learning
process. Taking advantage of this for in-service work is well-known
but not financed with as much vigour as it perhaps deserves. Convened
and assisted in-house training for managers is a lucrative field into
which private training has moved and which public institutions should
consider. Research into its effectiveness would be timely.

Managerial product in adult education: The adult education
programme analysis based on Mee and Wiltshire was not completed for
the study. However, it was clear that the differences a decade made
in what was offered is probably not just a result of the City's adult
education being progressive, but of movement in adult education
programmes across the country. Since national initiatives have made
such a difference to what innovations could be mounted over this
decade(Section 1.1), a serious study of their effects could be made
with adult education programmes as easily accessible data from which
effects of national funding offers could be extracted. Not all
funding-led change is inappropriate to adult education process or
product, as the teams' response to DoE showed. The changing nature of
innovation in adult education, too, could be examined economically,
for this study's brief resume of progressive adult education in
1986(Section 6.4) only scratches the surface of changes since Mee and
Wiltshire compiled their innovation index.

Summary: Some research opportunities in managerial choice,
pattern variation in managerial work, on new managers and for
management training are suggested, as is updating the curriculum and
innovation measures initiated by Mee and Wilshire for adult education.

Interpretative system relationships

The patterns in the opinion data yielded some potentially productive research problems, especially when related back to the work of managing.

Managerial reflection-in-action(Sections 3.2 and 7.3) can be seen in the patterned work these teams undertook, which is why the images can represent both work and the job definition which selects that work as teamworking. This interpretative system is rather closer to action than that described by Weick and Daft(Section 3.2). Other research, perhaps using minutes, perhaps studying other groups working, may generate similar systems, though this will not be possible unless the data collection methods are generous enough to include the *required, events, aims* and work, which, as this study begins to demonstrate, all affect each other.

These patterns appeared not in grim major decisions, but in the minutia of managing adult education. The relation of these patterns to changes in both managerial work and how it is interpreted -- a "base" distribution of the work categories from which a manager probably does not depart unless his/her function changes was hypothesized(Section 7.3) -- has yet to be demonstrated. The common-sense supposition is that the job definition will change within certain limits. Another supposition was that goals would be less flexible than the working job definition, and that changes in goals might mark absolute changes in the limits within which the job definition varies.

Placing goals precisely in this system depends on their relationship to managing work. Section 5.1 demonstrated that goals and work intersected only in a restricted way. Some member analyses of their definitions(Table 5.1.6) talked about this gap, and future research might profitably examine not the limits of the system(goals and work) but the links between them.

The two kinds of planning -- quotidian and brief-related -- seemed a reasonable hypothesis because what appeared in the *planning* category looked different from the planning involved in making sure that the computers got from one room to another(Section 7.2). It seemed a sensible place for managerial planning projects, as Mintzberg terms them, to appear, and, sure enough, they did. It may be that the

planning projects(Section 4.5.4) are brief-related, as this study hypothesizes, or, perhaps, they link to goals from elsewhere(ABE's "student-run" goal seems to have come from some place other than the work of the teams). In managerial planning projects, then, may be visible some of the linking between goals and practice that the interpretative system hypothesis highlights.

Summary: *Events*, *goals* and the *required* all affect each other in managerial contexts through the changing managerial job definition. Suggestions are made for research into interpretative systems, which link the three.

8.3.3 Afterword

These patterns arose from examining the work and attitudes of middle managers in some depth and breadth. They would probably not have emerged from a study which was more tightly planned. The effectiveness indicators, however, served the same function as the independent variables of a more structured piece of research, and as such created the patterns that are discussed here. Broad-based investigations may be much harder to order without linking concepts like these.

Throughout, managers as researchers have been identified as those with the 1) detailed knowledge, 2) sense of priorities in their own work, and 3) information to study their own managerial settings and their performance in them. In the section which follows, methods for this kind of investigation are suggested.

8.4 Managers investigating their own work

"Making the familiar strange"(Delamont, 1988) has been the overall aim of this investigation into teamworking, managing and adult education effectiveness. "Quantum" effectiveness, as it is termed here, studies an array of behaviours, processes and products whose relationship can be effective, within a given range. The indicators used were member learning, goal consensus, identification of team jobs/information management, decision processes, collaboration, innovation and balance. It was only in the interaction of measures that effectiveness was demonstrated, for, by any one criterion, only partial effectiveness could be viewed.

Quantum effectiveness is best used as a sensitising concept. It can allow managers to objectify aspects of their work and their goals.

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Managers themselves are likely to be the best people to mobilise quantum effectiveness, for only they are likely to know enough about what they do and what they think about it. Teams who keep minutes have an advantage here, because the minutes analysis procedures used in this study can be applied to any meeting notes, as long as it is understood how the frequencies generated relate to actual managing work. Another layer of data closer to the day-to-day work of managing, is usually available in the records of individual managers, whether team members or not. It is to approaches to understanding this that we now turn.

Should a manager wish to become a researcher, here is how a preliminary investigation could be done, requiring only pen, paper, ordinary organizing lists used by many managers, and some time and willingness to play with what is usually regarded with high seriousness or profound irritation.

8.4.1 Investigating managing goals

In this study, team members were asked to fill in this blank: "Adult education should be _____" as many times as they needed to. This yielded a multipart definition of adult education as that member wanted it to be. Though some parts of the definition changed over the study year, others did not.

A manager/researcher could generate a similar list of desirable characteristics by replacing the phrase "adult education" with one which represents the managerial unit with which s/he is concerned. The more characteristics generated, the better, for a single manager/researcher, unless s/he conducts this investigation with colleagues, has only his/her own goals, and not those of thirty-seven team members, to compare.

There are two choices for analysing this goal list. First, it may be that some of the goals are like each other, for example, "free", "within people's ability to pay" and "priced so people can afford it" could be named *free/affordable*. If the ten or so goals are groupable, then the categories into which they fall give an indication of what the manager/researcher's aims are about. The advantages of grouping the goals are these: 1) fewer things are easier to remember and so to use, and 2) the process of categorising allows the manager/researcher to play with ideas, looking at similarities and

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differences between them, until s/he arrives at contrasts and comparisons that say something about what s/he thinks the job is about.

The second choice for analysing the goal list is to generate another later. A few months or even a few weeks can yield different lists, and sometimes emerging differences are not visible to the manager as s/he gets on with all the little managerial jobs that make up a day or a week's work. Then, too, some of the items will be the same. They may stand for the goal base which the teams had -- a balance among *people and their needs, the learning context* and *systems* -- which they never, even at their oddest, really forsook. Every manager probably has a framework like this, but only investigation will reveal its nature.

It will be no surprise to most managers that the goals seem unrelated to the work that goes on every day. The shape of this work is harder to identify, though a shape probably exists, if the team data is anything to go by. To find something like this shape, procedures are suggested below.

8.4.2 Investigating managing work

Data: To investigate quantum effectiveness, a manager/researcher needs a list, analogous to the minutes analysed for the teams. The weekly or daily job lists kept by many managers is the kind of list required, for this reflects daily and weekly views of what is done, not what should be done. When combined with meeting schedules and appointment diaries, the jobs list could stand for managerial work as that manager does it. These together comprise the managerial work data.

Categorising: The frustrating job of sorting the items into content categories is described for the minutes analysis in Appendix 3.5. For a quick look at personal managerial work, so much time and effort should not be necessary. Rather a quick sort of list items into the content categories as the minutes analysis shows them(there is a coding definitions list in Appendix 4.2.2.) should show whether these categories are the right ones for the job. New categories should arise, because every managerial job is different. The frequencies generated by this straightforward comparison should show, for whatever time period chosen, that the work as it is done has a

shape.

Images: The images for this study were achieved by drawing proportional circles and moving them around until they reached a shape that could be named. There is no reason why a manager/researcher should not do the same thing. Images make the data from which the proportions come more remote. The relationships they suggest are easier to speculate about than the number of phone calls made on Monday morning. Sometimes this kind of play produces absurd results, as when the ABE flying bug flew in a right-handed circle because it lost its training and external events wings(other examples appear in Section 4.4.1). The consequences of a term in which the work loses its balance is not trivial, though. Only the ABE team could examine whether this imbalance was positive or negative, because only they lived through the term when it happened.

Time: Whether that shape lasts all year round, or for just a few weeks, should be something for the manager turned researcher to speculate on. Establishing a pattern should show the manager/researcher whether the week(or month or few months) which s/he has analysed is enough information from which to generalise about the rest of the working year.

8.4.3 Effectiveness

Generating 1) the rough categories for the goals and 2) the shape the work takes are learning processes. The hard job of relating them to each other and to effectiveness issues may better be done with others, across occupations or within a working setting. Some patterns drawn from the teams' activity over the study year will probably appear, however, and a list of these appears below. There are undoubtedly other regularities which manager/researchers will discover.

> Managing work is isolated bursts of effort in many different,
> seemingly unconnected, directions.
> Managing work is not clearly related to managing goals.
> Some managing work is about process -- for example, *procedures,*
> *planning, reports* -- and some is about concrete things like
> *facilities, staff/ing* or *external events.*
> Managerial work frequencies change to a pattern peculiar to the
> job.
> Managers do two kinds of planning -- goal or brief-related, and
> day-to-day planning.

Table 8.4.3 Some regularities which manager/researchers may observe in their goal and managerial work comparisons.

8.4.4 Hiccoughs in the investigation

Goals hard to generate: Goals are often best arrived at light-heartedly, by listing any old thing until real goals begin to emerge. The team members who listed "Adult education should be fun" usually looked a bit shame-faced, then realised they were talking about an atmosphere that made learning easier. A joke stood for something else.

Disentangling content, process and roles: The content analysis categories for this study included three "process" categories -- *planning, procedures, reports* -- into which any content item could have been coded. For the manager/researcher, a phone call confirming attendance at a meeting is a *procedure,* unless what the meeting is about takes precedence(a conference about firing a staff member, for instance). The action that is to be taken as a result of that meeting -- perhaps the manager/researcher acts as disturbance handler -- is outside the remit of the classification, which only looks at what the activity is about, in this case, *staff/ing.* It is perfectly possible to record action taken for each activity(as the disposition analysis did for the teams), and to invent new coding systems for aspects of managerial activity the manager/researcher wants to learn about. For instance, in addition to a code for *procedures*(the phone call), for *staff/ing*(the meetings) and the activity of dealing with the offending staff member(another *staff/ing* code), there might be a "how" classification which would include, for these three items, codes for "by phone", "by meeting" and "by personal contact".

No shape to the work: Ordering data is one of the hardest of jobs, for there are no answers, only approximations of sense. A manager/researcher who finds that there is no shape to the content of his/her work has probably not got enough data to sort, for the pattern is there, if s/he is anything like the teams.

Getting bored: Comparing goals and work is not easy. The process, rather than the conclusions, is where the learning comes. Almost any attempt at understanding in a categorising way will bring up ideas that may surface much later, long after the data lists have been lost or misfiled.

Sharing results: This study has taken the position that managers are probably the only people who can understand their own working

settings well enough to improve them. Any manager/researcher investigation will prove more profitable(in the sense that new ideas will be generated) if it is shared with someone else, preferably someone who manages.

8.4.5 Summary

Managers can become researchers and investigate their own goals and managing work. This process is for learning, and for identifying effectiveness issues in a quantum sense, rather than in a specific sense. Managers are best qualified to investigate their own working situations, for only they have the detailed knowledge necessary to undertake the task, and the motivation to do so. What they lack is objectivity, and the process of categorising offsets, to some extent, their involvement in their own work which prevents objective analysis. Humour helps, too.

8.5 Afterword: Quantum effectiveness

Quantum effectiveness is a research approach which examines the effectiveness of the relationships among behaviours, processes and products which themselves can be more or less effective. This concept was invented very late at night, as a joke. It rapidly became serious, because in exploring whether "quantum" was the right word, interesting issues were raised. Quantum effectiveness is an analogy worth further exploration.

Quantum is a Latin adverb which compares extent or quantity. It comes from a common Latin adjective, *quantus*, which, when used as a question, means "how much?". To a layman today, "quantum" means the new physics, and, in the phrase "quantum jump", is used to describe a major change. Somewhere in the idea of quantum, as it is used commonly, are the ideas of "big" and "scientific".

Quantum in physics is a Latinate neuter noun, hence the plural *quanta*. It means, among other things, very small and unpredictable. It also means contingent, for a quantum is an unspecified small amount, almost a limit. It defines, as it did in Latin, how much of something might have an effect. A quantum is a packet of rays(light, X rays and other waves) and the consequences of its actions are unpredictable, as Hawking's(1988) explanation for measuring the position of a particle shows:

"...the more accurately you try to measure the position of

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the particle[by shining a quantum of light on it], the less
accurately you can measure its speed, and vice versa..."(*op.
cit.*, 54)

Hawking goes on to explain the consequences of applying quantum

theory, in this case to quantum mechanics:

> "In general, quantum mechanics does not predict a single
> definite result for an observation. Instead, it predicts a
> number of different possible outcomes and tells us how
> likely each of these is."(*op. cit.*, 55)

Of course, the predictions of quantum mechanics are likely to be

much more precise than the propositions of social science, for the

measureable variables which interact to produce probable frequencies

can be very precisely defined indeed. At the core of so much

accomplishment in the technological world, though, it is encouraging

to think of an unmeasurably small packet behaving erratically.

For quantum effectiveness, a *quantum* is a small packet of

effectiveness indicators. In a broad-based study like this one, the

indicators themselves change and change shape, so the quantum is of

unspecified size. Like light, it is beamed at managerial action and

ideas. It produces predictable effects within a range -- in this

thesis, running from member learning to balance in adult education

programmes. Effectiveness indicators like leadership, or whether

students learned, or SSR(staff-student ratio, Section 7.5), or member

language change are outside its range. The major predictable effect

is that indicators will be related to each other in unspecified ways

which can be more or less effective. This relationship is what is

sought in a quantum effectiveness study.

A quantum, in physics, is a minimum. Given an organizational

type, target structures for the investigation, and command of the

variables which are likely to govern both in a given context, then

there should be an irreducible minumum of effectiveness indicators

which give answers to effectiveness questions. This is why quantum

effectiveness as a concept has its uses. We must seek to identify

which indicators in the packet produce a range of effective

relationships which we can both comprehend and judge. There is a

double unknown here: what we use to measure, and what results in the

range of measurements which emerge are acceptable, given that we are

exploring the relationship of many people(staff) inside an

organization to many people(users, customers, partners, allies) outside it.

In the broad-based testing of indicators of effectiveness in a year of teamworking, to turn the planning for this study on its head, it was found that seeing effectiveness depended on seeing the interaction of the indicators, not on one indicator showing the teams did what they did well. The interaction produced a number of different relationships. Interpretative systems is one way to talk about them, the relationship between managerial goals and managerial work another. The interaction of collaboration, innovation and balances in the production and maintenance of the adult education programme was third, and, finally, the relationship of member criteria of teamworking effectiveness to those external to team members' evaluation a fourth.

The effectiveness choices were made by the teams themselves. They worked in an institution which, in its guidance to teams, clearly intended that the work and its organization was the teams' affair. The Area Teams defined their work in practice, as managers do, and invented their own structures for getting it done, including those like *refer* and *seek information* which kept the organization informed. In the process, members demonstrably learned. After the process, they criticised their own working.

This happens whenever a manager is hired to do a job, and it is very likely that rough briefs will continue to be given managers to interpret wherever management is required. There is not enough time or high-level managers available to do more, for many, many things must be managed. The place for effectiveness criteria(and effectiveness research) is in making it possible for managers to make their managerial interpretations more effective. Effectiveness as bludgeon can be used to control managers by *post facto* analyses of output, of course. The result is that delegation disappears, the top people run the organization, and bottom-up flexibility will be lost.

In a differentiated educational institution(Section 1.5) which depends on each managerial unit making sense of environmental relations unlike those of the unit next door, management above the working units has its hands full with the job of linking the units into an organization. It has not the expertise, the skill or the

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brief to manage day-to-day external relationships in classrooms, adult
education centres and between neighbourhood organizations, for
example. Control by delegated brief, and monitoring to agreed
objectives, is the best that can be done. That best is substantial,
if the lower managerial units, like those of the Area Teams, achieve
their briefs in changing circumstances while creating new and flexible
working structures.

Balances have appeared in this thesis many times. As
organizations deal with changes from above and below, it is hard to
see how they can survive if they centralise managerial power. Far
preferable is organization as interaction, creating the balances
which, day to day or year to year, ensure that it changes
appropriately. If an organization cannot do so, it is probably right
that it should cease to exist. What is needed is machinery for agreed
change, and one part of that machine must be managerial autonomy, so
that successive balances in organizational units can be achieved and
discarded. The results of this thesis suggest that the process will
be greatly aided if the managers involved are team managers.

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Volume II

APPENDICES

Contents

LIST OF APPENDIX TABLES

Basis for summary of City wards of high educational and social need
(Section 2.1 refers)

Using demographic data to determine area educational needs is not
an easy undertaking and, besides, it lies outside the remit of this
thesis on teams in adult education. Nevertheless, the data presented
in Table 2.1.1 helps us see something of the areas the new teams were
to serve.

Linking educational need to demography for ABE was done by Mary
Hamilton(1987), working with data from the National Child Development
Survey, as is described in Chapter 2. These criteria --
semi-unskilled workers, jobless, poor housing and high ethnic minority
group population -- identify areas of high educational need for adult
basic education. It seems sensible to assume that such areas would
show needs for other kinds of adult education linking learners to
training opportunities for employment, say, or other goals about which
we as yet know nothing.

For inclusion, an electoral ward had to meet two of the criteria,
which are recorded in the notes following this explanation. For
example, Ward 7 in City South 2 had more than the criterion minimum of
unskilled workers, and more people unemployed in 1985 than the base
10%. It also had more households without exclusive access to baths --
an indicator of the housing stock's quality. Many wards met more of
the criteria for inclusion, for instance, Ward 27 had many more semi-
or unskilled workers, a high and increasing unemployement rate, many
households with high room occupancy, many people sharing sanitary
facilities and a high number of residents from ethnic minorities.

Four wards which each met one of the criteria have been removed
from the chart: Ward 4(590 Asian adults) in East's area; Ward
28(12.0/14.4% jobless) and Ward 19(1220 semi/unskilled) in South's
area; and Ward 29(95% baths) outside the teams' areas. The adult
population figures in the last column thus do not represent the entire
area population, only the parts with highest educational and social
need.

Projected figures obtained from Shiraz Jawanni in the Directorate
of Educational Services were used for the adult population of wards,
so that some sense of population change could be obtained. In fact,

the areas served by the Area Teams -- South 2 and East -- are increasing in population.

Information sources for Table 2.1.1 are summarised here; Table references are to City of Bradford Metropolitan Council(1984) *Bradford in Figures* and statistics come from the 1981 Census unless another source is indicated. Letters refer to columns so marked on Table 2.1.1.

(a) Table 28, p 44. Wards with under 1100 omitted.

(b) Table 11, p 32: percentage of jobless people, 1981, wards with less than 10% omitted. For 1985, adult Education Select Committee Document EPF005VH3018 "Adult Education - Provision in Bradford" was used. Statistics are as of October, 1985. All percentages under 12.0% omitted.

(c) Table 18, p 66: percentage of households with more than 1.5 people per room, wards with less than 1% of households omitted

(d) Table 26, p 73: percentage of households without exclusive access to bath and WC, wards with 96% and over omitted.

(e) Shiraz Jawani, Directorate of Educational Services, 1987 figures for ethnic minority adults by ward. Wards with less than 500 adults omitted.

(f) Shiraz Jawani, Educational Services, 1987 figures for all adults by ward, 1992 projected.

Team membership supporting material
(Section 2.4 refers)

When this study expanded from two teams to five, as the
methodology section explains, the simplicity of dealing with two teams
-- the Area Teams -- whose membership did not overlap disappeared.
This did not mean that opinion information collected from team members
could not be used to reflect what experience, for instance, a team had
at its disposal. It did mean that opinion data had to be handled with
caution.

In the team membership discussion, we saw that there were team
member places -- this is a person sitting on a team and recognised as
a member simply because no one said s/he wasn't(there were people
attending meetings who weren't members, and teams usually made this
clear in their minutes).

Team *members* are individuals serving on teams. Sometimes in
discussions of membership and sample size, it is useful to be able to
talk about people independent of the number of teams they sat on.

An *overlap place* is a team member being counted more than once
because of multiple membership. Appendix Table 2.2.1 lists all the
overlap places in the study and in which teams they occurred. In
opinion data analyses, members' opinions were analysed in all the
teams of which they were a member, increasing sample sizes and, of
course, the influence of these members on team opinion.

	C	A	O	S	E	Total places	Less "home" team	Adjusted overlap places
Round A								
T06	-	X	x	x	-	3	1	2
T09	x	X	-	-	x	3	1	2
T35	X	x	-	-	x	3	1	2
T10	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
T11	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
T14	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
Subtotal	*5*	*3*	*1*	*1*	*5*	*15*	*6*	*9*
Round A incomers								
T08	x	-	-	-	X	2	1	1
T22	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
Subtotal	*2*	*-*	*-*	*-*	*2*	*4*	*2*	*2*
TOTAL	7	3	1	1	7	19	8	11
Round B								
T06	-	X	x	x	-	3	1	2
T09	x	X	-	-	x	3	1	2
T35	X	x	-	-	x	3	1	2
T10	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
T11	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
T14	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
T08	x	-	-	-	X	2	1	1
T22	X	-	-	-	x	2	1	1
TOTAL	7	3	1	1	7	19	8	11

Appendix Table 2.2.1 Members serving on more than one team with adjustment for original team of membership. All teams, all terms(see Table 2.4.2). Key: X=original team, x=other teams on which the member served. A number prefaced by T indicates a team member. Teams are C(Centre), A(ABE), O(Outreach), S(South), E(East).

Member expectations of teamwork by team
(Section 2.5 refers)

Help								Hinder						
	S	E	A	O	C	T			S	E	A	O	C	T
General help	2	3	3	-	2	10		General hinder	1	-	-	1	-	2

```
                                      ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                                      │Time                         │
                                      │ -delay        2 2 3 - 2  9  │
                                      │ -one's own    3 1 - - 1  5  │
                                      │ Restrictions  - - - - -  -  │
                                      └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐             │
┌───────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────────┐
│Information                │        │Problems(individuals)        │
│ -areas of work  - 4 1 - 3  8│  ↕   │ -in teams     3 1 - 2 1  7  │
│ -idea sharing  3 3 1 5 3 15 │ ↔    │ -pulling weight - - - - -  - │
│ -sharing skills/          │        │ -getting on   - - - - -  -  │
│    experience  4 1 1 2 1  9│        └─────────────────────────────┘
└───────────────────────────┘
┌───────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────────┐
│Positive processes         │        │Negative processes           │
│ -communication - - - - - - │        │ -things lost  1 1 - - 1  3  │
│ -roles/division of        │        │                             │
│    labour     1 1 - - 1  3 │        │ -decisions    - - - - -  -  │
│ -ideas to action - - - - - │  ↔    │ -more teamwork than         │
│ -subgroups    - - - - - -  │        │   teams working - - - - - - │
│ -miscellaneous - - - - - - │        │ -empires      1 2 - - 1  4  │
│                           │        │ -between teams - - - - -  -  │
│                           │        │ -agreement(1) - 6 2 1 3 12  │
└───────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────────┘
┌───────────────────────────┐        ┌─────────────────────────────┐
│Teaching,positive          │   ↔    │Teaching, negative           │
│  effects      - - - - - -  │        │ effects       - - - - -  -  │
└───────────────────────────┘        └─────────────────────────────┘
┌───────────────────────────┐
│Positive effects           │
│ -students(2)  3 3 2 3 1 12 │
│ -member power - - - - - -  │
│ -member support 2 5 3 5 5 20│
│ -product      - - - - - -  │
└───────────────────────────┘
```

		S	E	A	O	C	T			S	E	A	O	C	T
Contingent(3)		4	2	2	1	1	10								
Miscellaneous		-	2	1	1	2	6	Miscellaneous		5	2	5	4	1	17
Totals		19	24	14	17	19	93	Totals		16	15	10	8	10	59

(1) "agreement" appeared as a category only in the first round.
(2) in the first round, this included "management"
(3) these were "if...then" statements.
(4) this sample includes all team members at the beginning of the study year, including all admin staff(even the South administrator who joined in September), and full overlapping staff(even the East member who joined Centre and the Centre member who joined East in September). It does not include any of the eight members totally new to the team network who joined during the year.

Appendix Table 2.3.1: Distribution of all interviewees' expectation responses by team. 26 people, 37 member places, 152 responses with overlap.

APPENDIX 3.1
Team membership and attendance
(Sections 3.5.3 and 3.6.1 refer)

In Chapter 2, membership change and overlap were described for all teams, for this is important for understanding the background to the study. Here we provide additional information about membership change and attendance which affected the methodology adopted for data collection and handling.

Teams with the clearest membership were Outreach, ABE and South. Appendix Table 3.1.1 below shows Outreach's membership during the year.

Outreach membership

Membership of Outreach was determined by hiring to a team place. All members were temporary fulltimers except the administrator. The administrator was a member throughout the year, as was the sponsor, a fulltimer from the ABE team. During the year, one fulltimer left and was replaced. A temporary fulltimer was hired to do a specific monitoring job -- s/he came and went within two months, the period of his/her contract.

ABE membership

ABE was similarly straightforward to explain. Appendix Table 3.1.2 shows its membership movement.

Membership of ABE was already established at the beginning of the study year: all those working in ABE, that is the two ABE fulltimers, the ABE halftimer, the team administrator and the MSC supervisor. All were permanent staff except the supervisor: the halftimer was contracted as an associate lecturer and a permanent staff member. One member took leave in the January term, one member joined in the Autumn term, and one member transferred from South to ABE in Spring, 1986.

South membership

The membership of South changed substantially, but to the patterns we have already seen in ABE and Outreach. Appendix Table 3.1.3 shows this. Unlike the established teams, there was guidance on membership from the institution on Area Team membership from the Adult Education Head of Department, cited in Section 2.4.

South had met for about a year before the study began. Its members were three parttime heads of centre, two fulltimers from the

English for Speakers of Other Languages area of work, a fulltimer from
the ABE team, and the South adult education centre parttime
administrator. By the beginning of the study year, two more language
fulltimers had joined, those whose geographical area of work were the
same as the Area Team's. By the end of South's first term, a fulltime
administrator from the Department had joined too.

In Autumn, two more parttime adult education heads of centre were
hired and joined the team.   One of the language scheme staff left.
During this term, twelve people were on the team.

In Winter Term, two members left, one established parttimer, and
one of the new parttimers. A replacement parttimer joined the team,
and left after a term. All three of these leavers went to other jobs.
The creche administrator for South area also joined.

At the beginning of Spring Term, two new parttimers joined, and
an established parttimer left to join another team, with his/her
contract topped up to fulltime. By the end of the study year, South
had 11 members, six of whom had been there all year.

Though South's membership takes time to explain, the pattern is
much the same as Outreach's and ABE's -- people joined, or left. One
member transferred, a new type of movement. South was much larger
than the two established teams discussed so far, and had more parttime
staff as team members but the number of "core" members of all three
teams -- those who stayed all year -- was about the same, between four
and six people.

These three teams were linked in three ways. First, they shared
members. An ABE team member served on South and was the Outreach
sponsor. Second, two Outreach members attended South occasionally,
those who worked in the southern part of the city. Third, the teams
were part of the same college School, though not of the same
Departments. South was in the Department of Adult Education, and
Outreach and ABE in the Department of General and Basic Education.
During the study year, the Head of School attended South meetings from
time to time, and the General and Basic Department Head occasionally
attended ABE.

South, ABE and Outreach, then, have intelligible, if complex,
membership patterns and identifiable links to each other and up the
management line. Centre and East, both based on a large established

adult education centre which the Centre Team managed, showed a
different sort of relationship.   Appendix Table 3.1.4 describes this.

```
                  Month:
3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6
06----------------------------------------------------------------
16----------------------------------------------------------------
18----------------------------------------------------------------
19----------------------------------------------------------------
37----------------------------------------------------------------
17------------------------------------------
31                                          --------------------
32                                     -------
3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6
```

Appendix Table 3.1.1 Membership of Outreach during the study year.
Numbers refer to team members. Total team n = 8, though more usually
there were seven attending. Members there all year = 5.

```
Month:
3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6

06----------------------------------------------------------------
09----------------------------------------------------------------
20----------------------------------------------------------------
35----------------------------------------------------------------
21------------------------------------------          ----------
29                        -----------------------------          ----------
04                                                    ----------

3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6
```

Appendix Table 3.1.2 Membership of ABE during the study year. Numbers
refer to team members. Total team n = 7, though more usually there
were six attending. Members there all year = 4.

```
Month:
3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6

01----------------------------------------------------------------
02----------------------------------------------------------------
03----------------------------------------------------------------
06----------------------------------------------------------------
27----------------------------------------------------------------
38----------------------------------------------------------------
04-------------------------------------------------------
05---------------------------------------
07--------------
39        ---------------------------------------------------
25                    -----------------------------------------
42                                        ---------------------
26                        ------------------
30                                          -----------
33                                                  ----------
34                                                  ----------
3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6
```

Appendix Table 3.1.3 Membership of South during the study year.
Numbers refer to team members. Total team n = 16, though more usually
there between 9 and 11 attending. Members there all year = 6.

```
                     Month:
         3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6

         Group 1: members of both Centre and East all year
         09 -------------------------------------------------------------
            XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
         14 -------------------------------------------------------------
            XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
         35 -------------------------------------------------------------
            XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

         Group 2: Centre members all year members of East part of the year
         22 ----------------------------------------------------------------
            XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
         10 -----------                                         ---------
            XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
         11 -----------                                         ---------
            XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

         Group 3: Members of East all year, attended Centre part of the year
         08 -------------------------------------------------------------
                              - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
         15 -------------------------------------------------------------
                              - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

         Group 4: Members of East for part of the year
         12 -----------
         13 -----------
         23 -----------
         28                             -----

         Group 5: Members of East whose membership status is unclear
         24 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
         36 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
         40                                         - - - - - - - - - - -
         41                                         - - - - - - - - - - -

         3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10  11  12  1   2   3   4   5   6
```

Appendix Table 3.1.4 Membership of Centre(XXXXX) and East(-----)
during the study year. Numbers refer to team members. Total Centre n
= 8, though more usually there were only seven members. Members there
all year = 5. Total East n = 14, though usually 10   members
attended. Members there all year = 5. People whose membership status
is not clear are shown thus: - - - - -

The memberships of Centre and East

        The memberships of Centre and East are perhaps easiest to grasp
if we look at Centre, shown by asterisks. For the first two months of
East's existence, Centre and East met together as East. At the end of
May 1985, this group with the Head of Department decided that Centre
and East would meet separately and that East would contain
representatives, as an East minute reports:

    "[HOD] initially stated that all fulltime members of staff in the
    area would be members of the team, but when it was pointed out that
    there might be some imbalance because of the [numbers of] staff
    based at the Centre [s/he] wondered if there should be a
    representative selection."

        The six people at the top of the chart were Centre members all
year. They met weekly to manage the Centre, and, frequently planned
what they thought should be brought to East. They were all members of

East too, from time to time -- three were members all year, two
started as East members and rejoined later in the year, and one became
an East member during the year.

In October, 1985, East considered who its membership should be,
following on from the Spring discussions with Head of Department.
They minuted:

> "It was felt that representatives should come from the following
> areas:
> adult education
> basic education
> English as a Second Language(including two courses based at
>   Centre which formerly sent representatives to East)
> Centre management team
> Alternative Education
> Administration
> Access Unit(by co-option)"

The two members in Group 3 on the chart were primarily members of
East and, from September 1985, did Centre work and sometimes attended
Centre meetings. Below them lie members of East for roughly two
months or less. The final four were all parttime heads of centre.
The membership discussions in Spring and Autumn saw them as
"implementing" Area Team policy, rather than as members. Team records
show no attendances for the first of the penultimate pair, and the
other attended only twice. The two at the bottom often attended in
the two 1986 terms; the minute usually read "together with" T40 and
T41, indicating that the team saw them not as members, but as
attenders.

Clearly this is a more complicated situation than that of ABE,
Outreach and South. There are similarities, though. East and Centre
both gained and lost members, as the other teams did. The difference
is this -- members were usually not lost to the management network of
Centre and East. Eight fulltimers stayed in this membership exchange
all year. Three more members, all of them fulltimers, attended East's
first two meetings, but did not serve after Spring 1985. They were
lost to the team. One further member served on East for a month in
the Autumn, attending two meetings as a course representative, but
then left.

East was different from other teams in that membership was a
issue raised from time to time in meetings, and in that there were
people for whom membership status was never clear, indicated by dotted
lines on Appendix Table 3.1.4.. It was in East that the administrator

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became a member in October, though s/he had attended since East began to meet. That the team administrator might not be a member never occurred to other teams, as far as their minutes entries were concerned.

For East and Centre, communication did exist with other teams. First, two members of ABE were members of both East and Centre all year. Second, two Outreach members attended East, one handing over to the other near the end of Autumn term. East at times was attended by the Head of Department of Adult Education, and s/he was often asked for clarification by East, sometimes by memo, sometimes by deputation. Non-members rarely attended Centre.

Membership and attendance

Team attendances were tabulated for terms when records were kept, and appear in Appendix Tables 1.5-1.9. Percentage attendances were calculated on the basis of how many meetings the person was considered a member or from the time when s/he started attending.

Members of the team might have been expected to attend team meetings. We would expect the actual number of attendances and percentage of meetings attended to rank members similarly if membership was consistent over the year. This was so in Centre, and almost so in ABE, as Spearman correlations show. Outreach, East and South, however, all display disparities between actual and percentage attendances, a rough measure of membership change over the year.

For Outreach, with only a sample of attendances, for these were not kept in Autumn and Winter, the team member with the highest percentage attendance(100%) was a temporary worker who left after his/her two month contract expired. One member was ill during the year, and attended relatively infrequently(54%) and the sponsor attended only 42% of all meetings. Core members -- those that were with the team for at least three-quarters of the year -- were not necessarily those with the best percentage attendances. The more meetings a member was available for, the more could be missed, so attendance percentage reduced.

The Outreach pattern seemed to fit the two new teams, for the core members were not necessarily those who attended with regularity. Two core members of South attended only 36% of meetings, and one only 12% of meetings. Those with high percentage attendances were members

who were with the team for less time; this was also true of East, though there were no core members with less than 50% attendance as there were in South.

Member	Actual	Member	Percentage
T10	21	T10	96
T11	20	T11	91
T14	18	T14	82
T09	17	T09	77
T35	14	T35	64
T22	13	T22	59
T15	7	T15	58
T08	5	T08	42

Appendix Table 3.1.5 Actual and percentage attendances for Centre:
Spring, 1985, Winter, 1986 and Spring, 1986, 22 meetings(Spearman r = 1.000, significant to p<.01)

Member	Actual	Member	Percentage
T06	21	T06	96
T09	19	T09	86
T21	19	T21	86
T20	18	T20	81
T35	15	T29	75
T29	9	T35	68
T04	7	T04	58

Appendix Table 3.1.6 Actual and percentage attendances for ABE:
Spring, 1985 and Spring, 1986, 23 meetings(Spearman r = +.9821, significant to p < .01)

Member	Actual	Member	Percentage
T18	22	T32	100
T19	20	T18	92
T37	19	T31	92
T16	13	T17	83
T31	11	T19	83
T06	10	T37	79
T17	10	T16	54
T32	3	T06	42

Appendix Table 3.1.7 Actual and percentage attendances for Outreach:
Spring, 1986 and Spring, 1986, 24 meetings(Spearman r = -.0476, not significant)

Member	Actual	Member	Percentage
T38	24	T33	100
T06	24	T34	100
T04	20	T06	96
T39	19	T38	96
T01	16	T04	95
T25	11	T05	89
T02	9	T39	86
T03	9	T26	80
T05	8	T42	80
T42	8	T25	73
T33	7	T07	67
T34	7	T30	67
T07	6	T01	64
T26	4	T02	36
T27	3	T03	36
T30	2	T27	12

Appendix Table 3.1.8 Actual and percentage attendances for South:
Spring 1985, Autumn, 1985, Winter, 1986, spring, 1986. Meetings = 25.(Spearman r = +.1998, not significant). __ indicates an ABE member.

Member	Actual	Member	Percentage
T09	17	T10	100
T14	16	T11	100
T15	15	T41	100
T08	12	T23	100
T35	12	T13R	100
T10	10	T28R	100
T11	10	T09	94
T41	10	T14	89
T40	9	T15	83
T22	8	T40	82
T13R	4	T12R	75
T23	4	T08	67
T12R	3	T35	67
T24R	2	T22	67
T28R	2	T24R	29
T36R	0	T36R	0

Appendix Table 3.1.9 Actual and percentage attendances for East:
Spring 1985, Autumn, 1985, Winter, 1986, Spring, 1986. Meetings =
18(Spearman r = +.1056, not significant). __ indicate ABE members.

APPENDIX 3.2

Instruments and Questionnaires
(Section 3.5.1 refers)

Contents

Appendix 3.2.1 <u>First round interview schedule</u>

```
Date  ----------------
Time  ----------------
Who   ----------------
Tape ref  ------------
```

1. We talked ------------ about this study I'm doing about teams managing in adult education. This interview is about what you think is involved in adult education, and about what you think of working in teams.

2. First, let's look at what you think is involved in adult education.

2.1 I've left a blank on this card. Can you fill in as many different ways of completing the sentence as you can think of. Please write each one on a different card.
2.2. Now have a look at these three. Which ones are alike?
        PROBE: Which one is different?
2.2.1. You say these two are alike. Can you give a name to it?
            PROBE: Try naming the ones that are alike.
            PROBE: What would you call the one that's different?
            PROBE: What would you call the other ones?
2.2.2. You've called this_____. What's it's opposite?[Note 1]
2.2.3. Now let's look at the other items you've listed.
    2.2.3.1. Is ------- more like ------- or more like --------?
    2.2.3.2. Imagine a scale from 1 to 5. Where would you rank
            this one? FILL IN RATINGS ON CHART ENCLOSED.
    REPEAT UNTIL each element is used, THEN ASK Is there anything
    you'd like to add to this list of contrasts?

3. How do you think team working will help or hinder the kind of adult education you want to see? Take 'help' first...
PROBE: Now how will team working hinder the kind of adult education you want to see.

    HELP   HINDER

4. Thanks. Now for the next question. What percentage of your time per week do you estimate working with the team will take up in the coming year?
PROBE: Just a rough guess will do.
PROBE(if time of year matters): Just average it out as best you can. It's only a guess.

10   20   30   40   50   over 60

5. (LEAVE WITH RESPONDENT IF INTERVIEW IS OVER TIME AND GO ON TO 6) Now I'd like to find out a bit about how you see yourself working in a team. This questionnaire is from Belbin's book on management teams. It's supposed to show a bit about what roles people play in teamwork. Just fill it in without thinking about it too much.

6. I've got an aide memoire here for some information about you personally, if you don't mind. It's so I can say 'the background of the teams reflects their varied experience blah blah'. Just fill it in any time you can and stick it in the internal mail.

7. I'd be interested in any comments you have on this interview, especially on the comparisons you made about adult education. What do you think?
```

[Note 1: See Appendix 3.3 for changes in delivery of grids]

Appendix 3.2.2 <u>Grid recording sheet, both rounds</u>

No._____
Date:_____
Tape ref:_____

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | | | | | | | | | | | |
| C | | | | | | | | | | | |
| D | | | | | | | | | | | |
| E | | | | | | | | | | | |
| F | | | | | | | | | | | |
| F | | | | | | | | | | | |
| G | | | | | | | | | | | |
| H | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I | | | | | | | | | | | |
| J | | | | | | | | | | | |
| K | | | | | | | | | | | |
| L | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | | | | | | | | | | | |

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

No. _____

Education:

| | When | Where | Qualification |
|---|---|---|---|
| Secondary | | | |
| Further | | | |

Other

Work:

| When | Where | What |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

Other experience:

Place of birth:
Number of years in the City:
If born in UK, foreign experience:

Spouse (Y or N):
Number of children:
What other experience do you have that may affect your work in teams?

Appendix 3.2.4 <u>Second round interview schedule</u>

```
Date ----------------
Time ----------------
Who  ----------------
Tape ref ------------
```

1. We talked ------------ about this study I'm doing about teams
managing in adult education. This interview is about what you think
is involved in adult education, and about what you think of working in
teams.

2. First, let's look at what you think is involved in adult education.

2.1 I've left a blank on this card. Can you fill in as many
    different ways of completing the sentence as you can think of.
    Please write each one on a different card.
2.2. Now have a look at these three. Which ones are alike?
      PROBE: Which one is different?
2.2.1. You say these two are alike. Can you give a name to it? ·
        PROBE: Try naming the ones that are alike.
        PROBE: What would you call the one that's different?
        PROBE: What would you call the other ones?
2.2.2. You've called this_____. What's it's opposite?[Note 1]
2.2.3. Now let's look at the other items you've listed.
    2.2.3.1. Is ------- more like ------- or more like --------?
    2.2.3.2. Imagine a scale from 1 to 5. Where would you rank
          this one? FILL IN RATINGS ON CHART ENCLOSED.
    REPEAT UNTIL each element is used, THEN ASK Is there anything
    you'd like to add to this list of contrasts?

3. How do you think team working helped or hindered the kind of adult
education you want to see? Take 'help' first...
PROBE: Now how will team working hinder the kind of adult education
you want to see.

    HELP   HINDER

4. Thanks. Now for the next question. What percentage of your time
per week did working with the team will take up in the past year?
PROBE: Just a rough guess will do.
PROBE(if time of year matters): Just average it out as best you can.
It's only a guess.

10   20   30   40   50   over 60

5. (LEAVE WITH RESPONDENT IF INTERVIEW IS OVER TIME AND GO ON TO 6)
Now I'd like to find out a bit about how you see yourself working in a
team. This questionnaire is from Belbin's book on management teams.
It's supposed to show a bit about what roles people play in teamwork.
Just fill it in without thinking about it too much.

7. I'd be interested in any comments you have on this interview,
especially on the comparisons you made about adult education. What do
you think?

8. What interesting things have you observed during the year as
regards team working?

[Note 1: See Appendix 3.3 for changes in delivery of grids]

Appendix 3.2.5 <u>Team role questionnaire and marking sheet</u>

TEAM ROLE QUESTIONNAIRE

For each section distribute a total of ten points among the sentences
which you think best describe your behaviour. These points may be
distributed among several sentences: in extreme cases they might be
spread among all the sentences or ten points may be given to a single
sentence. Enter the points on the table.

Table   No:_____
                             Date:_____
                   Item
Section | a | b | c | d | e | f | g | h |
   I | | | | | | | | |
   II | | | | | | | | |
   III | | | | | | | | |
   IV | | | | | | | | |
   V | | | | | | | | |
   VI | | | | | | | | |
   VII | | | | | | | | |

Make sure each row adds up to ten. Change it if it doesn't!

(Used by permission from R. Meredith Belbin, 1981, *Management Teams:
Why They Succeed or Fail*. Heinemann.)

I. What I believe I can contribute to a team:

    a. I think I can quickly see and take advantage of new opportunities.

    b. I can work well with a very wide range of people.

    c. Producing ideas is one of my natural assets.

    d. My ability rests in being able to draw people out whenever I detect they have something of value to contribute to group effectivenesss.

    e. My capacity to follow through has much to do with my personal effectiveness.

    f. I am ready to face temporary unpopularity if it leads to worthwhile results in the end.

    g. I can usually sense what is realistic and likely to work.

    h. I can offer a reasoned case for alternative courses of action without introducing bias or prejudice.

II. If I have a possible shortcoming in teamwork, it could be that:

    a. I am not at ease unless meetings are well structured and controlled and generally well conducted.

    b. I am inclined to be too generous towards others who have a valid viewpoint that has not been given a proper airing.

    c. I have a tendency to talk too much once the group gets on to new ideas.

    d. My objective outlook makes it difficult for me to join in readily and enthusiastically with colleagues.

    e. I am sometimes seen as forceful and authoritarian if there is a need to get something done.

    f. I find it difficult to lead from the front, perhaps because I am overresponsive to groups atmosphere.

    g. I am apt to get too caught up in ideas that occur to me and so lose track of what is happening.

    h. My colleagues tend to see me as worrying unnecessarily over detail and the possibility that things may go wrong.

III. When involved in a project with other people:

    a. I have an aptitude for influencing people without pressurizing them.

b. My general vigilance prevents careless mistakes and omissions being made.

c. I am ready to press for action to make sure that the meeting does not waste time or lose sight of the main objective.

d. I can be counted on to contribute something original.

e. I am always ready to back a good suggestion in the common interest.

f. I am keen to look for the latest in new ideas and develoment.

g. I believe my capacity for judgement can help to bring about the right decisions.

h. I can be relied upon to see that all essential work is organised.

IV. <u>My characteristic approach to group work is that:</u>

a. I have a quiet interest in getting to know colleagues better.

b. I am not reluctant to challenge the views of others or to hold a minority view myself.

c. I can usually find a line of argument to refute unsound propositions.

d. I think I have a talent for making things work once a plan has to be put into operation.

e. I have a tendency to avoid the obvious and to come out with the unexpected.

f. I bring a touch of perfectionism to any job I undertake.

g. I am ready to make use of contacts outside the group itself.

h. While I am interested in all views I have no hesitation in making up my mind once a decision has to be made.

V. <u>I gain satisfaction in a job because:</u>

a. I enjoy analysing situations and weighing up all the possible choices.

b. I am interested in finding practical solutions to problems.

c. I like to feel I am fostering good working relationships.

d. I can have a strong influence on decisions.

e. I can meet people who may have something new to offer.

f. I can get people to agree on a necessary course of action.

g. I feel in my element where I can give a task my full attention.

h. I like to find a field that stretches my imagination.

VI. **If I am suddenly given a difficult task with limited time and unfamiliar people:**

    a. I would feel like retiring to a corner to devise a way out of the impasse before developing a line.

    b. I would be ready to work with the person who showed the most positive approach.

    c. I would find some way of reducing the size of the task by establishing what different individuals might best contribute.

    d. My natural sense of urgency would help to ensure that we did not fall behind schedule.

    e. I believe I would keep cool and maintain my capacity to think straight.

    f. I would retain a steadiness of purpose in spite of the pressures.

    g. I would be prepared to take a positive lead if I felt the group was making no progress.

    h. I would open up discussions with a view to stimulating new thoughts and getting something moving.

VII. **With reference to problems to which I am subject in working in groups:**

    a. I am apt to show my impatience with those who are obstructing progress.

    b. Others may criticise me for being too analytical and insufficiently intuitive.

    c. My desire to ensure that work is properly done can hold up proceedings.

    d. I tend to get bored rather easily and rely on one or two stimulating members to spark me off.

    e. I find it difficult to get started unless the goals are clear.

    f. I am sometimes poor at explaining and clarifying complex points that occur to me.

    g. I am conscious of demanding from others the things I cannot do myself.

    h. I hesitate to get my points across when I run up against real opposition.

TEAM ROLE QUESTIONNAIRE
Marking Sheet

Re-arrange your scores from the table on the grid below:

Section	Team role CW	CH	SH	PL	RI	ME	TW	CF
I	g	d	f	c	a	h	b	e
II	a	b	e	g	c	d	f	h
III	h	a	c	d	f	g	e	b
IV	d	h	b	e	g	c	a	f
V	b	f	d	h	e	a	c	g
VI	f	c	g	a	h	e	b	d
VII	e	g	a	f	d	b	h	c
TOTALS								

The letters heading the columns each stand for a 'team role'. Your
highest score is the team role you see yourself in, the next highest
is/are roles you can shift to with ease. The lowest scores are the
roles you don't see yourself in at all. Teams that work well tend to
cover all team roles; all of them are seen as necessary.

Here are descriptions of each team role:

CW(Company Worker) turns concepts and plans into practical working
procedures and carries out agreed plans systematically and
efficiantly.

CH(Chairman) controls the way in which a team moves towards the group
objectives by making the best use of team resources, recognises where
the team's strengths and weaknesses lie and ensures that the best use
is made of each team member's potential.

SH(Shaper) shapes the way in which team effort is applied, directs
attention generally to the setting of objectives and priorities and
seeks to impose some shape or pattern on group discussion and on the
outcome of group activities.

PL(Plant) advances new ideas and strategies with special attention to
major issues, looks for possible breaks in approach to the problems
with which the group is confronted.

RI(Resource Investigator) explores and reports on ideas, developments
and resources outside the group, creates external contacts that may be
useful to the team and conducts any subsequent negotiations.

ME(Monitor-Evaluator) analyses problems and evaluates ideas and
suggestions so that the team is better placed to take balanced
decisions.

TW(Team Worker) supports members in their strengths(e.g. building on
suggestions), underpins members in their shortcomings and improves
communications between members and fosters team spirit generally.

CF(Completer-Finisher) ensures that the team is protected as far as
possible from mistakes of both commission and omission, actively
searches for aspects of work which need a more than usual degree of
attention and maintains a sense of urgency within the team.

This way of looking at teams comes from R. Meredith Belbin.

Appendix 3.2.6 <u>Tape recording record sheet</u>

Tape No._____
Date:_____
Recorder:_____

Begins:_____
Ends:_____

Room:_____

Chair:_____
Minuter:_____
Participants:

Counter   Topic

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

1. Fill out info and seating chart. Include recorder.
2. Time meetings from first 'convening' comment or agenda item to last agenda item or 'ending' comment.
3. Insert comments on meeting that characterise mood and effectiveness.
4. Note counter no. at tape side change.
5. Record date and meeting on tape before things start and at end.

COMMENT:

Content analysis methods for opinion data
(Section 3.6.3 refers)

This study contained four content analyses of data from
interviews with team members -- 1) the definitions of adult education
from grid elements, 2) the advantages and disadvantages of teamworking
from the interview question on helping and hindering, and 3) the time
teamworking would and did take, in that member's view. The time
information sometimes came with 4) a definition of teamworking, and
this too, was analysed. The methods used for the grid elements
definitional analysis are those used for the other analyses, so
illustrations come from definitions of adult education.

The overall pattern for analysing was this: assemble Round A
responses to establish named first and second level categories, leave
a gap in the data analysis schedule, assemble Round B responses to
establish named first and second level categories, inspect the second
level categories to find which are equivalent between the rounds(these
are the third level categories), inspect the non-equivalent second
level categories and miscellaneous first level categories to discover
differences and anomalies, tally the incidence of the categories in
each team for Round A and for Round B, compare the teams before and
after the study year using their own categories.

Samples

To compare teams, however, it was necessary to take what was
called "overlap" into consideration. A number of people served on
more than one team, as Section 2.4, Section 3.6.1 and Appendix 3.1
explained. To get a distribution within these categories for a team,
it was necessary to count each member's responses in all the teams on
which s/he served. This increased sample sizes.

The opinions of new members coming in to teams had to be
reflected in the content analyses too. This was done by the
"incomers" analyses. Existing team member opinion defined the
categories for the first round, and incomers' opinions were classified
by first round categories. The incomers were treated as ordinary team
members in the second round interview analyses.

The size of these content analysis operations varied. Appendix
Table 3.2.1 summarises these questions of scale, and shows how overlap

increased the sample sizes when teams were compared.

	Round A	Incomers	Round B	Total
Definitions		282	242	524
with overlap	257	124	336	717
Help/hinder	140	-	165	205
with overlap	155	-	229	384
Time	25	9	30	74
with overlap	34	11	41	86
Working with				
the team	25	9	30	74
with overlap	34	11	41	86

Appendix Table 3.3.1 Sample sizes for content analyses by interview round.

Method

Appendix Table 3.3.2 contains two member lists from the definitional analysis. Some of these ideas appear to link, even though the two team members presenting them are from different areas of work, different teams and, as far as I know, did not consult each other before suggesting what they thought adult education "should be". Lists of team members' views of what would and did help and hinder teamworking looked similar, though usually there were fewer responses per team member. The results of the time question for Rounds A and Round B termed "working with the team" gave lists, too, but were much shorter, usually with just one definition of what that member thought "working with the team" meant.

Adult education should be:

1. useful
2. within purchasing power of those who need it
3. what students in the class want
4. accessible in time and place
5. friendly

6. a valuable educational and social experience
7. purposeful
8. for the most disadvantaged first
9. for those who have not had access to education/ training

1. suited to students' needs
2. determined, in part at least, by students
3. easily accessible
4. reasonably priced/free
5. as intensive as students need
6. actively promote cross-cultural exchanges
7. serve its community
8. enhance students' lives
9. open to students of all classes, non-threatening
10. devising learning strategies/methods of delivery suited to adults lives/ ways of learning

Appendix Table 3.3.2: Sample definitional lists

All responses for each question in each round were listed, then grouped, like with like, until first level categories could be named. Usually these first level categories could be further grouped into second level categories, a classification of the classification. Then

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the second level categories from the first and second round interviews
were compared to see if any of the categories seemed to be similar
enough to be classed as "equivalent". These became the third level
categories. Categories which seemed to be roughly equivalent were
then tabulated, and, finally, categories with no equivalents were
listed. How this process works is illustrated by grouping the two
response lists above, with the third-level categories(those common
across both rounds) underlined and the first level categories
italicised.

A. Characteristics of the AE system:
fees

2. within purchasing power   4. reasonably priced/free
  of the neediest

accessible/available

4. accessible time/place   3. easily accessible
                                           9. open to students of all
                                              classes, non-threatening

B. About who the AE system serves:
who it serves

8. for the most disadvantaged first   7. serve its community
9. for those who have not had
  access to education/training

C. Content:
suited to adults' wants/needs

3. what students in the class want   1. suited to students' needs
                                           2. determined, in part at
                                              least, by students

relevant
1. useful
7. purposeful

D. What else adults get from it:
other people   *open up/new directions/fulfill*
6. a valuable educational/   8. enhance students' lives
  social experience

E. Style
(no entries)

F. Image/status/wellfunded
(no entries)

G. Style/informal
style
5. friendly

H. Adults learning/teacher-student relationship/form of tuition/teaching
adults and learning
                                           10. suited to adults' lives
                                               /ways of learning
form
                                           5. as intensive as students
                                              need

I. Non-equivalent categories
bias
                                           6. actively promote cross-
                                              cultural exchanges

Appendix Table 3.3.3: Sample element lists grouped by definitional
analysis categories. Key: third-level categories underlined, first
level categories italicised.

Each team's definitional profile, then, is its highest favoured
categories and those it showed least interest in. Spread of choice
was considered by inspection of percentage scores and, finally, a

correlation coefficient was computed. Each team was compared to others in its round, to itself over time, and to others over time.

The policy was to do the analyses separately and then, without modifying the first level categories, to compare them. However, I did allow myself to group the first level categories differently than they had been grouped in the original content analyses. The second level categories were thus sometimes altered to achieve third level comparisons. Once these processes were completed, the non-equivalent categories and the miscellaneous responses were inspected to find additional differences in the two rounds. The results of this definitional analysis appear in Section 5.1 and Section 6.2.

The help/hinder responses were treated similarly. Help/hinder first level categories were smaller, as there were fewer responses to the question for each team member. To understand the profiles for helping and hindering teamworking, the categories were laid out in a process chart, starting with the "givens" of teamworking, in the team members' opinion, then contrasting the tension between benefits to information versus problems with individuals in teams, positive team processes versus negative team processes, and positive effects on teaching versus negative effects on teaching. The outcome of this process chart was the positive effects of teamworking on the kind of adult education team members wanted to see. This process chart amounted to second level categories, and the charts for each round were simply laid side by side for inspection, eliminating the need for third-level categories. Results are reported in Section 2.5 as expectations of teamworking and in Section 5.2 as the basis of the discussion of team member views of effectiveness.

The time analyses were simpler, for they involved grouping each team member's estimate of how much time it would take from Round A and report of how much time it did take from Round B. This showed how many people expected and reported that teamworking would take less than 10% to 20% of their time, 25-33%, and over 40%. The inspection of miscellaneous and "don't know" responses was particularly fruitful in the time analysis. The results appear in Section 5.3.1.

People who, in answering the time question, gave a definition of working with the team, yielded a before and after glimpse of what they thought teamworking was. Some defined tasks that were teamworking,

some thought that working with the team meant meetings only, and some did not give a definition. The results of this analysis are reported in Section 5.3, for the team members changed their view over the study year.

Methods used in analysis of repertory grids
(Sections 3.5.1 and 3.6.3 refer)

In the fifties, G. A. Kelly devised the Rep Test, a list of names
or sometimes roles which his patients compared and contrasted to
arrive at constructs they used to understand the people around them.
Kelly later developed Personal Construct Theory(PCT). PCT states that
people use constructs to understand what happens to them and to make
predictions about what may happen. Sometimes these constructs are
visible as contrasts -- like me/unlike me, strong/weak, -- and
sometimes they are visible only in their effects. Each individual,
according to Kelly, is a personal scientist, explaining the world's
events to him/herself. The value of each person's analysis is basic
to Kelly's theory.

However Kelly's theories are viewed, the technique developed from
the Rep Test, the Repertory Grid, has been used widely in England,
especially in psychology and social psychology. Sociologists have
used it in small group studies, management consultants have applied it
to workplace problems and to managing, educationists have used it to
examine learning. Microcomputers have made access to the technique
much easier.

Kelly and others have called the grid a learning device.
Shaw's(1978) clear text suggests using grids to help people learn.
Anyone can use a grid to explain his/her own learning to him/herself
according to Harri-Augstein(1978).

Methods for administering repertory grids and for analysing them
vary widely. This study uses a triadic elicitation of constructs
after Pope and Keen(1981). The elements from which the triads come
are elicited from respondents by use of a Cloze procedure as
Harri-Augstein suggests. Constructs and elements are analysed by
two-way hierarchical cluster analysis using A. V. Lee's(no date)
computer programme. Principal component analysis, the other major way
to analyse grids, was discarded in planning stages because it was felt
that reducing the grids before their content, typical as well as
atypical, was understood, would distort any results the grids might
provide.

The advantages of using grids rest mainly on their

appropriateness and their economy. The forty-five minute modified grid used in the study was quick, interesting to respondents, and, because the procedure is almost automatic, largely independent of the interviewer. This was important, as the researcher knew all of the team members well. Grid data is already ordered, making content analysis of free responses unnecessary, and grid calculations can be easily done by computer. Best of all, exploration of the meaning of the complex content of adult education could be set up and carried out by the respondent, with no interference from the researcher or her opinions.

Disadvantages of using the grid stem from its benefits. Grid material is idiosyncratic, that is, specific to a single person and his/her view of the world. One person's grid cannot easily be compared to another's. Grid technique can be offputting: it looks, certainly in the first stages, to be overly fussy and pseudo-scientific. Some people do not find comparing triads and classifying elements meaningful. Finally, grids artificially structure information, forcing comparisons which might otherwise never be made. Grid data is therefore suspect and to be treated with caution.

Grid procedures

Elicitation of elements: respondents were asked to complete the sentence "We are all of us involved in the education of adults. Adult education should be _____." as many times as they wished. Between seven and ten responses were asked for to limit the length of the interview. Each element was written on a card by the respondent, numbered by the interviewer and entered on a grid recording sheet. Respondents who thought of fewer than seven elements were asked to try for more, usually by looking at the cards they had already completed to see if "anything is left out".

Elicitation of constructs: Each respondent was asked to draw three of the shuffled cards, and to say "which two seem to be alike, and which seems different". Once a pair was established, the respondent was asked to name the pair, or to talk about what they had in common. A name was usually agreed. S/he was then asked to name the card "at the other end". This was done by talking about how the single card was different from the main pair. This technique did not

yield opposites, it rather emphasized contrasts. (The interview schedule was not changed to reflect this difference in grid administration.) This random procedure continued until the respondent began to repeat him/herself or had roughly as many contrasts as elements. The interviewer then typically chose the three cards that had been used least, and asked for the same kind of comparison. Finally, the respondent was asked to pick any three cards s/he considered "interesting" to compare. This was the "own choice" construct, similar to Stewart and Stewart's(1981, 182) "offered construct".

Relating of non-pole elements to constructs: The respondent was asked to place the other cards with or between the two poles on an imaginary five-point scale. "More like" was the phrase used to make this possible.

Nature of scale: This varied with the respondent. Sometimes classifications proceeded almost automatically, with little discussion. Sometimes classification became difficult, at which point the interviewer usually said "You can have cards that don't apply." This point was marked on each grid recording sheet. Some repondents defined the scale as a process, and said so, moving students and ideas from one pole to another. For these, position 3 on the scale is usually a midpoint. Some found it easier to see the scale as two contrasting poles, and the elements to be placed between them as more like or less like the poles. For these, position 3 was more likely to contain cards which applied to both poles or, occasionally, to neither.

Recording: Elements were entered on a recording sheet as described. Constructs were entered as they were generated. When pole names changed, a blank was left on the recording sheet. When elements were selected, they were entered under their column as a dash(-) and noted at the side of the construct entry space. Ratings were entered after the respondent had finished, with the respondent looking on to check the entries. Comments affecting the grid were recorded at the bottom and numbered to the point in the grid they came from, e.g., "I wish I hadn't said that. I can't ever seem to fit it in." Tape recordings were made of all grid interviews.

Range of convenience: Some things are simply not comparable to

each other, for example, wingspan to carrots.   As illustrated in the
response in the previous paragraph, respondents occasionally entered
an element they could not make sense of in rating.   These usually
attracted more does not apply(DNA) ratings than others.   Often they
produced interesting poles.   Range of convenience also appears as an
issue when two ratings are almost identical, suggesting that the poles
may be almost synonymous.   It is usual to test for this by regrouping
the poles of the constructs.   This was not possible: grid
record-keeping had to be swift because time was limited.

    Lop-sided ratings: Two contrasting poles may not contrast if all
the elements are in one or the other.   In some grid studies, these are
eliminated as not being constructs.   That position was not taken here,
and lop-sided ratings were analysed along with the rest of the grid.

    Nonclassifiable elements: For the purposes of this study, these
were entered in position 3 at the analysis stage.

    Data checking and computer entering: Full transcripts were made
of each tape recording.   Grid recording sheets were compared and
differences resolved, usually by trusting the recording sheet, as
scoring was assumed to be more reliable when the sorting was visible
and the respondent watching.   Grid data was then entered on the
computer, and a printout of the unfocussed grid compared with the
checked original.

    Cluster analysis: The computer programme written by A. V. Lee
compares the ratings for each construct to all the others.   The poles
are then reversed, and each reversed and non-reversed construct is
compared to all the others, reversed and non-reversed.   A similar
procedure is applied to the ratings under each element.   The result is
a "focussed" grid, or one in which rows and columns are placed as near
as possible to rows and columns similar to them.   This focussed grid
is printed with a percentage scale.   Similarities are described in
percentage terms.

    Laddering: It is often interesting to ask the respondent to
comment on his grid and the patterns that the clusters of like
elements and constructs make.   These clusters can be named, and
produce, according to Bannister and Mair(1968), more generalisable,
second-order constructs.   This was not possible in this study because
time was limited.

Analysis

The elements, that is, each respondent's original list, were
analysed as the content of an open-ended question is. This process is
explained in Appendix 3.3.

The constructs which each respondent used to group the elements
in his/her list were named by the researcher on the basis of the
clusters produced by the computer. The major clusters in each grid --
those which linked most elements and seemed most tightly constructed
-- were named, then grouped in the same way as the elements The rough
rule was to include clusters correlated at 51% or more, unless the
idea there clearly extended to linkages of less percentage value.
These major clusters represented a team member's concern with issues
in adult education before and after the study year, and were used to
discuss similarities and differences in team views of issues. Results
are reported in Appendix 6.1.

Some characteristics of clustered grids allow comparisons,
however. "Fairly low" intercorrelations are in the region of
40%(Stewart and Stewart, 1981, 59). Overall grid shape can be
"squashed"(elements or constructs correlate at 75% or above) or
"elongated"(elements or constructs correlate at 50% or below), to use
Stewart and Stewart's(*op.cit.*, 182) terms for what others call
"tightly" or "loosely" construed. Adams-Webber(1981), the Stewarts
and others say that tightly construed grids or clusters, more
"integrated", to use Adams Webber's term, are more seriously affected
by change in a single construct or element than loosely construed
grids.

Many grids used in research examined for this study used supplied
elements or constructs or both. These grids, when readministered
immediately or within two weeks, showed 74-80% correlation except with
mentally ill respondents(Fransella, 1981). At least one study reports
this type of grid showing similar changes of structure when
administered repeatedly to members of a group(Fransella, 1981) -- all
group members' grids loosened and tightened together, including those
of the psychologist and the observer.

Finally, advice from Peter Ashworth, Sheffied City Polytechnic,
suggested that the grids for this study might show more "grid
dimensionality" over time -- more clusters and less relation between

them. The grids might also converge in content or structure because people in teams know each other.

Characteristics of study grids

A typical grid from either round had eight elements and nine constructs, or, considering the grid as a matrix, 72 construct/element boxes. Grids called "big" are bigger than this; grids called "small" are smaller.

In practical terms, people varied in how many construct comparisons they chose to make -- one person might make as few as five, another as many as twelve. This stems from the method of administering the grids. Members were asked for at least 8 constructs, and were usually limited to 10. Generally members were not prevented from making as many construct comparisons as they wanted to, unless, as sometimes happened in "perseverance" grids, the same idea came up over and over no matter how varied the elements being compared.

Nine grids were from people only present in the teams for one set of interviews, people who left or arrived during the study year. They had fewer elements, fewer constructs, and tended to vary more in the number of elements and constructs offered. This is perhaps to be expected, as any small group has a better chance of looking aberrant when compared to a larger group of which it is a part.

Ten team members, because of study circumstances, had a much shorter period of time between administration of the grids than others. They had fewer elements and more constructs in the first round, and fewer elements and an average number of constructs in the second. Those 18 interviewed fourteen or more months apart had a few more elements than average, a few less constructs in the first round, and a few more of each in the second. This group is most interesting when we look at the first round element standard deviation, which was very low. This may be an interviewer effect -- early in the study, the interviewer may have pressured for a higher number of elements.

What members thought of the grid

Team members assaulted with a repertory grid might be expected to be surprised, suspicious and even unnerved, especially when, as one put it:

"...interesting way of going about it. I'm not sure if it got

out all the things I was wanting to say and I don't like being
taped."

(Interviewer: what would you have wanted to add?)

"I don't think there's much I wanted to add really. I would
have liked to talk more rather than juggle pieces of paper
around, about *what* I don't know."

The structured nature of the grid limited another, who wasn't
sure s/he'd said what s/he wanted to. Another found it boring and a
fourth, "silly", though s/he added "I don't know very much about adult
education, so there are probably things I can't see." Four objected
to not having the time to think about the ideas which arose. Others
found what they saw as their own limitations made them unhappy with
their performance on the grid.

> "I enjoyed it...too involved in doing it to stand back and see
> what I was doing, fascinating to see what [you] can do with
> the cards. A way to analyse one's own thinking. I've stopped
> liking myself."

Some observed that they couldn't see how it could be analysed,
and, even if it could, how everyone's responses could be compared --

> "Interesting, very interesting indeed, but I just wonder what
> it's going to turn up with at the end to correlate what other
> people said with what I have said. I don't know whether there
> will be something in common. Just what useful information is
> going to turn up I'm not absolutely certain. Or as to how we
> can apply it. Putting it into practice if something comes up
> that we feel has been lacking in our previous conception of
> adult education."

Some wanted to apply what they'd learned right away --

> "Fascinating, informative, mind-boggling simply because of
> what it's told me just about the publicity. Will make me
> rethink how I do my [managing] bit of the job and I could
> think...quite valuable..."

Three commented that the grid gave them a chance to talk in their own
terms in an "unloaded" way:

> "What I did myself, I didn't know what to expect so I was very
> cautious and its... I don't think I started off giving what I
> really thought, what my view is, just being very careful and
> in the end felt I was more decisive and put more what I really
> felt was important to me about adult education. If that's
> selfish or not, I don't know but it...
> (Interviewer: Anything else you want to say?)
> Nice way to..for it to take place rather than just rattling
> off questions at you that you[the interviewer] probably don't
> approve of the answers. I wrote the answers anyway, so tough
> if you don't like them..."

Most team members in the first round found the grid
"interesting". Four found it uncongenial. Five used terms like
"amazing", "mind-boggling", showing rather more enthusiasm than the

interviewer expected. Seven, when asked about the grid itself, kept coming back to the ideas raised in it, so much so that three of them never commented on the grid. Thirteen team members wanted a report-back, preferably yesterday. These responses are summarised in Appendix Table 3.4.1.

Members who commented on the issues raised by the grid raised interesting points reported elsewhere in this thesis:

> "I think it made me think about the way I describe things, probably gives you an idea about why people misunderstand you so often. I think it should be relevant [to] everybody talking about a completely different thing all the way around the room..."

> "I found it quite unusual that I did have the development and the money/organisation on two separate sides when they should be linked. I would have naturally linked them had I not had two separate sides, actually. I felt torn."

Five team members were familiar with the grid. The interviewer was one, and her comments at the end of the first round grid were not recorded. Internal evidence indicates that experience of the grid did not make their grids different from other team members'. Their observations were:

> "From the last time I remembered doing this rep grid I disliked it, thought it was changing my view of things by false means, false poles to begin with. Didn't really agree with the word poles. This time, the observations I made at the start were so different -- general things to do with the way I see adult education and doing the job, and having to interpret those against each other -- very difficult. Lot of trouble with continuum between the two. Has made me think in some ways about the different continuums that are set, surprised the way... I think half of it is from quite recently, presentation reinforces what I've thought for a while -- our publicity is really useless other than word of mouth."

> "Interesting. I thought it was more thought-provoking than I at first thought it may be. Had to begin to think. Wish I'd put more down..."

> "The repertory grid is very good for finding out what people think or are thinking about adult education and their own role and relation to it. I'm horrified at the narrowness of my thinking. Quite a useful thing to do. Later useful would be results of experiment to be shared to see how useful they were."

> "Mind-blowing. I want to know what everybody else did. Can't imagine everybody else's was as awful as that. Certainly does make you think differently. Amazing."

After the second round grids, team members again made observations about what they had done. This time, they discussed the content of the grid more than before. They had interesting comments on the instrument and their style of dealing with it. There was less

interest in the results, and less surprise generally. The four who
had been unhappy with the grid format were still unhappy for much the
same reasons, though one said it was "easier this time". To give a
flavour of this response, all answers to the question "Is there
anything you'd like to say about the first part, the part about adult
education?" are included in Appendix Table 3.4.2.

Team members were willing to undertake a complex and largely
unknown procedure. They very kindly took on trust that there was some
sense to it during the first grid administration, and, I think,
expressed their scepticism in asking for the "results". The grids did
seem to allow people to speculate about adult education in their own
terms, and some people from the first round mentioned this. My
impression from the interviews is that most people got involved once
they began.

In both rounds, there was only one grid which, when analysed,
didn't make sense. . Some grids had inconsistent distributions in the
same grid. Generally, in both rounds, people who were uncomfortable
with the procedure were encouraged to talk about the reasons for this,
which is why the four people who were uncomfortable with it gave such
full reasons for their discomfort.

Second round comments tended to be more about the ideas expressed
in the grid and, interestingly, about what the grid did for ideas
expressed in its terms: the grid structure "pulled things together",
showed idea similarity and encouraged "positive" responses, rather
than "cynical" ones. No one said that the grid strongly distorted
what they thought, though, if they had been asked, most would have
said that the grid presented only a partial view of what their
concerns in adult education were.

What do grid generalisations give us? In the view of team
members, they give us, I think, a partial insight into what team
members think about the overall enterprise -- adult education -- in
which they are engaged. No team member, however unhappy with the
grid, objected to its validity in terms of what s/he thought about
adult education, and many found interesting new ways to see what they
already knew. This is backing, however limited, for using the grid
cautiously to understand how team members looked at issues in adult
education before and after the study year.

No response elicited   2

Neutral
Raised issues from grid   3
What will you get out of it   2

Negative
Silly/boring/couldn't say
    what I wanted to   3
Not enough time   1

Positive
Interesting, accurate   1
Interesting, fun   1
Interesting/unexpected/not loaded questions   1
Interesting, what will you get out of it?   1
OK once I got the hang of it   6
Makes you think   13

Appendix Table 3.4.1: Round A grid observations from team members.
Member n = 34.

```
                General(14 people, 18 comments)
      grid content                            8
      influences on grid                      3
      effect of insights                      1
      what value does it have?                3
      what did others think?                  1
      how else could I use it?                1
      reward for doing it(sweetie)?           1

Problems(12 people, 13 comments)
      time                                    2
      uneasy with format                      1
      unhappy with conclusions                1
      own view limited                        2
      time-wasting                            1
      can't think in lines                    1
      hard to categorise                      1
      hard to name ideas                      1
      how should be thinking?                 1
      fell between general/specific           1
      couldn't say what wanted to             1

Compared to last time(12 people, 17 responses)
      relaxed/easier                          3
      more relevant                           1
      not different                           4
      different                               3
      was it different?                       1
      view AE has changed                     1
      more from it                            1
      made a little more sense                1
      sceptical re play with words[at first]  1
      more coherent                           1

Grid structure(5 people, 5 responses)
      no good at it                           1
      OK once into swing of reinterpretation  1
      couldn't be cynical had to make it positive  1
      shows how few ideas we have             1
      unexpected                              1

Positive(10 people, 10 responses)
      enjoy                                   4
      good use grid                           1
      useful to think about later             1
      no distortion opinions                  2
      helps pull together ideas               1
      drag out what I've learned in sociology 1

No observations collected                     1
```

Appendix Table 3.4.2: Round B grid observations from team members.
Member n=31, response n = 64.

APPENDIX 3.5

Coding minutes
(Section 3.6.3 refers)

For this study, a *meeting* is a regular gathering of team members organised by means of an agenda, and recorded in minutes. *Regular* means at team-agreed intervals of roughly equal duration(usually weekly or bi-weekly). An *agenda* here means a list of matters to be considered in the meeting; *minutes* means a meeting record more or less corresponding to the agenda, typically written during the meeting, and preserved somewhere known to the team.

A *minute item* is a numbered entry in a team meeting record. It is assumed that a minute item was what the minuter thought should be recorded about a matter discussed. Sometimes decisions were written down, sometimes it was noted that the matter had been discussed and that was all, sometimes the item was carried over to another meeting, but whatever was recorded, it is assumed to be evidence that the team considered the matter.

The content analysis

The major categories, which existed from the beginning, were *facilities, staff/ing, students, training, publicity, external events* and *planning*. The new categories which arose during the analysis because they were needed were *procedures, classes* and a special use of *miscellaneous*.

Little by little, I began to see that some items were different from others. Some were concrete, like Outreach "library bus" or Centre "tape recorder". Some were concrete enough by name, but procedural by nature, like Outreach "holidays" which, over half a term, was an extended investigation into just how many holiday days they could have. Items like this were the source of the *procedures* category, which soon came to contain all the entries about the new Area Teams, because Centre, Outreach and ABE all had to think out what their day-to-day and long term relationship to the Area Teams was to be during the study year. The Centre Team considered different matters from Outreach, which had to work out to what extent it involved itself in the development of all the new Area Teams.

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It soon emerged that the *planning* category, invented to include items like planning the Centre programme, or mounting a new Outreach

class, or getting new funding for ABE, was a different animal from the concrete or "work" categories. The categories *procedures* and *planning* became ways to look at "how", and the other categories -- *facilities, staff/ing, publicity, students, training* and *external* events -- were "what" was done, though categories did overlap. When East and South were coded, it emerged that much of their work was procedural, in fact, it identified one of the major differences between them and the established teams. For East and South, *procedures* varied from "Department Board rep" "exam schedule" to "members working outside" this last a reference to East members teaching outside the team area, a *procedure* because it seemed to be interpreted by East as to do with how the teams deployed their labour rather than the more regular *staff/ing* questions -- hiring, firing, problems etc. coded under *staff/ing*.

The *classes* category also developed its own dynamic, or lack of it. Originally invented to label Outreach reports to each other on the existing classes they were maintaining, it soon began to include Centre matters like cancelled classes, enrolment reports of rocky classes, waiting lists, what was wrong with the crochet class, why the bridge club wouldn't move from their room and the long-running collaboration with the College languages department. For ABE, it began with checking on the existing programme of classes, much as the Centre did from time to time, but soon developed into a reporting session, with the Outreach report and, for a while, regular reports from an ABE-inclined member of one of the Area Teams. There was a maintenance feel to the *classes* category, which was always small for each team, but always there. When East and South were coded, however, *classes* came into its own, for both began to ask for and attract reports from areas of work and from Boards of Studies, typically delivered by a member of the team. *Classes* grew in the Area Team analyses, so much that I considered changing its name to "reports", and finally did so.

Miscellaneous, too, changed as analyses of the year's minutes went on. Occasionally in the first two terms of the study, ABE and Centre would record a report from a Department or School Board, or some matter generally to do with news up the chain of command in the College. Originally, these were true miscellaneous items. But, as

the Area Team matters swelled *procedures*, so the cuts to College
budget began to make *miscellaneous* the repository of items like
"lobbying" in Centre and "Interteam" and "petition" in ABE's Spring 86
records. For East and South, however, what were semi-external matters
to other teams were a part of Area Team work, most often coded in
planning or *procedures*. For example, East and South responses to the
cuts became part of their *planning* activities during the Spring of
1986 as they tried to see how to retain a "balanced, coherent"
programme with about a third of the money.

The fate analyses

I soon discovered that the Teams wanted to record more than what
the item was. They usually indicated something of what happened to
it, and that seemed to be what they wanted to remember, analogous to a
passed resolution at a political party conference. So I devised a way
to record the "fate" of an item -- in my parlance, it could be
received, reported, aired, referred, deferred, investigated or *acted
on.*

Early in the categorising process, I discovered that another
aspect of the minutes items was arising, and confusing my
categorisations. Most items were contributed as agenda items by
members of the team, and minuted as they were discussed. They could
be said to be *internal* to the team, whether they came from a
discussion with a teacher in the Centre, from Outreach community
worker contacts or from ABE members' regional and national meetings.
Then the Centre Team began to consider matters from *below* -- students,
staff and centre users -- and *above*, as Centre Team was regularly
consulted about matters in the School and the Department, and often
received strange communications from the administrative side of the
College, which were unclear in the minutes. It rather looked like
Outreach Team members, who spent all of their time outside the
College, got their *internal* items from an entirely different source.
Especially early on, they were never consulted by anyone but the ABE
Team, and never seemed to have items clearly originating from *below*.
This is a different hinterland for *internal* items than the Centre
Team's. Finally, ABE members were always reporting something from
outside the City. Their *internal* matters were sometimes so external
as to be invisible to any of the other teams. To remove all this from

the concrete and dynamic categories, I invented something called "from" or "provenance", so that I could put all non-*internal* matters somewhere and forget about them. This finally was termed the "source" analysis. Items were only coded *above, below,* or *outside* when it was clear that was happening, so many minute items which arose from these sources are uncodeable as regards provenance. The teams were not particularly interested in recording where something came from in the minutes, only what they did with it.

Finally, all teams did things they had not done before during the year. I thought it might be worth seeing if the minutes recorded *new* things the teams undertook. The first term I coded, everything was *new*, because I had no visible grounds for coding it any other way, with the exception of items like the entries in the *classes* category. For the ensuing three terms, however, I had some limited evidence for deciding whether a matter was *new* to the team or not. If it hadn't occurred in the first coded term, and wasn't something that the team recorded "not again!" for, or something that common sense said they always did at that time of the year or in those circumstances("Christmas do" and "card for baby" are examples), it could be coded *new*. This had an interesting result as far as seeing something of teamworking was concerned. Some new items were *followed up*. This required a new category for the classification I began to call "status", and every minute item was classified as *new, follow-up, maintenance* or *other*(usually uncodables).

Coding format

The coding for a minute item entry, in the end, looked like Appendix Table 3.5.1, and a term could contain between two and five pages of minutes item codes, depending on the team or the term.

```
                     Status  From  Disposition
                     !n:f:m:o!^:=:1:?!1:2:3:4                :5
                                        :a:      :b:c:    :d:      :
     C24653 kissing bush !x: : : !B: : : ! : :x: :    : : :    : :    :
```

Appendix Table 3.5.1 Sample minute item coding entry. The initial number represents the team(C), the date of the meeting(24.6.85) and the item number(3). Key: (Status analysis): n=new, f=follow-up, m=maintenance, o=other; (From/source analysis): ^=above(A)/below(B), ==outside, l=internal, ?=not sure; (Disposition analysis): 1=receive, 2=report, 3=air, 4a=refer, 4b=defer, 4c=seek information, 4d=decide/act, 5=other or unclear.

Once patterns were established by looking at the content and fate

analysis frequencies described in the main text, the minutes analyses
coding sheets were used to explore determinants of these patterns.
Sometimes in this process, miscodings were found. If these codings,
taken together, changed the distribution of the work categories enough
to affect the images, I changed them. If not, I left them alone. The
assumption here was that judgements made while the data was being
coded were apt to be more intrinsic to the teams' view of what they
were doing than a set of rules, however carefully drawn. That is, an
apparent miscode was probably there for a reason.
Future analyses

The minutes analysis proved productive, and spawned more
potential analyses than any other part of the study data. It would be
interesting to know, for instance, whether *new* items are likely to be
from *outside*, or what content analysis categories usually contain many
maintenance items. (The full discussion of a sample "week" in Spring
86(Appendix 4.1) contain such a tabulation.) These cross-analysis
explorations could not be done in the time available. Another
interesting analysis would be of "compendium" items. These were
agenda and minutes items like "programme", which contained many
different subjects. Because of coding policies, these were left as
single minutes items, distorting the content analyses of all teams
alike, for all teams used them.

```
Content analysis
    -summarise each minute
    -number each minute
    -list all minute items with their numbers
    -save the list on computer
    -classify all minutes items into content analysis categories
    -make notes at any oddities while classifying
    -break up any large categories into sub-categories(fifty is too
    many to understand)
    -save the re-classified list on computer
Fate analysis
    -take the classified minutes list and add the form for inserting
    status, provenance and disposition codes
    -count the items to make sure there's nothing lost
    -classify each item's status, provenance and disposition by
    rereading minutes
    -note any oddities at bottom of each page
    -transfer oddities to coding manual, and settle them whenever
    possible
    -add totals in each category and transfer to tally sheet
    -calculate percentages in second tally grid on tally sheet so that
    teams can be roughly compared
    -when all teams have been coded for a term, complete a summary
    sheet, using the percentages, not the raw totals

Appendix Table 3.5.2 Summary of minutes content and fate analysis
procedures.
```

Adult education programmes
(Section 3.6.3 refers)

The new teams' adult education programmes for 1984 were
described in 2.6. Information about the courses offered in the
Area Team sectors comes from the programmes that were published
each August(Appendix Table 3.6.1), and the statistics compiled for
the Department of Education and Science each November(Appendix
Table 3.6.2). The 1984 Department programme and statistics served
as a base -- the only teams in existence at that time were Centre,
ABE and Outreach. The 1986 programme, the first produced by the
Area Teams, was then analysed, using criteria that Mee and
Wiltshire obtained from studying 131 such programmes in 1974. The
results are reported in Section 6.4.2. Here, adjustments made to
include vocational work and comments on their innovation index are
made.

	1984	1985	1986
Centre	202	157	156
East	79	89	65
South	122	108	70
Totals	403	344	291

Appendix Table 3.6.1: Advertised classes, Centre, East and South.
Source: Department course prospectus.

	Centre	East	South	Total C E S	Total AE	Total Other(1)	Total Dept
1984/5	1717	1518	1221	4456	8631	2128	10759
1985/6	1790	1446	1693	4929	8019	2107	10126
1986/7	1762	1518	1363	4643	7147	2216	9363

Appendix Table 3.6.2: Autumn DES statistics, 1984-1986, student
numbers by area. (1) "Other" is summarised in Appendix Table
3.6.5.

Vocational courses

Mee and Wiltshire found that in the programmes they analysed,
so many different ways of building career related provision into
the programmes were used that the results were uncodable.
Vocational work was therefore omitted from their classification.

In comparing the these local programmes to Mee and Wiltshire's
typology, it was found impossible to leave the vocational out.
This created a number of problems for using Mee and Wiltshire's
classification to understand these programmes. First, the entire

modern language programme charged a vocational fee, in 1984, less
expensive than the LEA subsidised fee. Since the spirit of these
language courses was personal development, it was decided to
classify them simply as language courses. Second, because Mee and
Wiltshire omitted it, we do not know how they would have classified
courses which might be termed "vocational". The many typing
courses in area programmes in 1984 would seem, on the face of it,
only to be vocational when an examination was sought. Computer
courses abounded too, and could be termed either vocational or,
perhaps, home-enhancing as home computers came into use. All
typing and computing courses were classified as "other" cognitive
skills, so that the whole typology could be compared with and
without them. Third, many courses for qualifications were part of
other programmes -- examinations were part of the ABE programme in
centres, for instance. Mee and Wiltshire might have been forgiven
for wondering whether to code them "disadvantaged" or "vocational".
The sensible solution seemed to be to code examination courses
under "other" cognitive skills except when they were part of the
ABE programme, in which case they were coded as provision for the
disadvantaged. Finally, some vocational courses were part of a
graded programme. Centre offered O levels in dress and art, the
top end of their beginners/intermediate/advanced programmes in
these subjects. Were these vocational only because a qualification
was earned? It was decided that they were.
The innovation index

To create indicators for their innovation index, Mee and
Wiltshire used the presence of graded courses, daytime courses,
short courses and courses for the disadvantaged, set against the
major thrust of the programme -- courses about household economy
and maintenance of health and fitness.

The entire Department adult education programme in 1984,
before the teams began their work, attracted about 11,000
learners, according to statistics compiled for the Department of
Education and Science in November of that year(Appendix Table
3.6.2). Department-wide, over half of these paid a reduced fee,
indicating that they were pensioners, people on low incomes, or
basic education students, all of them candidates for Mee and

Wiltshire's "disadvantaged"(Appendix Table 3.6.3 shows fee
remission learners in team areas and Centre).

	1984	1985	1986
Centre	811(47%)	912(51%)	960(55%)
East	551(36%)	589(41%)	525(35%)
South	430(35%)	652(39%)	608(45%)

Appendix Table 3.6.3: Fee remission learners in Centre, East and
South programmes. Source: DES statistics.

Over half of all learners in the Department attended in the
daytime, sometimes with creche support(Appendix Table 3.6.4 shows
percentage of day and evening courses in team areas and Centre).
The advent of the economic fee system, in which learners pay what
the course costs, had created a programme of short courses, most
particularly at Centre.   These looked less expensive because they
lasted less time, though some attempts had been made to make them
distinctive in content if the fee could not be kept to LEA
subsidised dimensions.

	evening % 84/ 86	day % 84/ 86	Total courses 84/ 86
Centre*	24/ 24	76/ 76	202/156
East	55/ 54	44/ 46	79/ 65
South	60/ 55	40/ 44	122/ 70
Total classes			403/291

Appendix Table 3.6.4: Percentage distribution of classes across day
and evening, Centre, East and South, 1984 and 1986. Source:
Department prospectuses. *Includes Saturday single day courses.

For Mee and Wiltshire, "graded courses" excludes courses
advertised 'First Year', 'Beginners', 'Introductory' which were not
the beginning of a graded series.(1978, 46) It is therefore
difficult to use their classification here, except to observe that,
if both an "introductory" and "advanced" course in the same subject
was advertised in the same centre, some progression was implied.
Many adult education sites in the study displayed courses of this
type.
    Two of this study's teams organized provision only for
learners Mee and Wiltshire would have considered among the

disadvantaged -- native speaking literacy and numeracy students.
The programme analysis could not be done for them, except insofar
as their groups were advertised as part of the adult education
programmes in Area Team areas. Outreach and ABE advertised their
courses separately too in programme publicity, and no Outreach
group appeared as part of area team provision during the years this
study covers. They must be excluded from this analysis, though
their work was considered by Mee and Wilshire as "development" work
with the disadvantaged, with the exception of the ABE groups in
programmes mentioned above.

The English for Speakers of other Languages' programme,
attracting, over a year, at least 2000 learners, was not a part of
area programmes during the study year. ESOL statistics do not
appear accurately in the DES statistics either, for their intake,
like ABE and Outreach's, continued all year, making the 1000-2000
learners reported in the DES sample weeks(Appendix Table 3.6.5)
merely a fraction of the whole. Inclusion of statistics for ESOL
and ABE would raise the number of reduced fee learners cited above,
thus increasing the number of "disadvantaged" learners the
Department served.

Mee and Wiltshire's innovation index was unusable for this
analysis. This is a consequence, I think, of using 1974 ideas to
understand adult education programmes ten years later, when many
factors considered innovative were built into adult education
programmes. Nevertheless, the courses offered in geographical
areas later to be those of Area Teams were analysed by Mee and
Wiltshire's curriculum categories to explore what differences and
similarities existed among the teams which advertised classes.

1984/5	West Indian Community Education	13
	Social Remedial	173
	English as a Second Language	1918
	Supplementary Schools Course	24
	Total	2128

1985/6:	West Indian Community Education	34
	English as a Second Language	1137
	McMillan	397
	Fairfax Music	201
	Social Remedial	213
	Parkfield ABE	112
	Workshop Randall Well ABE	13
	Total	2107

1986/7:	West Indian Community Education	27
	English as a Second Language	1176
	McMillan	347
	Fairfax Music	201
	Social Remedial	91
	Parkfield ABE	94
	Workshop Randall Well ABE	9
	Bolton Royd Literacy	98
	Openings ESL	173
	Total	2216

Appendix Table 3.6.5: Components of "other" budget, 1984-86.

This study's programme analysis

The cut programmes were a less just way of examining the products of teamworking than had been planned. Mee and Wiltshire's categories also were less useful in the mid-Eighties than they had been in the Seventies. Nevertheless, a series of comparisons were done from Department prospectuses. Each course in 1984 was classified into Mee and Wiltshire's categories with the changes described above, and distributions were achieved for the Area Teams and for Centre. This allowed statements about changes in the adult education curriculum to be made, and gave independent information about how the Area Teams dealt with the cuts.

Minutes analysis sample week
(Section 4.2 refers)

The first week back after the Easter break in the second Spring term of the study shows all teams working in a typical way. By looking closely at what happened then, we can assess what aspects of team working the minutes analysis categories may represent. The information on which this discussion is based is summarised in Table Appendix 4.1.1.

The dates show that Outreach's first meeting was a week earlier than ABE, Centre and South. Outreach meetings generally started earlier and ended later in each term. East met for the first time one week later than ABE, Centre and South. ABE met on a Monday morning, as did Outreach. Centre and East met on Thursday afternoons, on alternate weeks. South met on Tuesday afternoons. This had implications for the travel of information among the teams. Matters discussed at ABE or Outreach could be raised at the Area Teams, which met later in the week. East and South could expect each other's minutes in the week after the meeting they recorded.

During this first week of term, then, Centre was *planning* its open day, ABE its visiting writer grant with Yorkshire Arts, Outreach a new council estate group. South and East were planning how to bid for money for classes for unemployed people from the Department of the Environment. All these items were *follow-up*, that is, they were continuations of work the teams had already begun. The exception was South, who considered Department of the Environment money for the first time. All these matters were *internal* except the South money, which was information received from *outside*.

In *facilities*, Centre was once again sorting out problems with the computers, receiving a report from *outside* about a *maintenance* item. ABE was drawing implications for two of its members' office being out of commission with dry rot, and receiving a report about changes to the Outreach office. Outreach was arranging for the materials van to attend its classes -- the van supervisor would have attended the Outreach meeting for this item, a *maintenance* matter from *outside* Outreach. South was trying to get signs and lights to make the main adult education centre more accessible, a *maintenance* item

brought up by a team member.   The minute read

> "signs - T25 to follow up - lights*.   Appointment to
> replace T30."

This is an example of taking the team's minute item, rather than
separating unlike items because they did not fit the categories.   The
staff item should logically have gone in another category; presumably
the team minuted them together because one person reported all three.
It results in a team member being classified as *facilities*.

The ABE member who also attended East reported that s/he would be
working from home because of the dry rot, the only *new facilities*
item.   This item illustrates the travel of information across teams,
the consequences of overlapping membership, and, to an extent, the
frequency of *facilities* items in East -- no *facilities* were discussed
at East's first meeting. Also illustrated is the convention of coding
items in a category reflecting their nature if at all possible.   This
could have. been termed a *classes* entry, as the ABE/East member was
reporting something decided elsewhere.   The consequence of such a code
would have been to obscure the content of the item in favour of the
process used.

Centre picked up a *procedures* item from East's minutes --

> "Special meeting Monday, 21.4.86, 4 pm of Centre and
> representatives from East to discuss courses that Centre
> and East might offer as part of local authority bid for
> money from 1986/7 Urban Aid Programme."

The matter the team minuted, and presumably discussed, was that the
meeting was to be held, not what it was about, so the item was coded
under *procedures*.   It was a *follow-up* item because East had discussed
this money before, and from *above*, because Centre formed part of the
area East managed.

ABE tried again to change its meeting time.   Note that the second
meeting of the term contained the first procedural item -- ABE didn't
as a rule discuss *procedures* as much as other teams.   Outreach
discussed the Manpower Services Commission census -- a *maintenance*
item from *above*, as MSC funded Outreach.   That first week, South
received *new* information from *above* that arrangements for mother
tongue ESOL was to be administered in team areas rather than centrally
by South -- it wrote a memo to the Head of Department querying this

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arrangement. East discussed getting a representative from the adult
education working group to its meetings; an East member already
attended, but the arrangement was informal. They had not previously
discussed this, though they had talked about membership many times, so
the item was technically *new* and was *internal.*

Staff/ing for Centre in that week was arranging parttime clerical
hours during termtime. ABE discussed what the MSC fieldworkers were
going to do that week. Outreach tried to restaff classes. All three
of these items were *internal,* and about maintaining the programme.
South sent out a letter to a *new internal* item -- the minute reads

> "Letter to teachers - 04 to draft - get in touch with all
> teachers who have worked in the area over the last two
> years. Memo to [School admin officer] to put advert in
> for teachers. Questionnaire for all students."

Such a minute item presents coding problems. The team recorded the
letter as the major item, but in the item was an advertising point and
a student questionnaire to monitor student learning requirements. The
eventual coding was as two minute items, one about parttime staff, one
about students, trying to reflect the content of the item in its
coding.

East received a report on the "area handbook", which was
originally called the "staff handbook". At this meeting, the team was
asked to consider what to put in the handbook about "who is part of
East" and "what roles are". Though East discussed many matters under
this agenda item during the year, the intention of the exercise
remained the same, to inform staff working in East's area about the
team, so the handbook remained in *staff/ing.* This was *follow-up* to a
new item which lasted almost the whole year.

The major categories *planning, facilities, procedures* and
staff/ing were the bulk of team work. By this time in the year, most
were not *new* but *follow-up* or *maintenance.* The teams understood what
they were doing about them. Aside from the dry rot, new matters for
new action were four -- South and the Department of the Environment
money, South and Mother Tongue ESOL administration, South and parttime
staff training and East with its matter of formal representation to
itself from the Department-wide Adult Education Working group, a
structure founded earlier in the year in parallel to the existing

working groups for ESOL and ABE(the ABE Team in this study was the working group for ABE). The major categories seem to be more or less understood by the teams at this point in the year, with only South having to change gears, as it were, and deal with the unexpected.

Many of these matters, too, were *internal*. Team members raised them as part of the ongoing process of dealing with the work. The exception is *procedures*, in which items from above clustered, suggesting that line management's links with the teams were often procedural.

Outside, too, was rare in these major categories -- matters from *outside*, except for South and the Department of the Environment, were regular matters, not surprises. The feeling in the major categories is one of control of the work.

In *classes/reports*, Centre decided not to use a teacher who had resigned the previous year, ABE amended its programme, mostly transferring teachers to where they were needed, and Outreach discussed which groups were established enough to "hand over" to ABE to administer. South confirmed arrangements to enrol two ongoing groups at a centre. East received a report on how pensioners' classes were going. These were all matters of report, though Centre did validate the team member decision about not using the teacher who had retired. Like the major categories, we have already discussed, *classes/reports* shows *maintenance, follow-up* and *internal* matters, dealt with as a matter of course. Again, an atmosphere of regularity.

It is in the other minor categories that we see *new* matters and those from *outside*.

External events during those two weeks were, for Centre, an external questionnaire; for ABE, following up a report of the loss of access for local learners to Northern College; for Outreach, deciding whether a team member should attend the education advice AGM. Both South and East received notification of a National Institute for Adult Education meeting locally. All these items were *new* and arose from *outside* the teams, though in East and ABE, they were brought up by individual members, so classified as "internal".

Training for Centre at its second meeting was receiving a letter from South about consulting teachers about whether they wanted to be trained to work informally. The minute read

"Memo from South. Draft of letter to be sent out to
Adult Education teachers to update records and sound
out support and interest for/in community
work/training. We APPROVE."

ABE planned training for its MSC fieldworkers, a regular *internal*
matter. Outreach members recently returned from an *outside* racism
awareness recruitment and selection course tried to apply what they
had learned to their work. South discussed training teachers for
informal work and sent out the letter to teams that Centre responded
to the following week. East arranged for some of its potential GCSE
staff and some team members to attend a training for GCSE work, an
outside invitation. These latter three items were all *new*.
Publicity, for Centre, did not appear as an independent minutes item
in Spring 86 -- the photos were from Winter, when a photographer went
round the classes taking pictures for later publicity. ABE too
discussed publicity later in the term when they agreed the text of the
publicity entries in the adult education programme advertising.
Outreach followed up on its plans for visiting local galas during the
summer. South received information about radio advertising for that
term and arranged for members to take round leaflets. Though South
members had presumably so publicised before, this was technically *new*.
 East discussed problems with publicity which had incomplete
information, arrangements for getting programme information into the
September publicity brochure and an internal update for East area on
changes. There is no record in minutes of East discussing this
before; it was from *above* them in the college.
     Centre *miscellaneous* contained a reference to this research, a
follow-up from *outside*. ABE, a week later, decided what to do about
investigating money missing from a handbag at Centre, another *new*
matter from *outside*. Outreach's first *miscellaneous* item was the
adult education budget cuts at its ninth meeting of the term(the other
teams discussed them under other categories -- to Outreach, externally
funded, the cuts were not so central). South's first *miscellaneous* of
the term was a response to a letter from another area team not
included in the study; the content of the letter was not recorded, the
usual practice when a matter was confidential. Finally, East
considered what had happened at School Board with regard to fees and

income. The matters were deferred until the parttime salaries budget
was known. They had received School Board reports before, and
discussed fee income under many guises -- the item was coded
maintenance and from *above.*

This apparent miscode, a School Board report in *miscellaneous*, is
an indication of a difference in the way teams were seeing things. In
the established team analyses(Centre, ABE and Outreach), School Boards
were coded in *miscellaneous*, Department Boards in *procedures.* This
usually happened when matters were not recorded by their content, but
as compendia under one minute item labelled "School Board" or
"Department Board". From Spring 86 in the new team codings, it became
clear that this had become inappropriate for the Area Teams, who began
to have regular reports from these bodies, for example, East started
calling the Department and School Board items "reports" instead of
identifying the issues they raised as had been the practice
heretofore.

In the *students* category, all *new* to the meeting records, ABE
considered ways to link local students with the National Students
Association for ABE students, and Outreach did so somewhat later in
the term. South circulated a questionnaire on learning requirements
to its existing students as we have seen. Centre arranged its
recognition of a student who had recently died. East received and
supported the Centre student association's petition regarding
potential adult education cuts.

	Centre	ABE	Outreach	South	East
planning	f i C17461 open day refer	f i A14463 Yorkshire Arts defer	f i 07464 [estate name] report	n o S15461 DOE money defer	f o E24461 DOE money act
facilities	m o C17462 computers report	n i A14462 offices seek	m o 07461 van booking act	m i S15465 signs/ lights staff defer/act	n i E85610 06709 office receive
procedures	f A C17469 E minutes report	n i A214611 meeting times act	m A 07466 MSC census report	n A S15462 MT/ESL admin rep/refer	n i E24463 AE rep to E act
staff/ing	m i C17468 clerk hours act	m i A14468 field-workers act	m i 0214612 staff leaving report	n i S15466 parttime staff defer/act	f i E24466 area handbook act
classes	m i C17467 vegetarian staff act	n i A14461 programme changes report	f i 07463 ABE/O classes defer	m i S15464 enrol- ment report	f i E24467 OAP classes report
external events	n o C17464 AG ques- tionnaire defer	f i A14464 Northern College act	n o 07462 advice AGM act	n o S154617 NIACE meeting act	n i E24469 NIACE report/air
training	n o C1569 community teachers act	m i A144613 fieldwkr training unclear	f o 07467 racism followup unclear	n i S294612 training teachers act	n o E5662 GCSE training act
publicity	n o C27261 photos act	m A A306615 publicity unclear	n i 0144612 publicity galas seek	n ? S15463 adver- tising act	n A E24464 adver- tising act
miscell.	f o C174612 team research report	n o A21464 robbery act	n A 0236613 cuts report	n o S3669 V team letter report	m A E24462 School Bd report defer
students	n i C174614 student obituary act/act	n o A14469 National Students Asso'n report	n o 0236613 National Students Asso'n report	n i S15467 student ques- tionnaire act	n B E244610 BRASS petition act

Appendix Table 4.1.1: Content analysis categories with examples from each team, status, source and dispositional classification added. Convention for selection: first item in each category, Spring 86. If item not available, Winter. Underlinings indicate that the item did not occur at the first meeting of the term for that team. Item numbers are team(C,A,O,S,E), day, month, year(last digit) and item number for that meeting. Status analysis codes entered at top left of each minutes item, source at top right, disposition at bottom. Key: (Status analysis): n=new, f=follow-up, m=maintenance, o=other; (From/source analysis): ^=above(A)/below(B), ==outside, I=internal, ?=not sure; (Disposition analysis): 1=receive, 2=report, 3=air, 4a=refer, 4b=defer, 4c=seek information, 4d=decide/act, 5=other or unclear.

	Centre	ABE	Outreach	South	East	
new	4	3	4	8	6	25(50%)
followup	3	2	3	-	3	11(22%)
maintenance	3	5	3	2	1	14(28%)
other	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	10	10	10	10	10	50(100%)

Appendix Table 4.1.2: Minutes items in each status category, sample week only.

	Centre	ABE	Outreach	South	East	
A/B	1	1	2	1	3	8(16%)
outside	5	2	4	3	2	16(32%)
internal	4	7	4	5	5	25(50%)
unclear	-	-	-	1	-	1(2%)
Total	10	10	10	10	10	50(100%)

Appendix Table 4.1.3: Minutes items in each source category, sample week only.

By each category

	Centre	ABE	Outreach	South	East	
receive	-	-	-	-	1	1(2%)
report	3	2	5	3	2	15(27%)
air	-	-	-	-	1	1(2%)
refer	1	-	-	1	-	2(4%)
defer	1	1	1	3	1	7(14%)
seek	-	1	1	-	-	2(4%)
act	6	4	2	6	6	24(44%)
unclear	-	2	1	-	-	3(6%)
Total(2)	11	10	10	13	11	55(102%)

By collapsed category

	Centre	ABE	Outreach	South	East	
receive) report) air)	3	2	5	3	4	17(31%)
refer) defer) seek)	2	2	2	4	1	11(20%)
act) unclear)	6	6	3	6	6	27(49%)
Total(2)	11	10	10	13	11	55(100%)

Appendix Table 4.1.4: Minutes items in each dispositional category, sample week only. (2) Centre and East each had one double code, South had three, so the total is 55, not 50.

APPENDIX 4.2

Statistical support for minutes analysis
(Sections 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 refer)

Conventions:
  Key: * = significance <.01; ** significance <.05.
  The teams are C(Centre), A(ABE), O(Outreach), S(South), E(East).
  Abbreviations, if used, are included with category definitions at
    the beginning of each section.
  Chi squares are presented with scores contributing to significant
    results inserted. When there are no significant results, the
    highest score for each column and row is inserted. A note is
    included with each score indicating whether the departure from
    the estimated totals is above them or below them.
  Pearson correlations are presented in grids for easy reading of
    term and team pairs.
  Format of each analysis is coding definitions, raw data for term
    with comparisons, then raw data for team with comparisons.

Contents

4.2.1 Number of meetings and minutes items

	Centre	ABE	Outreach	South	East	Totals
Term 2 – Spring 1985						
meetings	9	10	12	8	4	43
minute items	98	146	93	71	28	436
items/meeting	11	15	8	9	7	10
Term 3 – Autumn 1985						
meetings	13	10	15	5	3	46
minute items	152	145	115	63	33	508
items/meeting	8	15	8	13	11	11
Term 4 – Winter 1986						
meetings	7	10	7	3	4	31
minute items	92	108	62	37	50	349
items/meeting	13	9	9	12	13	11
Term 5 – Spring 1986						
meetings	5	12	12	7	7	43
minute items	79	168	141	95	75	558
items/meeting	16	14	12	14	11	13
All terms						
meetings	34	42	46	23	18	163
minute items	421	567	411	266	186	1851
items/meeting	12	14	9	12	10	11

Appendix Table 4.2.1.1 Frequencies of minutes and minutes items, all teams, all terms.

4.2.2 Content analysis

Planning(pl) is investigation and development, and minute items go
   to other categories once this is done. It includes, typically,
   projects that the team takes on as part of its work, or invents
   for itself. Planning items "feel" internal. Refunding or
   seeking funds goes into planning unless its about facilities.
   For Area Teams in Spring 85, response to budget cuts went into
   planning because the Teams tried to organize themselves in this
   situation. Planning was the category into which new information
   usually went if a team was intending to do something about it.
Facilities(f) includes alterations, buildings, equipment,
   rooms/room use, furniture and resources to help people learn.
   It can include organizing to provide facilities, rules made
   about facilities and some items that might look like scheduling,
   especially if the minute item is more about the facility than
   about these things.
Procedures(pr) is about machinery for getting things done. It can
   be someone else's machinery(like the MSC's or the DES's) or
   machinery that the team invents for itself. Things to do with
   teamworking go here, as when a team works out its relationship
   to one of the Area Teams.
Staffing and staff(sf) is to do with hiring, problems, firing and
   giving leaving presents and with organizing team members' own
   time. For ABE and Outreach, it includes volunteers and MSC
   workers. Union activities go here.
Reports(r) contrasts with planning. It includes the reports teams
   receive about how things are going, closures, problems, etc.,
   especially when they are about groups rather than about one of
   the above categories. The Area Teams devised ways to used
   reports items to keep themselves in touch with what they saw as
   their work.
External events(e) are not intrinsically part of a team's activity
   though the team may do work on them. They often come from
   outside. What is external to one team may be planning to
   another, e.g. Centre open day is "external" to ABE and Outreach.
   An external event may become part of a team's work, as "DoE"
   money did, and it got transferred to planning.
Training(t) includes organizing events to train people within the
   team's ambit, accommodating teaching practice/placements or even
   team members going on courses.
Publicity(pu) includes matters taken up to get the provision known.
   It includes local leafletting, exhibitions, the prospectus,
   letting people know about other people's courses etc. Matters
   like open days or Lord Mayor's visits are, strictly speaking,
   publicity, but are generally included under planning because
   that was the way the teams seemed to see it. The exception is
   Outreach's exhibition, which was always called publicity in
   meetings.
Students(st) is a category used whenever individual learners or
   student associations are discussed in meetings. If a student
   brings a matter to the team's attention, it gets classified
   under the nature of the matter, not where it came from.
Miscellaneous(m) includes unclear items, oddities, a few items that
   should be coded under more than one of the above categories,
   and, matters outside the team's area of responsibility with
   which the team is keeping itself in touch, like "economic
   policy" or "fees" or "Board of Governors". For Area Teams,
   whose responsibilities as they saw them were likely to include
   matters like these, miscellaneous was used less often for this
   purpose.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	Total
planning	110	108	70	124	412
facilities	75	110	63	82	330
procedures	51	70	71	86	278
staff/ing	62	74	46	48	230
reports	24	42	40	51	157
external events	29	35	23	70	157
training	36	22	12	35	105
publicity	25	17	10	24	76
miscella- neous	16	19	10	22	67
students	8	11	4	16	39
Total	436	508	349	558	1851

Appendix Table 4.2.2.1 Raw frequencies of minutes items by content and term.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl					0.66
f		0.82 high			1.40
pr			1.89 high		2.74
sf				1.18 low	1.85
r			1.05 high		2.15
e				1.95 high	3.06
t	1.18 high				2.44
pumst					1.29
chi	4.23	1.99	5.39	3.96	

Appendix Table 4.2.2.2 Term differences by content analysis category. All terms, all terms totals compared. Method: chi square. Key: abbreviations as content category list above; "pumst" is *publicity*, *miscellaneous* and *students* combined to chi square rules(see note to Appendix Table 4.2.5.7).

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86
Spring 85	-------	.9278*	.8270*	.8660*
Autumn		-------	.928*	.862*
Winter			-------	.884*
Spring 86				-------

Appendix Table 4.2.2.3 Similar term pairs by content analysis category. Method: Pearson.

	C	A	O	S	E	total
planning	65	140	88	79	40	412
facilities	157	56	65	40	12	330
procedures	43	46	73	60	56	278
staff/ing	61	84	44	18	23	230
reports	26	40	44	28	19	157
external events	14	94	16	15	18	157
training	15	55	22	9	4	105
publicity	6	10	46	10	4	76
miscella- neous	21	26	6	6	8	67
students	13	16	7	1	2	39
Total	421	567	411	266	186	1851

Appendix Table 4.2.2.4 Raw frequencies by content and team.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
pl						4.90
f	21.25 high	3.55 low			7.26 low	32.72*
pr		3.18 low		3.78 high	15.16 high	24.16*
sf						3.62
r						2.30
ee	3.13 low	7.73 high	2.48 low			14.47**
t						6.77
pumst			2.08 high		2.19 low	3.88
chi	29.78*	18.32*	6.16	12.86	25.69*	

Appendix Table 4.2.2.5 Team differences by content analysis category.
Method: chi square. Key: abbreviations as content category list
above; "pumst" is *publicity*, *miscellaneous* and *students* combined to
chi square rules(see note to Appendix Table 4.2.5.7).

	C	A	O	S	E
C	———	.316	.575	.494	.209
A		———	.484	.630	.510
O			———	.913*	.723**
S				———	.844*
E					———

Appendix Table 4.2.2.6 Similar team pairs by content analysis
category. Method: Pearson.

CENTRE	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	total
pl	24	15	11	15	65
f	25	65	38	29	157
pr	7	15	15	6	43
sf	14	27	15	5	61
r	6	10	5	5	26
ee	3	3	1	7	14
t	7	4	0	4	15
pu	5	0	1	0	6
m	5	8	2	6	21
st	2	5	4	2	13
total	98	152	92	79	421

ABE	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	total
pl	27	34	31	48	140
f	15	17	6	18	56
pr	9	9	11	17	46
sf	27	23	18	16	84
r	7	10	13	10	40
ee	22	26	13	33	94
t	23	14	10	8	55
pu	6	2	1	1	10
m	5	6	5	10	26
st	5	4	0	7	16
total	146	145	108	168	567

OUT	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	total
pl	17	34	13	24	88
f	23	13	11	18	65
pr	13	21	14	25	73
sf	13	14	9	8	44
r	9	10	6	19	44
ee	3	2	2	9	16
t	5	4	1	12	22
pu	7	14	5	20	46
m	2	2	1	1	6
st	1	1	0	5	7
total	93	115	62	141	411

SOUTH	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	total
pl	32	18	7	22	79
f	12	13	3	12	40
pr	11	15	12	22	60
sf	5	4	1	8	18
r	2	8	9	9	28
ee	1	2	3	9	15
t	1	0	0	8	9
pu	5	1	2	2	10
m	2	2	0	2	6
st	0	0	0	1	1
total	71	63	37	95	266

EAST	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	total
pl	10	7	8	15	40
f	0	2	5	5	12
pr	11	10	19	16	56
sf	3	6	3	11	23
r	0	4	7	8	19
ee	0	2	4	12	18
t	0	0	1	3	4
pu	2	0	1	1	4
m	2	1	2	3	8
st	0	1	0	1	2
total	28	33	50	75	186

Appendix Table 4.2.2.7 Raw frequencies by content, team and term.

CENTRE	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl		6.90 low	4.77 low		12.37*
f	3.31 high	34.87 high	30.91 high	20.00 high	89.09*
pr	4.13 low			3.67 low	9.68*
sf				2.99 low	6.77
r			1.09 low		2.72
ee	3.46 low	4.99 low	6.45 low		14.92*
t			5.67 low		7.75
pumst	.59 high				1.27
chi	13.04	53.05*	50.72*	27.77*	

ABE	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl			1.87 high		4.36
f	3.20 low		8.45 low	2.84 low	16.58*
pr	5.22 low	5.17 low			13.54*
sf	2.96 high				6.04
r	1.60 low				4.14
ee	5.11 high	10.53 high		14.69 high	31.82*
t	17.91 high	2.80 high	2.27 high		23.12*
pumst			1.86 low		2.31
chi	36.78*	22.14*	20.43*	22.57*	

OUT	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl		2.40 high			4.42
f	2.67 high	2.39 low			6.50
pr			3.81 high		5.07
sf				3.67 low	4.22
r				2.94 high	3.28
ee	3.26 low	5.36 low	3.26 low		12.39*
t			2.91 low		5.19
pumst		2.49 high		7.53 high	10.12**
chi	7.18	14.20**	10.57	19.24*	

SOUTH	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl	23.38 high				25.46*
f			5.30 low		7.21
pr		4.72 high	20.19 high	4.41 high	29.33*
sf		3.07 low	7.61 low		14.30**
r	3.78 low		29.59 high		35.39*
ee	5.90 low	3.38 low			9.41
t	3.21 low	5.67 low	5.67 low		15.88**
pumst				2.12 low	5.42
chi	38.66*	21.95*	70.87*	10.94	

EAST	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl	8.13 high				10.17**
f	17.83 low	7.77 low	3.44 low	6.99 low	36.02*
pr	39.21 high	15.55 high	35.16 high	2.65 high	92.58*
sf			3.32 low		6.63
r	8.48 low		3.59 high		14.20*
ee	8.48 low			6.66 high	15.86*
t	5.67 low	5.67 low			14.22*
pumst	2.02 low				5.98
chi	90.06*	35.41*	51.17*	19.01*	

Appendix Table 4.2.2.8 Content category patterns which characterise each team's work definition over the year. Method: chi square to the all teams, all terms totals. Key: as Appendix Table 4.2.2.2.

CENTRE	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl	5.31 high	2.01 low			8.92**
f	3.72 low				4.97
pr			3.63 high		5.24
sf				4.60 low	5.57
r					0.12
ee				9.21 high	11.29**
t	3.60 high		3.56 low		8.04
pumst					1.31
chi	14.36**	4.48	10.61	15.98**	

ABE	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl					2.88
f					2.32
pr		.45 low	.53 high		1.94
sf					3.11
r			3.52 high		4.42
ee					2.06
t	3.78 high			2.51 low	6.31
pumst					2.12
chi	7.94	1.13	9.51	6.58	

OUT	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl		3.11 high			4.47
f	5.03 high				7.14
pr			1.31 high		2.13
sf				2.37 low	4.92
r					1.29
ee				1.59 high	3.01
t			2.61 low		5.13
pumst			1.52 low		3.60
chi	8.41	6.85	7.26	9.19	

SOUTH	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl	7.96 high		3.91 low		13.35*
f			3.19 low		5.89
pr			4.32 high		6.62
sf			2.44 low		2.88
r	5.65 low		18.09 high		24.29*
ee	3.17 low			2.61 high	7.94**
t		3.38 low	3.38 low	7.50 high	15.42*
pumst					2.65
chi	22.26*	7.55	36.57*	12.66	

EAST	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
pl	9.39 high				10.91**
f	6.45 low				8.43**
pr	2.80 high		2.07 high	2.50 low	7.43
sf		2.74 high	3.28 low		6.66
r	10.22 low				11.99*
ee	9.68 low			4.13 high	15.45*
t	2.15 low	2.15 low			5.90
pumst	6.07 high				6.76
chi	46.97*	6.91	10.72	8.94	

Appendix Table 4.2.2.9 Content category patterns which show variation in each team's definition of its work. Method: chi square, each team to its own all terms totals. Key: as Appendix Table 4.2.2.2.

CENTRE	Spring 85	Autumn	Winter	Spring 86
Spring 85	-------	.7774	.7787	.8461**
Autumn		-------	.9753*	.8841*
Winter			-------	.8633*
Spring 86				-------

ABE	Spring 85	Autumn	Winter	Spring 86
Spring 85	-------	.8963**	.7545	.6575
Autumn		-------	.8725**	.9022**
Winter			-------	.8312**
Spring 86				-------

OUTREACH	Spring 85	Autumn	Winter	Spring 86
Spring 85	-------	.7243	.8805**	.6491
Autumn		-------	.8823**	.7931
Winter			-------	.7742
Spring 86				-------

SOUTH	Spring 85	Autumn	Winter	Spring 86
Spring 85	-------	.8438**	.4494	.7697
Autumn		-------	.7645	.9011**
Winter			-------	.7798
Spring 86				-------

EAST	Spring 85	Autumn	Winter	Spring 86
Spring 85	-------	.8429**	.7758	.7266
Autumn		-------	.8694**	.8882**
Winter			-------	.7722
Spring 86				-------

Appendix Table 4.2.2.10 Similar term pairs by content category and by team. Method: Pearson.

4.2.3 The source analysis

Above means the item comes from managers with more authority than
the team's.
Below means the item comes from those within the team's area of
responsibility.
Outside means from people or organizations not members of the team.
It includes the rest of the college with the exception of the
managers classified in "above".
Internal - a team member has raised it; it is not clearly from one
of the other sources.
Other means the source is unclear.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	Total
above	39	49	41	50	179
below	25	18	10	8	61
outside	129	108	94	181	512
internal	226	325	198	311	1060
other	17	8	6	8	39
Total	436	508	349	558	1851

Appendix Table 4.2.3.1 Raw frequencies by source and term.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
above/below					0.95
outside		1.48 low		0.82 high	2.46
internal/					
other					0.96
chi	0.58	2.13	0.24	1.42	

Appendix Table 4.2.3.2 Term differences by source. Method: chi
square.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86
Spring 85	-------	.9718*	.992*	.998*
Autumn		-------	.988*	.963*
Winter			-------	.991*
Spring 86				-------

Appendix Table 4.2.3.3 Similar term pairs by source. Method: Pearson.

	C	A	O	S	E	total
above	40	33	43	32	31	179
below	31	22	1	3	4	61
outside	101	168	102	81	60	512
internal	233	338	259	142	88	1060
other	16	6	6	8	3	39
total	421	567	411	266	186	1851

Appendix Table 4.2.3.4 Raw frequencies by source and team.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
above/ below	1.17 high	.82 low			2.64 high	5.03
outside				.28 high		1.96
internal /other			.44 high			2.46
chi	1.66	0.99	1.12	0.43	5.24	

Appendix Table 4.2.3.5 Team differences by source. Method: chi square.

	C	A	O	S	E
C	———	.993*	.994*	.976*	.938*
A		———	.987*	.987*	.956
O			———	.985*	.954*
S				———	.987*
E					———

Appendix Table 4.2.3.6 Similar team pairs by source. Method: Pearson.

4.2.4 The status analysis

New items are those which haven't been dealt with before.
Follow-up items are those in which the team works on new items.
Maintenance items are those which occur regularly.
Other items are those whose status is not clear.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	Totals
new	-	157	135	181	473
follow-up	-	134	116	208	458
maintenance	-	213	97	168	478
other	-	4	1	1	6
Totals	-	508	349	558	1415

Appendix Table 4.2.4.1 Raw frequencies by status and term, three terms
only.

	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
new		0.83 high		1.05
follow-up	1.11 low		0.74 high	1.88
maint/				
other		2.12 high 1.10 low		3.66
chi	3.42	1.95	1.22	

Appendix Table 4.2.4.2 Term differences by status, Spring 85
discounted. Method: chi square.

	Spring 85	Autumn	Winter	Spring 86
Spring 85	-------	-	-	-
Autumn		--------	.828	.852
Winter			-------	.965
Spring 86				-------

Appendix Table 4.2.4.3 Similar term pairs by status, Spring 85
discounted. Method: Pearson.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	Totals
new	233	157	135	181	706
follow-up	166	134	116	208	624
maintenance	33	213	97	168	511
other	4	4	1	1	10
Totals	436	508	349	558	1851

Appendix Table 4.2.4.4 Raw frequencies by status and term, all four terms.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
new	6.14 high				8.37
follow-up					2.54
maint/ other	13.73 low	7.54 high			21.44*
chi	20.43*	10.51*	.01	1.39	

Appendix Table 4.2.4.5 Term differences by status, Spring 85 included. Method: chi square.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86
Spring 85	-------	.364	.818**	.701
Autumn		-------	.828**	.852**
Winter			-------	.965*
Spring 86				-------

Appendix Table 4.2.4.6 Similar term pairs by status, Spring 85 included. Method: Pearson.

	C	A	O	S	E	
new	158	204	143	117	84	706
follow-up	94	223	134	100	73	624
mainte- nance	164	139	133	46	29	511
other	5	1	1	3	0	10
total	421	567	411	266	186	1851

Appendix Table 4.2.4.7 Raw frequencies by status and team.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
new						2.61
follow-up						6.17
maint/ other	5.11 high			3.36 low	5.60 low	15.20*
chi	8.97**	1.48	1.04	4.70	7.80**	

Appendix Table 4.2.4.8 Team differences by status and team, all four terms. Method: chi square.

	C	A	O	S	E
C	-------	.732**	.912*	.645**	.613
A		-------	.941*	.947*	.941*
O			-------	.840*	.821*
S				-------	.999*
E					-------

Appendix Table 4.2.4.9 Similar team pairs by status. Method: Pearson.

4.2.5 The disposition analysis

Receive(rec) means that it's there.
Report(rpt) means that it's information; no decision is necessary.
Air means the team talked about it but didn't do anything.
Refer(ref) means the team sent it somewhere else.
Defer(def) means the team postponed it.
Seek information(seek) means the team undertook to find out more.
Decide(act) means that the team worked out what to do about it.
Unclear(uncl) means that no disposition could be deduced from the
minute.

	Spr85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	Total
rec	12	5	3	15	35
rpt	168	177	111	240	696
air	6	16	13	16	51
ref	27	42	17	38	124
def	37	45	21	45	148
seek	32	30	22	13	97
act	176	199	184	224	783
uncl	24	24	8	15	71
Total	482	538	379	606	2005

Appendix Table 4.2.5.1 Raw frequencies by disposition and term.

	Spr 85	Autumn	Winter	Spr 86	chi
rec/rpt/air				.84 low	1.74
ref/def/seek	.12 low	.61 high			1.45
act/unclear			1.53 high		1.82
chi	0.16	0.76	2.66	1.43	

Appendix Table 4.2.5.2 Term differences by disposition. Method: chi
square.

	Spring 85	Autumn	Winter	Spring 86
Spring 85	-------	.995*	.958*	.989*
Autumn		------	.969*	.987*
Winter			------	.934*
Spring 86				------

Appendix Table 4.2.5.3 Similar term pairs by disposition. Method:
Pearson.

	C	A	O	S	E	total
rec	10	4	4	6	11	35
rpt	100	193	225	112	66	696
air	5	12	12	11	11	51
ref	59	37	12	12	4	124
def	26	64	14	24	20	148
seek	45	22	16	6	8	97
act	207	229	113	145	89	783
uncl	12	38	16	4	1	71
total	464	599	412	320	210	2005

Appendix Table 4.2.5.4 Raw frequencies by disposition and team.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
rpt	5.18 low		9.74 high			15.62*
rfdfsk	5.02 high		3.66 low			10.99**
act/uncl						3.95
chi	10.70*	0.77	16.39*	1.93	0.76	

Appendix Table 4.2.5.5 Team differences by collapsed disposition categories and team. Method: chi square.

	C	A	O	S	E
C	------	.907*	.644	.921*	.908*
A		------	.860*	.987*	.970*
O			------	.846*	.820*
S				------	.994*
E					------

Appendix Table 4.2.5.6 Similar team pairs by disposition categories. Method: Pearson.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
rec					6.99 high	8.10
rpt	4.99 low		11.41 high			16.89*
air					2.85 high	4.18
ref	6.90 high				2.96 low	12.55**
def						4.68
seek	4.88 high			1.81 low		7.39
act			3.46 low			5.56
uncl		2.23 high			2.65 low	6.64
chi	19.19*	4.95	19.37*	5.59	16.89**	

Appendix Table 4.2.5.7 Team differences by disposition categories(illegal)*. Method: chi square.

*"Illegal" refers to the fact that three of the expected frequencies, those for *receive, air* and *unclear*, are below 5% of the total(Crocker, 1969, 1981ed, 101). The usual convention is to combine the categories another way, which has been done in Appendix Tables 4.2.5.4-6, and indeed in all chi square calculations used in the thesis. Popham and Sirotnik(1967,1973ed, 287-288) provide more margin, for they allow such comparisons as long as "no more than 20% of the cells have an *expected* frequency smaller than 5%, and no cell has an *expected* frequency smaller than 1.0"[italics theirs]. By these criteria, the "illegal" chi square is not illegal at all.

Summary of events during the study year
(Table 4.5.1.1 refers)

From outside the teams' setting before the study year began in April, 1985, came news that the Local Authority intended to organize all adult education in "consortia" of voluntary groups -- it was not clear what part the Department of Adult Education was to play in these. The lecturers' union agreed a work to rule, which might have been expected to cut down on the time team members could work. All fulltime Department staff had already met to discuss working in teams to manage adult education programmes, and this report appeared in March, 1985. South, the Area Team already functioning, got a budget to pay parttime teachers for the September programme.

During the first term of the study, East debated its brief and negotiated with the Head of Department to clarify this. By the end of the term, Department Board had discussed how the teams were to operate. East rationalised its membership, again by negotiation with the Head of Department. It lost five members. During this term, the teams learned with some surprise that the official start of Area Teams was to be September, 1985.

In Autumn term, the log reports that nothing occured outside the College. This could not be true, though it is probably a just enough reflection of the essence of the term, for the Area Teams were maintaining the programme and, at the same time, negotiating the roles and hiring of Heads of Centre with the Head of Department. The adult education fulltimers began a regular meeting, convened by Department management, in parallel with those of the ABE and ESOL groups. This was known as the "adult education specialists' meeting", "adult education working party" and "adult education working group". South experimented with structures(mainly different kinds of adult education working groups), and East reconvened again, this time to a "delegate" system in which all areas of work were represented. By the end of the term, South had gained two parttime Heads of Centre, and lost two, one of whom had been with the team since it began. East had lost two parttime Heads of Centre, both of whom had rarely attended meetings,

and gained a fulltimer who was also a Centre member.

In February, the second month of Winter term, the College
Governors announced the abolition of Summer term for adult education
to save money. The Area Teams planned it anyway, and in fact a
limited programme of classes was run. The following month, East
learned of a new source of money for work with the unemployed from the
Department of the Environment(DoE). South began a campaign for
representation of teams on Department Board, and sent a representative
to a Head of Centre hiring panel. South lost two members again, one a
temporary fulltimer who had been with the team since its start, and
one the temporary fulltimer they had helped to hire(s/he got a better
job). The creche supervisor also joined the team. East met "together
with" the two parttime Heads of Centre hired the term before -- it was
not clear whether they were members of East.

Spring Term brought College cut announcements, a new name for the
School Heads of Departments meeting -- "management group" -- who
interpreted the cut, and, in response, the teams calling what were
termed the "Interteam Meetings" to coordinate planning a severely
truncated programme. The cut was partially restored in June, and a
programme was planned. Interesting disagreements about who the teams
were responsible to(discussed in Section 2.6) caused some confusion.
The Head of School called a meeting in which representatives from all
teams tried to construct a fee system -- this was the first of many
official interteam working groups. The Head of Department interviewed
teachers, much to the confusion of the teams, who thought that was
their job. There was also suspense about whether the parttime Heads
of Centre would be able to plan a programme before their contracts ran
out. There was, too, some difference of opinion between the Head of
Department and teams about whether the parttime Heads of Centre should
work on a DoE bid or the programme. In the event, the parttimers did
their programmes and fulltimers in each team, assisted by Outreach
delegates, wrote the DoE bids which attracted £100,000 to the
Department the ensuing year. East gained two members, both
experienced members of the Centre Team who had left the previous
Spring, and South gained two parttime Heads of Centre, who, with two

months' experience, planned the area adult education programme.

Planning choices
(Tables 4.5.4.1-2 refer)

What is startling is the different distribution of *planning* items
in Outreach and ABE. One ABE project, Yorkshire Arts student writing,
a proposed conference, visiting artist and related activities done in
collaboration with learners and other literacy schemes, seems to have
taken up almost as many *planning* items as East had during the year.
Outreach's mounting new groups took up roughly the same number of
items as ABE's Yorkshire Arts. No other team had such large *planning*
items, nor items which remained at the same intensity all year. These
two *planning* items are eliminated from the discussion which follows
because they are atypical.

Common planning activities

First, all teams but Outreach planned their programme. This
happened in the Spring terms, though occasional programme *planning*
items appeared in Winter. In Centre, ABE, South and East, this was
always a compendium item, in which a number of small items were
gathered together and reported on. In East or Centre, this could take
almost an entire meeting. In Centre, South and ABE, matters of
programme budget were treated as separate items in *planning*, because
the teams were trying to figure out how to accommodate to the cut.
East treated this as a *procedural* matter, that is, it was more likely
to try to work out how to get round the allocations rather than
accommodate to them. East's programme items had three parts --
"programme", "Saturday courses", and "Centre programme". The
substantial Centre programme, East seemed to feel, could be left to
the Centre Team, or, considering the membership overlap, to themselves
with their Centre hats on. The Saturday course discussions were
rather about their status as economically-financed courses, that is,
they paid for themselves.

Second, all during the year, "class offers" or "miscellaneous
courses", to use Centre and South's terms for these, appeared too.
For some the team took the initiative, for some the request came to
the team. Sometimes special requirements for courses were planned,
like Aspects of Women's Lives, which appeared in Centre and South in

Spring 85, offered by staff from another part of the College, which was incorporated into the programme. Sometimes a setting defined a course or little programme of courses -- this happened in East and in South, but was most characteristic of Outreach, whose programme was in fact new groups in places where no course had been before.

The third kind of *planning* item all teams had in common was seeking outside funding. Centre had the fewest number of items, and Outreach the most -- for Outreach was externally funded, and wrote its own renewal bid each Autumn and Winter. In Spring 86, it also assisted in the production of the Area Team Department of the Environment bids, using its contacts with community groups bid for adult education provision for unemployed people. For ABE, Yorkshire Arts student writing, Opps for Vols(Opportunities for Volunteers) and the proposal for mentally handicapped students were all efforts to obtain extra funding and its members, too, collaborated with the Area Teams to attract DoE money. ABE also investigated an FEU project, and other funding sources through ALBSU, the national body supporting adult basic education. South and East, as we might expect, were strongly involved in the efforts to get the DoE money. South, in the first Spring, gathered together four separate bids -- it called them the "Golden Soak" -- all of which were unsuccessful.

Other planning

Centre tried to plan an Open Day, and got it off the ground in the second Spring. The Lord Mayor visited -- a publicity exercise -- and a Women's Day taking place in another part of the College was both advertised in the Centre and supported by Centre team staff. Alone of the teams, Centre considered term dates and enrolment plans part of its *planning* activities -- these items felt *procedural* in the other teams which included them -- East and South.

ABE's proposal for mentally handicapped students appeared in other teams -- South and especially Centre, which already had a history of incorporating learners with special needs into adult education classes. Outreach's "mentally handicapped policy" concerned not so much the ABE bid, but whether Outreach money should be spent on meeting the literacy and numeracy needs of handicapped people. ABE

had research activities, particularly to do with learning in ABE. The other planning matters included one event -- a student reading evening in Autumn term, publishing student writing, working with YTS to design special provision for teenagers linking in to work and a proposed reorganization of the scheme in which volunteers and fieldworkers were deployed to areas of the town, rather than run centrally. This would have been based in "South Centre". The Yule video was a learning device which ABE was to pilot. "Community School" was a proposed move for adult basic education, or at least a part of it. Other *planning* matters were "travellers", keeping in touch with a local project for literacy with travellers, and Pecketwell -- a nearby proposed residential college for ABE learners.

Outreach's "new activities" included the reading evening, a writing weekend and publishing a book. The writing weekend would have been discussed under Yorkshire Arts student writing in ABE, and the book under "publishing". "Scheme development" was thinking about the relationship of Outreach to the Area Teams, and it was at this time it was decided to send a member to each area team. "Mainscheme money" was part of a longer discussion about which groups should be converted to ABE-funded groups. A questionnaire was distributed to groups. In East's area, a public meeting was held to get the adult ecucation consortium off the ground involving another Department in the School who ran the SCOPE course. The library bus was booked to support Outreach groups. Finally, Outreach planned which groups would run during the summer months of July and August.

South tried for research money around Census data to help it plan for Area needs during Spring 85. "Minicentres" represented a South policy to develop more than one group on its dispersed sites, to offer a better choice to learners and aid administration. "Voluntary organizations" was the organizing of meetings with local voluntary groups to begin getting adult education consortia for South's area. "Community languages" was reacting to administering the community languages programme from the South area.

East, alone of the teams, had items called "policy". These were *planning* in essence, and occured in Autumn, when East was attempting

to understand its relationship to the Department and the School. "Day provision/schools" was thinking out whether the Team should operate in more schools. "External funds/transition fees" appeared in South under *procedures*. Here in East, it was an attempt to understand how the four fee systems could co-exist with free provision. The "outreach document" was a report from East's representative from Outreach which explained the broad-based community work approach taken by the Outreach team.

Activities in other categories

The teams, of course, planned things which appeared under other categories. Outreach ran a theme-based publicity drive that summer. The Spring and Autumn before, it organized the running of the materials and equipment van which supported its groups. Centre organized an in-service day on computers in Autumn and Winter, and, not surprisingly, organized alterations to the Centre -- the disabled loo, window repair, seeing to a slippery and muddy path, putting the computers in a more secure room. ABE helped to organize a national conference -- an external event if ever there was one, and planned its volunteer training. South organized a one-day training for teachers who might work in informal DoE groups, should the money come through. Members of all teams supported and helped to organize this. East's major project was its staff handbook, in which it tried to explain itself. This was mainly done by one team member, but was the vehicle for clarifying, for East, many issues around being an Area Team. Much of East's thinking was around *procedures* -- "fee structure", membership, "unqualified teachers", other meetings and getting representation at them, and its own substructures.

APPENDIX 4.5

Team briefs
(Section 4.5.5 refers)

Centre   "the running of the Centre"(No author. 1985.
Area Teams for the Education of Adults: Report of the
Department of Adult Education Conference, Bramley Grange,
10/21st February, 1985. p. 2.)

ABE   "to provide opportunities for Bradford adults to
improve their reading, writing, numeracy and communication
skills in a place, time and style appropriate to adults
learning requirements;
                  "to help people use these skills for what they
want to do."(notes for the ABe Team's presentation to
"Area Teams for the Education of Adults: The Department of
Adult Education Conference, 20/21 February, 1985.)

Outreach   "to establish and support basic skills learning
groups in the [local] area; to recruit, train, deploy and
support volunteer participants from the unemployed to work
in these groups."(Contract with Manpower Services
Commission, 29 April 1985.)

Area Teams   "The teams will be charged with the task of
establishing a "coherent and comprehensive provision of
education for adults"[no citation] in their own
districts."(DHB Andrews. 21.3.85. "Area Teams: Community
based provision for the Education of Adults". Internal
document.)

Team member analyses of own definitions of adult education
(Section 5.1 refers)

Focus of analysis	Round A Teams C	A	O	S	E	T Totals	Focus of analysis	Round B Teams C	A	O	S	E	T Totals
				Learner oriented									
Why come	0	0	1	3	0	4(4)	Why come	0	0	1	2	1	4(4)
What happens: teacher role	1	1	0	1	1	4(3)	What happens: structure/ classroom	1	1	0	1	1	4(3)
What happens: tensions	0	0	3	2	0	5(5)	What happens: individual/ group	1	0	1	1	2	5(4)
Outcomes	1	2	2	3	2	10(8)	Outcomes	1	1	0	1	2	5(3)
Subtotal	2	3	6	9	3	23(20)		3	2	2	5	6	18(14)
				Structure oriented									
Management							Provider: admin/consumer	1	1	0	2	1	5(4)
	0	1	0	3	0	4(4)	Provider: organizational/ educational	0	1	2	3	0	6(6)
	1	0	0	0	1	2(1)	Provider: AE/institution	2	2	0	0	2	6(3)
							Provider: local/national	1	1	1	1	1	5(2)
Change	4	2	2	3	5	16(9)		0	0	0	0	0	0(0)
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0(0)		0	0	1	0	0	1(1)
Subtotal	5	3	2	6	6	22(14)		4	5	4	6	4	23(16)
Total analyses	7	6	8	15	9	45(34)		7	7	6	11	10	41(30)

Appendix Table 5.1.1 Foci of team member analyses of their definitions of adult education grouped by team for both sets of interviews. Round A team members = 34; team member places = 45. Round B team members = 30; team member places = 41. Team members are in parentheses.

Time and working with the team
(Section 5.3.1 refers)

First round

Team	10-20%	25-33%	over 40%	Misc/DK	Total
C	2(33%)	-	2(33%)	2(33%)	6(99%)
A	2(40%)	1(20%)	2(40%)	-	5(100%)
O	2(33%)	3(50%)	-	1(17%)	6(100%)
S	5(56%)	2(22%)	1(11%)	1(11%)	9(100%)
E	3(38%)	-	3(38%)	2(25%)	8(101%)
Subtotal(originals)	*14(41%)*	*6(18%)*	*8(24%)*	*6(18%)*	*34(101%)*

First round incomers

C	-	-	-	1	1
A	-	1	-	-	1
O	-	-	-	2	2
S	1	-	1	4	6
E	-	-	-	1	1
Subtotals(incomers)	*1(9%)*	*1(9%)*	*1(9%)*	*8(73%)*	*11(100%)*
First round totals	15(33%)	7(16%)	9(20%)	14(31%)	45(100%)

Second round

C	4(57%)	2(29%)	-	1(14%)	7(100%)
A	2(29%)	2(29%)	2(29%)	1(14%)	7(101%)
O	4(67%)	2(33%)	-	-	6(100%)
S	6(55%)	2(18%)	1(9%)	2(18%)	11(100%)
E	4(40%)	3(30%)	1(10%)	2(20%)	10(100%)
Second round totals	20(49%)	11(27%)	4(10%)	6(15%)	41(101%)

Appendix Table 5.2.1 What percentage of your time per week will/did
working with the team take this year? First round originals: team
place n = 34, person n = 25.   Incomers: team place n = 11, person n =
9. Second round: team place n = 41, overlap included. Person n = 30.

Team	Meetings only	Meetings plus	Number only	Misc	Not asked	Total
First round						
C	0	4	2	0	0	6
A	0	1	4	0	0	5
O	0	2	3	0	1	6
S	1	4	3	1	0	9
E	1	5	2	0	0	8
Subtotal(originals)	*2*	*16*	*14*	*1*	*1*	*34*
	6%	*47%*	*41%*	*3%*	*3%*	*100%*
First round incomers						
C	0	1	0	0	0	1
A	0	1	0	0	0	1
O	0	0	0	1	1	2
S	1	1	1	1	2	6
E	0	1	0	0	0	1
Subtotal(incomers)	*1*	*4*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*11*
%	*9%*	*36%*	*9%*	*18%*	*28%*	*100%*
First round totals	3	20	15	3	4	45
%	*7%*	*44%*	*33%*	*7%*	*9%*	*100%*
Second round						
C	2	3	3	0		7
A	0	4	3	0		7
O	5	0	1	0		6
S	4	3	3	1		11
E	3	3	3	1		10
Second round totals	14	13	12	2		41
%	*34%*	*32%*	*29%*	*5%*		*100%*

Appendix Table 5.2.2 Summary of team member opinions on what "working with the team" meant. First round original members = 25 people, 34 team places; incomers = 9 people, 11 team places; second round = 30 people, 41 team places.

Round A		Round B	
Centre/East	+.9697*	Centre/East	+.9119*
ABE/Outreach	+.9239*	South/East	+.8597*
South/East	+.9189*	Centre/South	+.8035*
Centre/South	+.8963*	Centre/Outreach	+.7341**
ABE/South	+.6595**	Outreach/East	+.6393**
ABE/East	+.5332	Centre/ABE	+.4469
Outreach/South	+.472	Outreach/South	+.4171
Centre/ABE	+.4563	ABE/Outreach	+.2712
Outreach/East	+.2556	ABE/East	+.2114
Centre/Outreach	+.1901	ABE/South	+.2016

Appendix Table 5.3.1 Team pairs from teams' distribution of responses in definitional categories. Method: Pearson. With overlap. Admin staff and incomers in Round A excluded. Round A member n = 22, team place n = 29. Round B member n = 30, team place n = 41. Key: * $p<.01$; ** $<.05$.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
programmes as a whole			4.88 high			6.28
content	4.06 high	2.00 low	5.47 low		3.93 high	16.16**
what else						2.53
atmosphere/ style	5.76 low	8.07 high	32.45 high		4.38 low	51.04*
other(one round only)	5.44 low	4.76 low	2.41 low	6.45 low	6.41 low	25.47*
teaching/ learning						5.1
who AE serves	3.03 high		8.09 low			12.14
status		4.88 high	6.60 high	5.35 high		18.14**
misc	4.38 low					5.95
chi	23.44*	23.23*	64.10*	14.29*	17.73*	

Appendix Table 5.3.2 Comparisons of Round A teams' scores in definitional categories to all teams, all terms totals. Method: chi square. Admin staff and incomers excluded from Round A. Samples as Appendix Table 5.3.1. Key: * $p<.01$; ** $p<.05$.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
programmes as a whole				4.12 low		6.57
content			6.50 low			7.50
what else		9.63 low			2.82 high	14.09
atmosphere/ style						2.45
other(one round only)	2.44 high	3.44 high	2.71 high	5.89 high	1.23 high	15.72**
teaching/ learning		5.87 high				7.50
who AE serves			4.74 high			5.55
status	2.46 low		2.09 low	1.68 low	3.16 low	9.55
misc		8.38 high				10.07
chi	6.92**	28.20*	18.68*	15.22*	10.02*	

Appendix Table 5.3.3 Comparisons of Round B teams' scores in definitional categories to all teams, all terms totals. Method: chi square. Admin staff and incomers excluded from Round A. Samples as Appendix Table 5.3.1. Key: * $p<.01$; ** $p<.05$.

Repeated interview member analysis of definitions of adult education by team
(Section 5.3.8 refers)

Focus of analysis	Round A Teams	Totals	Focus of analysis	Round B Teams	Totals
	Learner oriented				
	C A O S E	T		C A O S E	T
Why come	0 0 1 3 0	4(4)	Why come	0 0 0 2 1	3(3)
What happens: teacher role	1 1 0 1 1	4(3)	What happens: structure/ classroom	1 1 0 1 1	4(3)
What happens: tensions	0 0 1 1 0	2(2)	What happens: individual/ group	1 0 1 1 1	4(3)
Outcomes	1 2 2 2 2	9(7)	Outcomes	1 1 0 1 2	5(3)
Subtotal	2 3 4 7 3	19(16)		3 2 1 5 5	16(12)
	Structure oriented				
	C A O S E	T		C A O S E	T
Management			Provider: admin/consumer	1 1 0 2 1	5(4)
	0 1 0 3 0	4(4)	Provider: organizational/ educational	0 1 2 2 0	5(5)
	1 0 0 0 1	2(1)	Provider: AE/institution	2 2 0 0 2	6(3)
			Provider: local/national	1 1 1 1 1	5(2)
Change	4 2 2 1 4	13(6)		0 0 0 0 0	0(0)
Miscellaneous	0 0 0 0 0	0(0)		0 0 1 0 0	1(1)
Subtotal	5 3 2 4 5	19(11)		4 5 4 5 4	22(15)
Total analyses	7 6 6 11 8	38(27)		7 7 6 10 8	38(27)

Appendix Table 5.4.1 Foci of repeated team member analyses of their definitions of adult education grouped by team for both sets of interviews. Round A team members = 27; team member places = 38. Round B team members = 27; team member places = 38. Team members are in parentheses. Summary of analyses in Appendix Table 5.4.2. ABE/South totals are different because one South member transferred to ABE.

Appendix Table 5.4.2: Summary of repeated analyses of definitions

The 54 grids in which 27 members looked at their definitions of adult education at the beginning and the end of the study year are listed with the two grid summaries together. These are arranged by "change" category -- learning/learning, structure/structure, structure to learning, learning to structure. These are discussed in Sections 5.1 and 5.3.8 and referred to thereafter. Appendix 6.1 reports results in grid dimensionality. Appendix 3.4 includes methods used to analyse the grids.

The summaries identify the team member, name the main idea with which his/her grid dealt, describes where those clusters are in numerical terms and gives an example of the kind of contrasts the member made about his or her idea. (/) separates the contrasts; (=) joins similar ideas. The numbers refer to

Stp	step	how far into the construct tree the idea starts
C %	correlation	at what percentage of similarity the main idea starts
I %	inclusiveness	what proportion of all ideas the main idea covers

A. Learning/learning   Stp C% I%

T37A why come   1 45 100
 1) confidence/
 2) meet people/
 3) gain qualifications/
 4) general help
T37B why come   6 68 46
 1) assist others=confidence/
 2) better self=employment

T03A why come   1 35 100
 1) boredom/
 2) social/
 3) qualifications
T03B why come   3 77 78
 1) break=friends/
 2) education=purpose=job training

T39A why come   5 60 30
 1) what we do/
 2) who it's for
       7 78 40
 1) achievements/
 2) social side
T39B why come   4 71 67
 1) enjoy=night out/
 2) achieve

T10A what happens:teacher role 4 50 63
 1) questioning/
 2) material advantage
T10B what happens:indiv/group 4 56 50
 1) individual=practical skill=education=slight change/
 2) individual interact with others=fundamental change=life
  improved
       3 50 50
 1) social contact=group/
 2) learn what's taught=individual

```
                                      Stp C% I%
T35A outcomes:access/exit      2 71  80
   1) stimulus/
   2) part of learning/
   3) goal
                               5 71  20
   1) indiv=social/
   2) overall betterment
T35B outcomes                  3 57  56
   1) stimulus/
   2) outcome
                               6 71  44
   1) rights underprivileged=aim:improve education=motivation to
       join/
   2) social side=consequence of motivation

T15A outcomes:comm service     5 77  56
   1) personal/
   2) serve community
T15B outcomes                  3 57  44
   1) junior adulthood/
   2) senior adulthood
                               4 57  33
   1) betterment/
   2) for all
                               5 64  22
   1) second chance=for all/
   2) essential priority=improve one's lot

(The following changed learning issue in category.)

T18A outcomes:opening up       2 44  89
   1) re-education as to what learning's about
T18B what happens:indiv/group 2 56  56
   1) process happens in AE/
   2) how should be done(self-determined=relaxed=
       student-orientated)
                               4 68  44
   1) process of AE as a way out/
   2) recruitment+equal opportunities

T27A why come                  1 68 100
   1) climbing the ladder/
   2) while away time/
   3) personal growth
T27B outcomes                  4 80  33
   1) retain full potential=self-knowledge=self-confidence/
   2) not grow old=new you=develop further
                               5 80  29
   1) education=live again/
   2) new chance=life exciting

T34A outcomes:access/exit      3 64  75
   1) initial motivation/
   2) result
T34B what happens:indiv/group 3 50  60
   1) learning=personal development=product/
   2) adult interaction in group
                               6 62  30
   1) motivation=personal development/
   2) pleasure=learning

B. Structure/structure

T08A managing:democracy        6 66  46
   1) range provision=educational aims/
   2) how operate it=power(democracy)
                               5 61  30
   1) evaluation=provider-centred/
   2) provider responsiveness=student-centred
T08B provider:AE/institution  3 57  75
   1) arid philosophy=institutional opinion=andragogy/
   2) political issues=client-centred=paternalistic
```

```
                              Stp C% I%
T11A change:AE as right       2 25  83
   1) funded=on demand for all/
   2) flexible
T11B provider:local/national  4 50  50
   1) consumer=immediate=national=political expectations/
   2) provider=longterm=local=ideals

T09A change:presentation      5 60  60
   1) student focus=advertising/
   2) educator's focus=what's being sold
T09B provider:AE/institution  4 50  75
   1) starts with recruiting=fieldwork=what gets them there/
   2) changing perceptions of education=revalue education=
      relationships within learning groups and goes up via who should
      be recruited and andragogy to traditional AE as activity/
   3) educational change for person and system

T14A change:responsive        3 50  88
   1) traditional/
   2) adaptable
T14B provider:admin/consumer  4 55  44
   1) what it feels like to student/
   2) program planner consideration
                              3 70  22
   1) choice course/
   2) where
                              6 67  22
   1) course content=student interests/
   2) 'feel' of class=finance

T04A managing:centres         4 50  56
   1) investigation/
   2) pressure group
                              7 68  22
   1) guidance=personal development/
   2) goal=choices
T04B provider:admin/consumer  4 50  58
   1) time=admin end=team training in ists/
   2) outreach=consumer end=job the team do
                              7 55  27
   1) action=ideal/
   2) result=financial pot at end rainbow

T06A change:system            3 45  67
   1) one-off=isolated=set curriculum/
   2) part of system=progress=exploration
                              6 60  22
   1) managed by clients=practical=needs-related/
   2) managed by professionals=general education
T06B provider:local/national  6 60  58
   1) build indiv chances=learner=flexible classroom=local
      Continuing Education/
   2) adults share basis learning=system change nationally=external
      influence on classroom=source change
                              4 50  17
   1) requirements CE system=change flexible teaching situation/
   2) cooperative org'n CE system=change flexible local system

T33A managing:limits          2 50  83
   1) funding=management/
   2) develop AE=teaching
T33B provider:admin/consumer  4 62  60
   1) clientele and requirements="them"/
   2) admin="us"=management backup=balance between organization
      and money
                              2 50  20
   1) classes=Council/
   2) money=departmental organization
                              3 56  20
   1) student aim=self-development/
   2) general public
```

```
                                Stp C% I%
T31A change:multiagency          3 50  60
    1) open learning/
    2) knowledge other AE
                                 4 50  20
    1) understanding adult needs=not college based/
    2) feedback from schools=more varied
                                 5 50  20
    1) experiment with publicity=school involvement/
    2) community centre based=not college
T31B miscell:informal training3 57  56
    1) teacher training for community based/
    2) width program
                                 5 64  33
    1) no financial restriction/
    2) student input=student self-awareness=community based
```

C. Structure to learning

```
T22A change:clientele/curric  4 56  70
    1) all adults/
    2) practical curric
T22B what happens:stu/classrm 4 50  44
    1) learner motivation=expectations=ideal social order/
    2) tutor-learner make modern society
                                 5 50  33
    1) learning-teaching procedure


T29A managing:jobs             3 50  78
    1) org'n=place=policy/
    2) tea=course struc/
    3) day to day running
T29B what happens:stu/classrm 5 50  46
    1) way course offered/
    2) course content=student needs
                                 6 55  18
    1) staff-student relations=assessment/
    2) teaching strategies=course organization
                                 3 50  27
    1) staff classroom approach=confidential=teacher awareness
        student abilities/
    2) course content=profiling=classroom approach


T02A managing:div labour       1 33 100
    1) manager/
    2) teacher/
    3) learner=fieldworker
T02B what happens:stu/classrm 2 50  57
    1) teacher share skills=responsive/
    2) no share=decision with adults
                                 3 57  43
    1) content=adult environment/
    2) physical environment=fit in to adult lives
```

D. Learning to structure

```
T20A what happens:teacher role3 55  78
    1) achievement of progress
T20B provider:org'l/edu'l      2 55  91
    1) student profit from other policies=manipulation money
        eg for physical site/
    2) teacher input=manipulation resource/
    3) materials eg personal as teacher enables change
```

```
                                  Stp C% I%
 T21A outcomes:indiv change    5 44  60
    1) individual/
    2) teacher/
    3) structure
 T21B provider:AE/institution  5 50  50
    1) informal=outreach=how want to look=approach to
       group=people's expectation/
    2) management more structure=organization=struggle to
       maintain=college expectation
                               8 55  33
    1) FE=student hours=our own vested interests/
    2) us and student learning=what we learn is the way we learn

 T19A what happens:tensions    4 56  67
    1) aware student needs/
    2) student at ease
 T19B provider:org'l/edu'l     4 62  70
    1) caring informal atmosphere/
    2) availability=location

 T16A outcomes:human worth     3 44  80
    1) end product/
    2) providing it
 T16B provider:org'l/edu'l     3 56  60
    1) more flexible=admin=enable integration/
    2) social need=integrate individuals=student express
       needs=ideal
                               3 56  30
    1) individual=learner=people in organization grow/
    2) response to individual=provider=organization's response to
       its members

 T01A what happens:tensions    2 50  73
    1) enjoyable/
    2) relevant/
    3) student determine value
 T01B provider:org'l/edu'l     5 75  50
    1) organizational decision re resource/
    2) educational decision re needs
                               2 68  40
    1) access=practical org'n=constraints/
    2) quality=purpose=find out want-need-ought

 T25A what happens:teacher role3 66  78
    1) independence/
    2) teacher help know self
 T25B provider:org'l/edu'l     5 64  50
    1) access=practice of AE=essential/
    2) enhance=theory=desirable
                               2 50  25
    1) non-college/
    2) result:individual growth

 T38A outcomes:access/exit     1 58 100
    1) access/
    2) where might end up
 T38B provider:admin/consumer  3 50  43
    1) coordination=balance=demand/
    2) link with other providers=supply
                               4 50  43
    1) access=possibilities/
    2) coordination=realisation
```

CW(Company Worker) turns concepts and plans into practical working procedures and carries out agreed plans systematically and efficiently.

CH(Chairman) controls the way in which a team moves towards the group objectives by making the best use of team resources, recognises where the team's strengths and weaknesses lie and ensures that the best use is made of each team member's potential.

SH(Shaper) shapes the way in which team effort is applied, directs attention generally to the setting of objectives and priorities and seeks to impose some shape or pattern on group discussion and on the outcome of group activities.

PL(Plant) advances new ideas and strategies with special attention to major issues, looks for possible breaks in approach to the problems with which the group is confronted.

RI(Resource Investigator) explores and reports on ideas, developments and resources outside the group, creates external contacts that may be useful to the team and conducts any subsequent negotiations.

ME(Monitor-Evaluator) analyses problems and evaluates ideas and suggestions so that the team is better placed to take balanced decisions.

TW(Team Worker) supports members in their strengths(e.g. building on suggestions), underpins members in their shortcomings and improves communications between members and fosters team spirit generally.

CF(Completer-Finisher) ensures that the team is protected as far as possible from mistakes of both commission and omission, actively searches for aspects of work which need a more than usual degree of attention and maintains a sense of urgency within the team.

Appendix Table 5.5.1 R. Meredith Belbin's(1981) definitions of team roles.

First round	Score	%	Second round	Score	%
Team worker	408.5	18	Company worker	423	20
Company worker	405.5	18	Team worker	343	16
Resource investigator	271	12	Plant	269	13
Plant	268.5	12	Resource investigator	242	12
Shaper*	251	11	Shaper*	231	11
Completer/finisher	247.5	11	Completer/finisher	208	10
Chair	235.5	10	Chair	203	10
Monitor/evaluator	222.5	10	Monitor/evaluator	181	9
TOTAL	2310	102%		2100	101%

Appendix Table 5.5.2 Team role preferences, first and second round. First round members = 33(one member refused); second round members = 30. Computed from raw scores on Belbin's questionnaire. Spearman r = +.9524, p<.01. *Note: *shaper* responses less likely because 1 out of seven testing statements omitted in error from questionnaire in both rounds.

	First round			Second round		
	Score	%			Score	%
Company worker	357.5	19		Company worker	360	19
Team worker	340.5	18		Team worker	308	16
Resource investigator	226	12		Plant	258	14
Plant	211.5	11		Resource investigator	218	12
Shaper*	200	11		Shaper*	209	11
Completer/finisher	208.5	11		Completer/finisher	188	10
Chair	182.5	10		Chair	181	10
Monitor/evaluator	163.5	9		Monitor/evaluator	168	9
TOTAL	1890	101%			1890	101%

Appendix Table 5.5.3 Team role preferences, repeated questionnaires,
first and second round. First round members = 27; second round
members = 27. Computed from raw scores on Belbin's questionnaire.
*Note: shaper responses less likely because 1 out of seven testing
statements omitted in error from questionnaire in both rounds.

	No change	Inside choice categories*	Across choice categories	T
C	RI,TW	CW>TW,CW>TW	CF>CW,CF>CF/CW,CW/ME>ME	7
A	RI,CW	CW>TW,TW>CW,SH>PL	CF>CF/CW,CW>CW/CF	7
O	CW	SH/RI>PL,SH>PL RI>PL/RI	TW>PL/CF,CW/RI/CF>CW	6
S	PL,TW CF,CW	TW>CW,SH>PL	RI/TW>PL,ME>PL,PL/TW>PL, CW/RI>CW	10
E	RI,TW	CW>TW,CW>TW,CW/TW	CF>CF/CW,CF>TW,CW/ME>ME	8
T	11 (8)	13 (9)	14 (10)	38 (27)

*Maintenance: Company worker(CW), Team worker(TW), Chair(CH)
Development: Shaper(SH), Plant(PL), Resource investigator(RI)
Monitoring: Monitor/evaluator(ME), Completer/finisher(CF)

Appendix Table 5.5.4 Team role preference itemised changes by team for
members who filled the questionnaire in twice. Members = 27; member
places = 38. Key: / = double first choice role, > = change in first
choice role. *Note: shaper responses less likely because 1 out of
seven testing statements omitted in error from questionnaire in both
rounds.

Grid summaries for 27 repeated grids
(Section 6.1 refers)

These totalled summaries show in shortened form how the grids of the 27 team members who were interviewed twice changed. Appendix 5.4 summarises the content changes, and lists each grid with the ideas in it. "Step" in the table below refers to how far into the grid the main idea(s) start, "C%" says how highly correlated the construct linkage in the cluster is, and "I%" says how many of the constructs that member created are included in that cluster. Appendix 3.4 explains more about grids.

These grids show, across the study year, an increase in "dimensionality":
1) members had more separate ideas in clusters in the second round than the first; members in the first round tended to have fewer separate ideas, but explore them further(Columns (b) and (g)).
2) members in the second round had more "floating" constructs, that is, more constructs not linked to others(Columns (e) and (j).

All teams and groups showed these patterns to approximately the same extent except two
1) team members who stayed with structure during the study year(the second group on the chart below). They did not have grids that included all their ideas in the first round. These were mainly the members who overlapped across Centre and East, and among ABE, Centre and East(see overlap place scores - Group 7 - on the chart below).
2) members who changed across the categories(group 3) had much more inclusive grids in the first round(much less dimensionality). These were mainly ABE, Outreach and South members who changed from learning to structure.

	Members (a)	Clusters (b)	Round A Step (c)	C% (d)	I% (e)	Round B Members (f)	Clusters (g)	Step (h)	C% (i)	I% (j)
				(1) Learning to learning						
	9	11	36	663	753	9	16	65	1024	742
Mean			3.3	60.3	68.5			4.1	64.0	46.4
				(2) Structure to structure						
	8	13	55	685	657	8	15	62	853	637
Mean			4.2	52.7	50.5			4.1	56.9	42.5
				(3) Change across categories						
	10	10	29	512	784	10	19	74	1053	853
Mean			2.9	51.2	78.4			3.9	55.4	44.9
					(4) Totals					
	27	34	120	1860	2194	27	50	201	2930	2232
Mean			3.5	54.7	64.5			4.0	58.6	44.7
				(5) Summary by team(Means only)						
C	7	9	4.0	56.7	60.0	7	12	4.1	56.9	47.1
A	6	8	4.0	57.0	65.3	7*	11	4.9	54.5	46.2
O	6	9	3.4	49.3	58.3	6	10	4.0	59.7	47.0
S	11*	14	3.3	56.1	67.9	10	19	3.7	61.2	43.3
E	8	10	4.1	58.7	59.6	8	15	4.1	57.4	44.3
				(6) Totals by team with overlap						
	38	50	186	2782	3072	38	69	283	4011	3122
Mean			3.7	55.6	61.4			4.1	58.2	45.2
				(7) less overlap place scores						
	11	16	66	922	878	11	19	82	1081	890
Mean			4.1	57.6	54.9			4.3	56.9	46.8
					(8) Total					
	27	34	120	1860	2194	27	50	201	2930	2232
Mean			3.5	54.7	64.5	27	50	4.0	58.6	44.7

*Note: one member transferred from South to ABE.

Table 1.3.1 gave examples for adult education of Mintzberg's
functional roles for managers. These roles were
leadership(figurehead, leader, liaison); informational(monitor,
disseminator, spokesperson); and decisional(entrepreneur, disturbance
handler, resource allocator, negotiator). We take the functions as
Table 1.3.1 interprets them for adult education, absolving Mintzberg
of all responsibility, and use them to look systematically at the
sample week examined in detail in Appendix 4.1. This discussion takes
the clear role activities first, then moves to more anomalous
classification, then suggests some functions which do not appear to be
covered by the roles as suggested.

The teams *allocated resources* during that week -- Centre's clerk
hours, ABE's fieldworker deployment, Outreach its own labour for the
publicity project at council estate galas. South *monitored* by
checking student demand via a questionnaire, Outreach by receiving the
statistics one of its members had compiled which was requested by its
funding body. East worked out aspects of its own structure to convey
to others via its staff handbook, a *monitoring* task linked to that of
disseminator. This is the first of the activities teams undertook
which implied more than one role. Another example is South's parttime
staff item, in which they both *liaised* and prepared to *allocate*
resources. South also *negotiated* via memo about administration of
Mother Tongue literacy that week. Outreach deferred a *negotiation,*
that of deciding which classes should be Outreach classes and which
should belong to ABE. This could have turned into a *resource*
allocation as Outreach and ABE tried to decide who paid for which
class, or into a *planning* matter, as Outreach and ABE tried to decide
what the principles governing each kind of class should be(*planning* as
a role is discussed below).

One clear case of *disturbance handler* took place -- the robbery
which ABE staff were asked, by Centre, to find out more about. Centre
dealt with problems about the computers, too. The *liaison* role was
taken by East when it tried to arrange for a formal representative
from the adult education working group to itself. The external events

involving the Advice Service meeting and NIACE were more matters of
liaison than anything else, though they might have led to a member
speaking for the team or the College -- a *spokesperson* or perhaps a
figurehead.

South and East received early information on the new money which
was to become available, items which turned into *entrepreneurial* roles
-- Centre's procedural item from East minutes was about this too.
Here our classifying attempt gets interesting, for we know that part
of a manager's job is to receive information and work out its
implications. Sometimes this results in action(where Mintzberg's
roles apply) and sometimes it doesn't. This, then, is the first
team-derived managerial role -- the teams *received information*, an
active process without which it is impossible to process information
in the informational roles.

The teams received a lot of information, and sometimes this
reception led to activity:

Team	minute item	resulting role
Centre	research report	-
ABE	offices(dry rot)	liaison/dissemination/arranging
	National Students Association folding	-
Outreach	staff leaving	-
	cuts	-
	National Students Association folding	-
South	enrolment report	-
	W team letter	-
East	office dry rot	-
	OAP classes	-
	School Board report	-

Appendix Table 6.2.1 Summary of *receive information* role occurrences,
sample week, all teams.

Information has implicati .ons, and we have one example, in
Outreach's rascism follow-up, in which a team allocated meeting time
to try to understand the consequences of information received as
training.

In one case, *receiving information* led to *liaising*, if we can
call notifying others of the consequences of having no office and
seeking permission to work from home. It may be, that in this case,
we have something that the teams did a lot of which does not fall into

the roles specified --*arranging*. Arranging is like liaising, though
not necessarily among equals, as liaison implies. Arranging can can
be like *dissemination*, because part of what makes an arrangement work
is that others know about it. For them, it becomes *receiving*
information. We summarise instances of *arranging* below:

Team	minute item	resulting role
Centre	photos arrange student obituary	arrange
ABE	offices(dry rot)	liaison/dissemination/arranging
Outreach	van booking	arrange
South	signs/lights/staff training teachers advertising	arrange
East	GCSE training	arrange/disseminate

Appendix Table 6.2.2 Summary of *arrange* role, sample week, all teams.

There are other activities carried on that week that do not seem
to fit the role list we are discussing -- a *planning* role, a
legitimating role, , a *lobbying* role and some traces of a *convening*
and a *training* role.

Centre, ABE and Outreach were *planners* about the open day,
Yorkshire Arts and the new estate group. Centre referred the matter
to a working group, ABE postponed discussion, and Outreach received a
report. It could be said that the teams were monitoring ongoing
activity here if it were not for the fact that all three projects are
in the planning category because they are new, and are apt to demand
action in an unpredictable way. This is different from the *receive*
information because an implication might be there somewhere --
planning activity includes implications.

The teams *legitimated* activity, too, when Centre confirmed not
using a resigned teacher, when ABE received and validated the
programme changes and agreed the programme publicity, and when East
received and supported the BRASS cuts petition. *Legitimating* is more
than receiving, it is agreeing and, to an extent, *disseminating* the
information that a decision has been confirmed. *Legitimating* can lead
to action, as when Centre received South's community teachers training
proposal. Later on, Centre members were *trainers*, they *disseminated*
information about the training to their teachers.

This raises the question of whether these roles were performed by the teams or by their members. The easiest place to see a team doing something is in the minutes -- the *legitimating* that Centre did for South's idea was not just one guy saying "nice work". Centre members acting as *trainers* may have been individual efforts, or as Centre members, or as East members(remember the massive overlap between Centre and East). Whether a role is performed by a team or a person depends on the circumstances. ABE's fieldworker training item may have resulting in the team conducting a training, though it is more likely that it delegated members to do it. Centre, ABE and South did act as *trainers* on behalf of their teams at the conference which convened the teams -- team members represented the team to let others know what their view of teamworking was.

We already have one miscellaneous item, that of Outreach seeing the implications of its racism awareness training, which we discussed under *receive information*. If we were to code all the minutes items for the year into roles, then *lobbying* and *convening* as roles would be put in miscellaneous until more evidence was found for their existence. *Lobbying* appeared once, when ABE asked the College to comment on the proposed withdrawal of local authority support to Northern College, the local adult college. *Convening* appeared once, too, when ABE tried to rearrange its meeting times. Both feel like they might be categories, but one swallow does not make a summer.

Finally, as in all classifications, there is a "don't know" category. It includes one *external event* from Centre, the AG questionnaire, about which information is not available.

Summary

These functional roles were useful in classifying team activities during the sample week. The roles which were identified without difficulty were *monitor, disturbance handler, resource allocator, entrepreneur(to an extent), negotiator, disseminator* and *liaison*. It should not be surprising that all the decisional and two of the informational roles could be ascribed to the teams easily. The minutes analysis showed that they preferred decision-making to any other activity, and considered the management of information important to their work as teams.

Additions to the informational roles, though, were required,

because active *information reception* was part of this process, and there didn't seem to be a place for it in Mintzberg's schema. Among the decisional roles, too, the role of *arranger* was added, for the teams seemed to do things that involved *information receiving, dissemination,* and *liaising,* all three. *Arranging* describes both a role and a process, straddling the Mintzberg's informational, decisional and leadership role structures.

Planner was added to the roles, too, involving *receiving information, monitoring,* agreeing implications and acting on them. This is a team version of the *leader* role. It, like *arrange,* is a combined role -- a series of activities.

Another aspect of the *leader* role for teams may well be the *legitimating* function performed by the teams, both for its members' decisions and for others' activity.

Three other roles await more confirmation -- *trainer, convenor* and *lobbyist.* There may be a *seeing implications* function, but it is not clear what relationship this might bear to the additional roles we have already identified.

Working structures summary
(Section 6.3 refers)

The basic working structures insights come from the minutes
analysis, especially the disposition analysis(Sections 4.3.4, 4.5.3,
4.5.7., *Dispositional variations* and Appendix 4.2.5) and the teams'
reports for handling information(Section 4.5.6).

Appendix Table 6.3.1 from Table 2.3.1 now has the addition of
Area Team working structures. This appendix summarises them, and
discusses some of the less formal ways in which teams worked.

Team	Agenda during meeting	Chair	Minutes taken by	book	circu-lated
Centre	yes	rotated	rotated	yes	no
ABE	yes	rotated	chair	yes	no
Outreach	yes	none	team clerk	yes	yes(Spr 86)
South	yes	rotated	rotated	no	yes
East	no prepared	rotated	team clerk /rotated	no	yes

Appendix Table 6.3.1 Basic organizational conventions, all teams, all
terms

All teams used working groups, individuals investigating or
carrying out team jobs and reporting back, and individual papers(these
did not have to be from team members). Some teams, South and Outreach
mainly, had special purpose meetings, in which only one issue was
considered. These were scheduled to last longer than other meetings.
East used something of the same device by scheduling some minutes
items to take up an entire meeting, especially during its first
Spring.

East used "matters arising" from the minutes as a convention to
keep one meeting in touch with what other meetings had done. South,
Centre and ABE tended to use "defer" instead, with a check by the
minuter/chair to make sure that deferred matters got taken up again.

We have already discussed how teams used compendium and
independent minutes items(Section 2.3). The only team which did not
use an accumulated agenda was East -- its agenda was prepared in
advance by the rotated chair. There are advantages and disadvantages
to this approach, for the accumulated agenda allows those attending
their own special interest in the meeting because they have suggested
an item for its agenda. Pre-set agendas do not allow this immediacy

of participation, but do let people know what they are getting into before they arrive at the meeting. All agendas could be modified at the meeting, and usually were.

Changes in definitions of adult education
(Section 6.2 refers)

This appendix compares the definitional distributions by team and by area of work group, in order to see if there were changes and, if so, what the nature of those changes was. First, samples used in comparisons are discussed, then results of the comparisons and possible determinants of these results in the established teams and the new teams. Finally, the effects of overlap on the distributions, of membership change, and communication outside the teams are assessed. Generalisations which this material supports appear in Section 6.2.   The categories into which people's definitions of adult education fell were discussed in 5.1, and methods for reaching the categories in 3.3. A team member's definition of adult education as it ought to be contained, usually, considerations of *people and their needs, the learning context*, and what might be termed *systems*.

The teams were compared for difference and similarity in their distributions among the categories. After teams were compared, groups of team members who had been interviewed twice were compared to see if any group had an undue influence on the team distributions and to identify, insofar as possible, the changes in new member opinions, the effects of overlap, and the effect of alliances outside the teams.
Samples

Complex comparisons make for complicated decisions about samples. Appendix Table 6.4.1 summarises these.

The basic comparison is among 22 original team members grouped as teams at the beginning of the study year(Column 1, 'originals') and the teams as they were at the end of the study year(Column 4, 'Round B all'), with 30 members in all. The total to which they were compared -- the benchmark normal distribution of entries among categories, was the sample in column 6, the 'originals' total plus the 'Round B all' total, to use the shorthand terms for them. In all these distributions, members were counted in every team on which they served, hence the distributions are 'with overlap'. This sample was used for the team comparisons rather than the Column 7 total because the addition of people who came during the study year and of the admin staff to the Round A sample could have obscured differences between

the teams as they began their year of teamworking.

(column number)	Percentage of responses in Round A samples n=257 n=227		Round B n=381 n=336		Percentage of responses in totals n=524 n=593 n=717		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
General category	*About people and their needs*						
C. the content of AE	21	23	23	18	20	20	21
D. what else AE provides	14	19	17	16	17	15	16
(Subtotals:	(35)	(42)	(40)	(34)	(37)	(34)	(37)
	About the learning context						
E. atmosphere of AE	6	6	5	6	5	6	6
G. style of AE	4	4	4	3	4	4	3
H. teaching/ learning	9	9	10	9	9	9	10
(Subtotals:	(19)	(19)	(19)	(18)	(19)	(19)	(19)
	About systems						
A. AE programmes as a whole	23	18	19	17	18	20	18
B. who the AE system serves	7	9	8	9	9	8	8
F. status of AE	9	6	8	2	6	6	6
(Subtotals:	(40)	(33)	(35)	(28)	(32)	(33)	(32)
	One round only						
I. Other(in one round only)	2	1	2	15	7	9	8
J. Miscellaneous	3	5	4	5	4	4	5
Total %	98	100	100	100	99	101	102
Total responses	257	227	381	336	524	593	717
Total members	22	27	34	30	64	52	64
Member places	29	-	45	41	-	70	86

Appendix Table 6.4.1 Samples used for making comparisons among teams and groups in definitional analyses. Key by column number: 1) Round A 'originals' with overlap, 2) Round A repeated interviews without overlap, 3) Round A all interviews with overlap, 4) Round B all interviews with ovelap, 5) both Rounds, total without overlap, 6) both Rounds, total of originals plus Round B all with overlap, 7) both Rounds, total Round A all plus Round B all with overlap.

The second set of comparisons was among 27 members who were interviewed twice, at the beginning of the study year or when they entered the teams, and at the end of the study year. These members are grouped by job description -- ESOL, AE, ABE and admin -- except for the people who joined during the year(termed 'incomers') who are grouped across job descriptions. The distribution for these 'repeated interviews' appears in Column 2, and overlapping membership was not

taken into account. The benchmark distribution to which they were
compared was the total in Column 7('Round A, Round B all'). This
total included all team members ever serving who were interviewed in
Round A(Column 3) and the Round B total. Overlap was counted in this
total, and it is the nearest we have to a distribution of definitional
responses for all teams for the whole study year. This sample was
used for the group comparisons rather than the column 6 total because
admin staff and incomers were included in the team member responses
among which differences and similarities were sought.

Finally, the distribution which we have already seen in Section
5.1 appears in Column 5('both Rounds, total without overlap'). This
is all responses for Rounds A and B added together without overlap
taken into consideration, and is the closest we have to a total
opinion for team members(team opinion, an altogether larger total,
appears in Column 7). It was not used for either team or group
comparisons, but rather shows the similarities between the "natural"
or non-overlap distribution and the distributions for team member
responses for every team on which each served.

Results

Overall, the distributions can be summarised as they were
generated, by imagining an individual team member giving a definition
with ten elements in it. 3-4 parts of the definitions were usually
about *people and their needs*, around 2 about *learning context*, another
3-4 about *systems*, and 1-2 in *one round only* and *miscellaneous*. Gross
changes over the year, as summarised on Appendix Table 6.3.1, Columns
1 and 4 were a shift from one *people and needs* category to the other,
a reduction in considering *systems*, a similarity in *learning context*
interest, and a growth in *one round only* entries. The ratios changed
from 3:2:4:1 to 3:2:3:2 -- less interest in *systems* as they were
conceived at the beginning of the year and more in *one round only*
categories.

Appendix Table 6.4.2 summarises these "strong" and "weak" changes
by team for the early first round interviews, when only 22 members sat
on the five teams(before new people joined and admin staff were
interviewed as members) and for the second round, when 30 people were
interviewed. Appendix Tables 6.4.5-7 present this summarised material
in more detail.

Changes in definition by team

East and Centre started with a strong interest in *people and their needs*, while ABE and Outreach were more interested than normal in the *learning context* -- each pair almost the reverse of the other's distributions. South was normally distributed across the *people* and *learning* categories. All teams were concerned with getting the *system* right, but each was interested in a different aspect. Outreach emphasized the *programmes* as a whole, not particularly who adult education *serves*. Centre thought who it *serves* of special significance, and ABE, Outreach and South joined in thinking that the *status* of adult education should be improved. No team in the first round was particularly concerned with *one round only* categories.

Goal category	First round	Second round
	About people and their needs	
C. the content of AE	CENTRE, EAST abe, outreach	outreach
D. what else AE provides		EAST abe
	About the learning context	
E. atmosphere of AE G. style of AE	ABE, OUTREACH centre, east	
H. teaching/ learning		ABE
	About systems	
A. AE programmes as a whole	OUTREACH	south
B. who the AE system serves	CENTRE outreach	OUTREACH
F. status of AE	ABE, OUTREACH SOUTH	centre, outreach south, east
I. Other(in one round only)	centre, abe outreach, south east	CENTRE, ABE OUTREACH, SOUTH EAST
J. Miscellaneous	centre	ABE

Appendix Table 6.4.2 Strong and weak team definitional interests, both Rounds. Round A member n =22, team place n = 29, response n = 257. Round B member n = 30, team place n= 41, response n = 336. Key: capital letters(strong) means team expressed more interest than normal; small letters(weak) means team expressed less interest than normal. No entry means the team members showed the expected amount of interest in the category. Appendix Tables 6.4.6-7 refer.

By the end of the year, Centre, East and Outreach were more
normally distributed than they had been at the beginning, closer to
the four/two/three distribution of definitional points across the
categories we have defined as about *people*, about *learning* and about
systems. South, more normally distributed than any other team at the
beginning of the year, had shifted somewhat towards less normal,
though this was nothing like the scale of the move towards similarity
of Centre, East and Outreach. It is as if South stayed roughly the
same, and Centre, East and Outreach moved towards it. (Appendix Table
6.4.8 shows this numerically.)

ABE alone changed away from the usual array of responses. It
retained its relative lack of interest in *people and their needs*,
especially in *what else* people get out of adult education. It
retained, too, its strong emphasis on *learning*, though was only
normally interested in *atmosphere/style* compared to its first round
emphasis. It remained normally interested in *status*, when other teams
moved away from this.

All teams, however, developed new interests, which are
represented in the *one round only* categories(Appendix Tables 6.4.2 and
6.4.7). South and East(and Centre, to some extent) kept with *people
and their needs*, identifying another one -- "lost opportunities".
Centre, ABE, South and East shared an additional interest in a
"system/linked". South, and less strongly, ABE, identified
"well-organized" as a desirable aspect of adult education. ABE and
Outreach kept their joint interests, so striking in the first round,
only with regard to their new category -- "student-run", which does
not fit happily into the *people/learning/system* categories used here
to explain these relationships. Perhaps it links *people and their
needs* with matters of *system*.

Determinants of change in the established teams

ABE's learning focus makes sense, when we think of the relatively
greater emphasis it gave to matters of curriculum in its meetings --
training, external events linked to ABE learning, and its *planning*
projects concerned with *learning* and *learning context*. This partly
explains its lack of interest in the categories under *people and their
needs*, for the *content* category dealt with questions of balance in the
adult education curriculum and ABE managed a programme with only one

curriculum, adult basic education. This does not explain their normal distribution across both Rounds in matters of the *system* that delivers adult education. An ABE balanced definition of ideal adult education is about *learning* and *systems*, not about *people's needs, learning* and *systems* in the way the other teams saw it.

Interesting in terms of this balanced definition is Outreach's changed position. Outreach, too was about *learning* and *systems* at the beginning of the study year. Its chi square score for *atmosphere/style* was higher than any team's in any category -- the informal learning setting was crucial to how it saw adult education and its own work. To move from this to a normal distribution for informality in learning settings is not change, but almost a turnabout. There was another turnabout, too. From low interest in who the adult education system *serves*, Outreach moved to a strong emphasis on this category -- target groups, work with the disadvantaged, all local citizens -- things it had not thought it necessary to mention before, as it worked with a clientele who did not use adult education and who generally lacked access to almost any other local amenities. Who adult education *serves* was an Outreach assumption at the beginning of the year, but was stated at the end.

Outreach members, from a position of relative isolation and contact with the College management network only through ABE, moved to observing and participating in decisions about adult education opportunities on the Area Teams. Its increasing concern with issues more like those the Area Teams considered marks its joining the management network in terms of the way it saw education for adults.

The Area Teams and ABE were affected by Outreach participation, too. South was always normally distributed for *atmosphere/style*, Outreach's specialism in the first round, but Centre and East showed a marked lack of interest in the *learning setting*. This changed during the study year, and Centre and East became normally distributed for *atmosphere/style* by the end of the year.

Changes in Outreach raise lack of change in Centre. Rather than swinging from lack of interest to much interest, the Centre pattern seemed to be to become more normal in each category in which, at the beginning of the year, it had shown marked concern or lack of it. Its only differences from the normal at the end of the study year were

those shared by most teams — lack of emphasis on *status* and more
concern with the new categories. It is as though Centre achieved a
broad sense of the balances implicit in the normal distribution.

Centre members, before the rise of East, concentrated on many
more aspects of adult education than their Centre work alone enjoined.
The breadth of their interests as Centre during the first terms of
the study year were discussed in Chapter 4, and the changes in this as
they drew back to managing the centre documented. In East, not only
was the job different, but the management network was widened to
include, among others, members of Outreach ABE. Though there may
have been other influences on Centre members, Outreach's emphasis on
atmosphere/style, and Centre's inclusion of it in their second round
definitions, is too exaggerated an effect to ignore. The effect of
this cross-fertilisation amounted to a normal distribution of the
definitional categories by Centre members at the end of the study
year.

Centre, Outreach and ABE were all established teams showing
appreciable change in their view of what adult education ought to be.
ABE stuck to its *learning* and *systems* view against the trends.
Outreach moved emphatically closer to the views of the management
network as its isolation reduced through its members' participation in
other teams. Centre became a bellwether for balance of points of
view, a middle way very like the averaged views of the management
network.

The established teams changed significantly. Centre and Outreach
appeared to take on each others' characteristics, as if they were
people adapting to each other's points of view, and ABE, for no reason
discernible in the data we have, to change its analysis within the
curriculum emphasis its meetings evinced. What of East and South?
Determinants of change in the new teams

South is a special case, for its membership change among parttime
adult educationists was substantial, and affected its work, as the
minutes analyses showed. South changed part of its working focus
during the study year to take in communicating in the membership
network, and had to leave the planning activity begun in its first
Spring to do so. This study's record of its members' views as they
moved in and out of the South managing setting are reasonably

complete. Appendix Table 6.4.9 shows a normal distribution at the beginning of the year(more normal than the one we have been discussing, for a less sensitive analysis was run), then movement away from it as new members joined. The category most affected was *what else* adult education gives learners, which newcomers tended to emphasize. By the end of the year, differences from the normal distribution were at their highest, but they fit the changes that all teams showed(movement away from *status* and towards the *one round only* categories) with the exception of a lessening of interest in *programmes*.

More insight into what happens when people join a team comes from another analysis which compares special groups within the teams. Three new members of South, and one each from ABE and Outreach were interviewed twice during the study year. The less sensitive analysis used for South compares their definitional responses(Appendix Tables 6.4.11, 6.4.12 "incomers"). It shows a lower interest in the *learning context*, a normal interest in *people and their needs*, and a higher than usual interest in *systems*, especially who adult education *serves*. By the end of the study year, these five incomers' responses were much more usually distributed, though *what else* adult education offers was low(in contradiction to the South evidence above) and *miscellaneous* high. In all the comparisons shown, the only change greater than this was Outreach's volte face. The incomers became more like existing team members than the team members themselves. Their distribution was so normal it outdid Centre's.

Another place to see the effect of incomers is in comparing Centre and East, for their membership was almost equivalent, except for three people, two of them relatively new to the team(Appendix Tables 6.4.5, 6.4.6, C and E Columns). These three members did not alter East's relatively normal distributions except to add an atypical interest in *what else* adult education gives learners, the category characteristic of the new members in the South analysis, but not of the incomers who stayed.

East, however, changed in ways this study did not record, for many of the original members of East were not interviewed. East moved towards the views of the membership network as Centre and Outreach did, and changed less than either, as far as the information this

study collected is concerned.

Effect of overlap, membership change and extrateam communication

Before these opinion changes are linked to outcomes from other
data, three other sources of change in definitional responses must be
taken into consideration -- membership change, communication outside
the teamworking settings, and overlap.

Appendix Table 6.4.1, Column 5 shows the distribution for all
team member responses without overlap. It is reasonably similar to
Column 7, the distribution for all team members, both rounds, without
overlap. Less interest in *what else* adult education offers, *style* and
who the system *serves*, more interest in *content, atmosphere,*
teaching/learning and *one round only* categories are one way to
summarise the effects of the overlap responses -- the eight members
with overlap responses caused them.

Overlap: Five members served on two teams each -- East and
Centre. Because responses were counted for every team that a member
served on, these five people's responses were each counted twice.
This represents their influence on the each team during the study
year, and accounts for Centre and East's similarity whenever we
consider opinion data. That the two teams behaved differently as
teams is amply documented in the minutes analyses. These team members
had two jobs each, and did them.

The three members who each served on three teams are harder to
control for, for ABE was the team they had in common. Two were also
Centre/East members, and one served on South and Outreach. When all
the teams are compared, these people between them contribute 81
responses in each round, almost a fifth of the 717 responses in the
all teams totals. It is worth looking at them by themselves, to see
what effect they had, and we do so in Appendix Table 6.4.3.

These three members contributed to the overall round B changes --
less about *content*, less about *status* and more about the *one round*
only categories. Their effect is easier to see in the *one round only*
categories summarised in Appendix Table 6.4.7. The South/Outreach
member increased South's interest in a "system/linked", and accounted
for all of Outreach's interest in that category. Two of these members
accounted for Centre, South and East's "student-run"responses,

showing more than ever that this category was an ABE artifact. "Lost
opportunities" was strengthened in ABE, East and Centre because of the
views of one of these members. "Well-organized" looks even more like a
South invention when we consider that the opinions of one of the
ABE/East/Centre members accounted for it appearing at all in Centre
and East.

Goal category	RA RB A,O,S	RA RB C,A,E	RA RB All	Totals
About people and their needs				
C content	1 0	7 5	8 5	
D what else	1 0	3 2	4 2	
Choices in categories	20 0%	59 41%		44 26%
About the learning context				
E atmosphere/	1 1	0 0	1 1	
G style	0 0	0 1	0 1	
H teaching/learning	1 2	2 2	3 4	
Choices in categories	20 30%	12 18%		15 23%
About systems				
A programmes	3 1	3 2	6 3	
B who AE serves	0 1	1 1	1 2	
F status	2 1	0 0	2 1	
Choices in categories	50 30%	24 18%		33 22%
One round only				
I bias	0 0	1 0	1 0	
system/linked	0 2	0 0	0 2	
well-organized	0 0	0 1	0 1	
student-run	0 1	0 1	0 2	
lost opportunities	0 0	0 1	0 1	
Choices in categories	0 30%	6 18%		4 22%
Misc	1 1	0 1	1 2	
Choices in categories	10 10%	0 6%		4 7%
Responses	10 10	17 17	27 27	
Members	1 1	2 2	3 3	

Appendix Table 6.4.3: Definitional responses for members who served on
three teams each, both rounds. Key: RA = Round A; RB = Round B;
C(Centre), A(ABE), O(Outreach), S(South), E(East).

Overall, the responses of these three members were less like the
normal distribution across the *people, learning* and *systems* categories
at the end of the year than at the beginning -- in Round B, their
choices were in more of a 3:2:2 ratio, with the others in the *one
round only* categories.

There was another kind of overlap whose consequences were
evaluated in Outreach's case -- contact with the Area Teams and ABE in
a systematic way. Outreach's orientation, characterised, in the first
round, by an interest in *atmosphere/style*, influenced and was

influenced by the other teams with whom it came into contact.

Membership change: Different people bring with them different definitions of adult education. South's new members(Appendix Table 6.4.9) changed its category distribution; the repeated interview incomers tended to move towards the normal distribution. East's three members not shared with Centre, two of them incomers, affected East's distribution, too. New member interests included *what else* adult education offers and who the adult education system *serves*. The five incomers(Appendix Table 6.4.11-12) seemed to decrease from a normal distribution for *what else* responses to one that was lower than normal. The East members not serving on Centre showed the same pattern, a decrease to the normal distribution. In South's history(Appendix Table 6.4.9), this category rose while membership was changing, and fell as members stablised in Round B. Perhaps a consideration of this aspect of *people and their needs* is one way to find one's feet as a new member of an adult education team -- a way to keep an eye on the ball. *What else* adult education provides responses were most strongly supported by the admin staff, and may well have served the same function for them in the course of what was, for all, a most confusing year.

Communication outside the teams: Five members of East, Centre and South were from the ESOL area of work, which had its own team(Appendix Table 6.4.11-12). They would have met separately all year, and if any group of people talked to each other outside the team and teamworking context this study covers, it would have been them. They moved from a high interest in who adult education *serves* and *content* with a low interest in *atmosphere* to a more normal distribution by the end of the year, comparable to Centre's. If ESOL members had been thinking about adult education outside team contexts, we would have expected their second round distribution to retain its first round shape more clearly, because the opinions forming it would have been supported outside the team network. Instead, over the year, they grew more like the all teams totals.

That opinions could be maintained by people working within the network is demonstrated by the distribution of the admin staff(Appendix Table 6.4.11-12). This effect would not have been so much from communication with each other, though this did take place,

but because their functions in teams were different. Their attitude towards teamwork, too, was distinctive -- they were markedly less favourable towards teamworking, finding it easier to list disadvantages than advantages. Admin staff, however, changed towards the all terms totals too. The difference was that, first, they were and remained the most different of all groups measured(except Outreach in its first round), and, second, they kept the shape of their definitional distribution more than any other group or team compared in these analyses. *People and their needs* concerned admin staff in both rounds; the *learning context* and *systems* were of much less interest, though admin staff were normally distributed for *atmosphere* and who adult education *serves* in the first round, and for who adult education *serves* in the second. Their responses tended to be atypical for most categories, with only two in the first round and one in the second which were normally distributed. "Lost opportunities", a *people and their needs additional* category, interested them among the *non-equivalent categories*, with an entry each for "system/linked" and "well-organized". Such similarity across rounds probably means that they were, as expected, the group most unaffected by teamworking.

Was the fact that the Area Teams appeared to change least, and Centre and Outreach, both established teams, the most, an effect of averaging -- more members means more even scores as the distributions head towards the "normal" curve. This effect appears to be refuted by ABE, a relatively small team who changed less than Centre, Outreach and even East.

Distributions like these are odd, and it is difficult to compare their behaviour to other investigators' results. One internal comparison, however, gives us at least a guideline. Most area of work groups from the repeated interviews changed between 10 and 12 points as measured by chi square(Appendix Table 6.4.15). Perhaps this much change is normal for such distributions, and any change in the teams which is less than this should be discarded as due to chance. Even so, the differences among teams stand(Appendix Table 6.4.8) -- Outreach and Centre changed appreciably, and South, ABE and East did not.

	C	A	O	S	E	Total
A)programmes as a whole	10	9	13	14	14	60
C)content	13	5	4	16	18	56
D)what else	7	4	5	10	9	35
E)atmosphere/ G)style	1	7	12	5	2	27
I)other(one round only)	1	1	2	1	1	6
H)teaching/ learning	5	4	2	4	8	23
B)who AE serves	6	2	0	5	5	18
F)status	3	4	5	7	5	24
misc	0	2	1	3	2	8
Totals	46	38	44	65	64	257

	C	A	O	S	E	Total
A)programmes as a whole	12	11	12	9	12	57
C)content	11	11	4	19	15	60
D)what else	10	2	8	16	17	53
E)atmosphere/ G)style	4	6	5	10	5	30
I)other(one round only)	8	10	7	14	10	49
H)teaching/ learning	4	11	4	5	7	31
B)who AE serves	4	5	7	6	8	30
F)status	1	4	1	2	1	8
misc	3	7	1	3	4	18
Totals	57	67	49	84	79	336

Appendix Table 6.4.4 Team distributions of responses in definitional categories, Rounds A and B. Round A member n = 22, team place n = 29, response n = 257. Round B member n = 30, team place n = 41, response n = 336. Admin staff and incomers in Round A excluded. These distributions are compared in Appendix Tables 6.4.5-6.4.8.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
About people and their needs						
C)content	4.06 high	2.00 low	5.47 low		3.93 high	16.16**
D)what else						2.53
About the learning context						
E)atmosphere/ G)style	5.76 low	8.07 high	32.45 high		4.38 low	51.04*
H)teaching/ learning						5.10
About systems						
A)programmes as a whole			4.88 high			6.28
B)who AE serves	3.03 high		8.09 low			12.14
F)status		4.88 high	6.60 high	5.35 high		18.14**
One round only						
I)other(one round only)	5.44 low	4.76 low	2.41 low	6.45 low	6.41 low	25.47*
misc	4.38 low					5.95
chi	23.44*	23.23*	64.10*	14.29*	17.73*	

Appendix Table 6.4.5 Comparisons of Round A teams' scores in definitional categories to all teams, all terms totals. Method: chi square. Round A member n = 22, team place n = 29, response n = 257. All teams member n = 52, team place n = 70, response n = 593. Admin staff and incomers excluded from Round A. Key: * p<.01; ** p<.05.

	C	A	O	S	E	chi
About people and their needs						
C)content			6.50 low			7.50
D)what else		9.63 low			2.82 high	14.09
About the learning context						
E)atmosphere/ G)style						2.45
H)teaching/ learning		5.87 high				7.50
About systems						
A)programmes as a whole				4.12 low		6.57
B)who AE serves		4.74 high				5.55
F)status	2.46 low		2.09 low	1.68 low	3.16 low	9.55
One round only						
I)other(one round only)	2.44 high	3.44 high	2.71 high	5.89 high	1.23 high	15.72**
misc		8.38 high				10.07
chi	6.92**	28.20*	18.68*	15.22*	10.02*	

Appendix Table 6.4.6 Comparisons of Round B teams' scores in definitional categories to all teams, all terms totals. Method: chi square. Round B member n = 30, team place n = 41, response n = 336. All teams member n = 52, team place n = 70, response n = 593. Admin staff and incomers excluded from Round A. Key: * p<.01; ** p<.05.

	C	A	O	S	E	T	Total with overlap
Round A							
bias	1	1	3	1	1	5	7
Round B							
system/ linked	4	3	2	4	4	9	17
well- organized	1	3	1	6	1	10	12
student- run	1	3	4	1	1	6	10
lost oppor- tunities	2	1	0	3	4	7	10
RB Totals	8	10	7	14	10	32	49

Appendix Table 6.4.7 Responses from team member definitions in non-equivalent categories by team.

Team	Score Round A	Score Round B	Difference
Centre	23.44*	6.92*	16.52
ABE	23.23*	28.20*	- 4.97
Outreach	64.10*	18.68*	45.42
South	14.29*	15.22*	- .97
East	17.73*	10.02*	7.72

Appendix Table 6.4.8 Differences in definitions at the beginning and end of the study year for teams. Method: chi square. Member samples as Appendix Tables 6.3.6 for first round, 6.3.7 for second.

	5.85	9.85	1.86	4.86	6.86	chi
		About people and their needs				
C)content						1.72
D)what else		2.97 high	6.28 high	3.37 high	1.09 high	13.95
		About the learning context				
E)atmosphere					1.96 low	2.27
F)status						
G)style						
H)teaching/ learning		1.30 high			2.98 low	4.90
		About systems				
A)programmes as a whole					4.12 low	4.95
B)who AE serves						1.12
		One round only				
I)other(one round only)	6.45 low	7.02 low	7.16 low	7.45 low	5.89 high	33.98*
misc						1.56
chi	7.61**	12.84*	15.18*	12.00*	16.84*	

Appendix Table 6.4.9 Comparisons of South members' responses in definitional categories as they joined the team. Method: chi square. 5.85 members = 8, response n = 61; 9.85 = 10, response n = 83; 1.86 = 11, response n = 89; 4.86 = 13, response n = 104; 6.86 = 11, response n = 84. Comparisons to Round A/Round B totals with overlap, n = 593. Key: * p<.01; ** p<.05. Notes: status included with learning context; admin staff excluded from Round A but not from Round B.

	ESOL1	ESOL2	ABE1	ABE2	AE1	AE2	adm1	adm2	inc1	inc2	all
A	17	15	25	22	13	20	10	10	18	18	18
B	20	8	3	13	7	7	7	10	13	8	8
C	29	23	8	9	33	11	30	33	21	20	21
D	15	20	13	8	20	24	40	30	18	10	16
E	0	8	14	6	4	7	3	0	3	5	6
=	15	8	30	23	19	7	10	3	13	23	18
NOT=	0	18	5	16	0	15	0	3	0	10	8
Misc	5	3	3	3	4	11	0	0	13	8	5

Totals											
%	101	103	101	100	100	102	100	99	99	102	100
Entries	41	40	64	64	54	46	30	30	38	40	717
Members	5	5	7	7	6	6	4	4	4	4	64

Appendix Table 6.4.10 Percentage distributions of specialist groups' definitional responses, Round A and B, with member and response sizes. Repeated interviews only. These distributions are compared in Appendix Tables 6.4.11-6.4.15. Key: ESOL = English for Speakers of Other Languages, ABE = Adult Basic Education, AE = Adult Education, adm = admin staff, inc = incomers.

	ESOL	ABE	AE	admin	incomers	chi
About people and their needs						
C)content	3.61 high	7.97 low	7.80 high	4.24 high		23.63*
D)what else			1.01 high	34.37 high		36.71*
About the learning context						
E)atmosphere	5.58 low	12.90 high			1.56 low	21.57*
F)status						
G)style						
H)teaching/ learning		6.91 high		3.84 low	1.50 low	13.00**
About systems						
A)programmes as a whole		2.48 high	1.54 low	3.74 low		7.84
B)who AE serves	14.84 high	3.29 low			2.74 high	21.32*
One round only						
I)other (one round only)	7.81 low	1.25 low	7.81 low	7.81 low	7.81 low	32.49*
misc				4.60 low	15.90 high	21.17*
chi	32.88*	36.16*	19.08*	59.9*	29.79*	

Appendix Table 6.4.11 Comparisons of groups' scores in definitional categories, Round A, repeated interviews only. Method: chi square. ESOL members = 5, response n = 41; ABE = 7, response n = 64; AE = 6, response n = 54; admin = 4, response n = 30; incomers = 5, response n = 38. No overlap in groups. Comparisons to Round A/Round B totals with overlap, n = 717. Key: * $p<.01$; ** $p<.05$. Note: status included with learning context.

	ESOL	ABE	AE	admin	incomers	chi
About people and their needs						
C)content		6.15 low	4.63 low	7.80 high		18.77*
D)what else		4.43 low	3.54 high	11.47 high	2.45 low	22.72*
About the learning context						
E)atmosphere				5.58 low		6.54
F)status						
G)style						
H)teaching/ learning	6.47 low	1.37 high	7.68 low	12.35 low		28.80*
About systems						
A)programmes as a whole				3.74 low		5.16
B)who AE serves		2.04 high				2.95
One round only						
I)other (one round only)	12.02 high	7.82 high	7.02 high	3.91 high		31.38*
misc			8.53 high	4.60 low	1.82 high	16.39*
chi	21.78*	23.08*	32.05*	49.8*	6.00*	

Appendix Table 6.4.12 Comparisons of groups' scores in definitional categories, Round B repeated interviews only. Method: chi square. ESOL members = 5, response n = 40; ABE = 7, response n = 64; AE = 6, response n = 46; admin = 4, response n = 30; incomers(both Rounds) = 5, response n = 40. No overlap in groups. Comparisons to Round A/Round B totals with overlap, n = 717. Key: * $p<.01$; ** $p<.05$. Note: status included with learning context.

	ESOL1	ESOL2	ABE1	ABE2	AE1	AE2	adm1	adm2	inc1	inc2	all
status	2	0	7	3	3	2	0	0	1	1	40
style	1	1	7	4	1	0	0	1	0	1	24
teach/ learn	3	2	5	8	6	1	3	0	4	7	68
Total	6	3	19	15	10	3	3	1	5	9	132

Appendix Table 6.4.13 Distribution of responses to roughly equivalent categories among groups compared in the repeated interviews, both Rounds. No overlap except in "all".

	ESOL1	ESOL2	ABE1	ABE2	AE1	AE2	adm1	adm2	inc1	inc2	all
bias	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
system/ linked	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	1	17
well-or- ganised	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	2	12
student- run	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	10
lost op- portun- ities	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	10
Total	0	7	3	10	0	7	0	4	0	4	56

Appendix Table 6.4.14 Distribution of responses to non-equivalent categories among groups compared in the repeated interviews, both Rounds. No overlap except in "all".

Specialism	Score Round A	Score Round B	Difference
ESOL	32.88*	21.78*	11.10
ABE	36.20*	23.08*	13.12
AE	19.10*	32.05*	-12.95
admin	59.86*	49.77*	10.09
incomers	29.79*	6.00**	23.79

Appendix Table 6.4.15 Differences in definitions at the beginning and end of the study year for specialist groups, repeated interviews only. Method: chi square. Member samples as Appendix Tables 6.4.11-12.

Mee and Wiltshire(1978) classified over 22,000 adult education courses in the mid-seventies using the categories listed below. This study's programme analysis uses versions of their system, explained in the captions to the Appendix Tables below.

1.Craft and Aesthetic Skills
   1.1 Courses related mainly to personal
      care and the household economy   34%
   1.2 Courses related mainly to leisure
      time enjoyment   19%
2. Physical Skills
   2.1 Courses related mainly to the maintenance
      of health and fitness   10%
   2.2 Courses related mainly to leisure time
      enjoyment   14%
3. Intellectual and Cognitive Skills
   3.1 Language courses   12%
   3.2 Other courses   6%
4. Courses addressed to Disadvantaged Groups   5%

	M & W	C 84/86	E 84/86	S 84/86
Craft/Aesthetic	53	67/62	39/41	34/33
Physical	24	6/ 7	29/31	25/19
Cognitive	18	19/20	18/23	25/30
Disadvantaged	5	8/11	14/ 5	16/19
Total	100	100/100	100/100	100/101

Appendix Table 6.5.1 Percentage of 1984 and 1986 advertised classes by educational objective and local area. Source: Department prospectuses. Key: M & W = Mee and Wiltshire, C(Centre), S(South), E(East), category names to M & W classification above.

		M & W	C 84/86	E 84/86	S 84/86
CA1.1	home	34	47/49	225	26/27
CA1.2/P2.2	leisure	33	20/14	22/25	17/13
P2.1	health	10	5/ 7	18/23	17/11
CI3.1)					
CI3.2)	other	23	27/31	31/28	41/49
D4.0)					
		100	99/101	100/101	101/100

Appendix Table 6.5.2 Percentage of 1984 and 1986 advertised classes by student aims and local area. Source: Department prospectuses. Key: as Appendix Table 6.5.1, CA = Craft/Aesthetic, P = Physical, CI = Cognitive and Intellectual, D = Disadvantaged. Categories collapsed to reflect student aims.

	C 84/86	E 84/86	S 84/86	T 84/86
Typing	4/ 4	2/ 3	6/ 1	12/ 8
Computers	9/ 5	2/ 0	10/ 1	21/ 6
Other	11/ 5	7/10	6/ 6	24/21
Exams	5/ 7	1/ 1	3/ 8	9/16
Totals	29/21	12/14	25/16	66/51

Appendix Table 6.5.3 Number of advertised classes, 1984 and 1986, in the category "other Cognitive and Intellectual skills(3.2 above)" by local area. Source: Department prospectuses.

	Centre84	Centre86	South84	South86	East84	East86	chi
1.1	4.99H	6.37H	1.78L	1.38L	0.70L	2.59L	17.81*
1.2	0.09H	1.61L	6.14L	9.29L	4.14L	0.23L	21.50*
2.1	2.55L	0.87L	3.11H	0.20H	5.96H	17.10H	29.79*
2.2	13.03L	14.00L	1.77L	3.36L	0.49L	2.84L	35.49*
3.1	4.74L	2.04L	5.20L	1.97L	9.60L	9.12L	30.70*
3.2	11.64H	7.75H	39.07H	47.36H	18.22H	40.24H	164.28*
4	2.33H	6.96H	22.36H	36.84H	15.93H	0.03L	84.45*
	39.37*	39.60*	79.44*	100.4*	55.04*	72.15*	

Appendix Table 6.5.4 Distribution of Centre, South and East programmes for 1984 and 1986 compared to Mee and Wiltshire's curriculum category frequencies. Method: chi square. Distributions as Appendix Table 6.5.2 with collapsed categories separated. Key to categories appears above.

	Centre84	Centre86	South84	South86	East84	East86
C84	----------	.9770*	.6840	.6608	.7398	.6011
C86		----------	.7305	.7322	.7716	.5507
S84			----------	.9443*	.9322*	.7237
S86				----------	.7959	.4986
E84					----------	.7780
E86						----------

Appendix Table 6.5.5 Comparison of Centre, South and East programme distributions, 1984 and 1986. Method: Pearson. Distributions as Appendix Table 6.5.2 with collapsed categories separated.

The Job of Managing Adult Education:
A qualitative approach to studying teams in action

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Abstract: Imaging qualitative data from the meetings of five adult education management teams yields insight into the content and variation of adult education managerial work.

This report of work in progress describes the use of qualitative methods to understand managerial work in adult education. A year's meeting records of five adult education management teams were analysed to uncover what each team thought its work was. The approach owes much to Mintzberg, who suggested such studies should be done; to anthropologists, ethnomethodologists and sociological thinkers, who explained that constructs derived from the constructs of a society's members can help us understand more about that society; and to qualitative researchers who have described the process of understanding complex social events from data unstructured by pre-set hypotheses. The appended references must serve to indicate the background to this approach, as space precludes a fuller discussion.

Before I present preliminary results from the minutes data, some basic information about the teams is necessary. Centre was the oldest team, founded in 1979. The Adult Basic Education Team convened itself in 1981, the Outreach Team was created with outside funding in 1984. These three are the "established" teams. The South Area Team began meeting informally in 1984, but, with the East Area Team, formally took its place as a team manager in Spring, 1985, when the data collection period for the research I am describing began. All teams both managed adult education programmes and carried them out. Data, including interviews, tape recordings, documents, and a study log, was collected for four terms -- Spring 1985, Autumn 1985, Winter 1986 and Spring 1986.

Team	Responsi-bility	Classes Aut 85	Fee income Aut 85	Parttime budget 85/6	Members ever serving	Meetings in study year
Centre	AE centre	145	10,400	16,000	8	34
ABE	ABE(city)	40	none	20,700	7	42
Outreach	ABE(city)	20	none	15,000	8	46
South	AE area	90	11,000	16,000	16	23
East	AE area	80	9,700	14,800	16	18

Every group of people who uses meetings invents for itself tacit and explicit structures to get what it sees as its business done. Most team meetings were less formal than their documentation implies, for example, the minute taker in the ABE team meetings was the person holding the minutes book. S/he knew what was on the agenda which was compiled by members' contributions at the beginning of the meeting(all teams but East used these "accumulated" agendas), so s/he usually listed the next item for the meeting to consider. In a sense, s/he "chaired" the meeting. A * indicated that a matter was to be carried over to another meeting. At the other extreme, East Area Team, for at least one term, circulated agendas before meetings, and agreed previous minutes from which came "matters arising" in the usual way.

For this study, a *meeting* is a regular gathering of team members organised by means of an *agenda*, and recorded in *minutes*. *Regular* means at team-agreed intervals of roughly equal duration(usually weekly or bi-weekly). Minutes were typically written during the

meeting for the established teams, and preserved somewhere known to the team. Area Team minutes were written afterward, typed and circulated.. A *minute item* is a numbered entry in a team meeting record.

An item of an agenda represents something that a team member decided was or should be part of that team's work. A minutes entry reflects an agenda item, and may be said to support the appropriateness of the proposing member's suggestion. My analysis of the minutes items is thus several degrees removed from raw managerial work, but some stages of that removal were completed by the teams, not by me. I would hope I was giving names to patterns that already existed but were not explicit.

Taking the team's definition of a minute item has consequences. For example, the recurring Centre item "programme", which contains staffing, facilities, new things, problems, controversies and usually at least two decisions, gets set alongside "kissing bush", a report of funny noises from the shrubbery that the team decided to ignore. For the purposes of this analysis, *compendium* items are equal to single items because that's the way the Team decided to record, and usually agenda them. We will return to this later.

The first set of patterns from the minutes coding was this: everything the teams did over the year fell into one of the nine categories below, with an acceptably low miscellaneous. Each category is explained straightforwardly -- coding definitions were more complex.

    Planning(pl): investigation and development.
    Facilities(f): buildings, equipment, room use, learning resources.
    Procedures(pr): ways to get things done(including teamworking).
    Staffing and staff(sf): hiring, problems, firing, etc.
    Classes(c): reports about how things are going.
    External events(e): not intrinsically part of a team's activity.
    Training(t): organisation and delivery for parttimers/members.
    Publicity(pu): matters taken up to get the provision known.
    Miscellaneous(m): unclear items and oddities.
    Students(stu): individual learners/student associations.

The relative inclusiveness of the categories made it much easier to talk about work across the teams, and indicates that, perhaps, different kinds of adult education may be more similar in their managerial work than first appears. This apparent agreement helps to justify the second set of patterns -- item frequencies in these categories for all teams, all terms:

pl	f	pr	sf	c	e	t	pu	m	stu	Items	%
412	330	278	230	157	157	105	76	67	39	1851	
22%	18%	15%	12%	9%	9%	6%	4%	4%	2%		101%

Naively stated, if every adult education manager was like these teams taken together, we would expect just under a quarter of the work to be making plans, and around 40% to be dealing with *facilities, staff* and *classes*/reports. 15% of the work would be *external events* and *training*. Another 15% would be spent figuring out how to do all these things(*procedures*).

This crude picture obscures differences among the five teams. My third set of patterns is the proportion of minutes items in each category by team

	pl	f	pr	sf	c	e	t	pu	m	stu	Items	%
Cen	15	37	10	15	6	3	4	2	5	3	421	100%
ABE	25	10	8	15	7	17	10	2	5	3	567	102%
Out	21	16	18	11	11	4	5	11	2	2	411	101%
S	30	15	23	7	11	6	3	4	2	0	266	101%
E	22	7	30	12	10	10	2	2	4	1	186	100%
All	412	330	278	230	157	157	105	76	67	39	1851	
%	22	18	15	12	9	9	6	4	4	2		101%

It is easier to understand these results if we use images devised by ordering, for each team, those categories with at least ten percent of item entries in them.

The Centre tricycle, mostly facilities, is pulled by a planning wheel and supported by procedures and staff. Centre managers in adult education, if they are like the Centre Team, are committed to the facility they run; they are less apt to take an interest in activities suggested by the other categories, and even seem to do proportionately less *planning* than other managers.

The ABE flying bug moves its fat planning body with staff and facilities wings on one side, and external events and training wings on the other. If all subject area managers were like ABE, their work would display what appears to be a tension between maintainance(*staff, facilities*) and what might be termed development -- *external events and training.* It probably can't fly without both wings.

The Outreach tadpole's three-part head of facilities, procedures and planning is driven by a flapping tail of classes, staff and publicity. If an adult education manager was like Outreach, the work would be more generally distributed across the categories -- a little of a lot of things.

The Area Team poodle has a planning head, a proud procedural chest and a classes/reports rump. What links the forequarters to the hind depends on the team -- South's body is facilities; East's staff. East's thigh is *external events* (*facilities* would have been next); South, if frequencies were high enough, would have had a hind leg of *staff* and *external events.* If an adult education area manager was like these teams, we would expect half the work to be making plans and exploring how to get them carried out(*planning* and *procedures*); a tenth receiving reports on how things were going (*classes*/reports). If s/he ran a centre as well, as South did, *facilities* would take up 15%; if s/he delegated centre work, as East appeared to do, then *staff* would come next.

The only two teams with the same brief are like each other and unlike the established teams, suggesting the categorising and imaging might be reflecting something real "out there". Perhaps any newly-convened group will be a *procedure*-chested poodle, spending time finding out how to do things(that South, slightly more experienced, had somewhat fewer procedural entries seems to support this). But perhaps the Area Teams' concern with *procedures* reflects a similarity to Outreach. As an Outreach member explained it: "We're in an innovative, creative area of work. We break all the rules. No wonder we're always trying to work out how to do things." Or, for a third

possibility, something about area organising may require prioritising for *procedures, planning* and *classes*/reports, whatever else it may include. Poodles may represent Area Team work itself, not the state of development of the Area Teams or the innovative nature of their work. Area of work insights have thus modified our first picture of the activities of our hypothetical adult education manager from the all terms totals above. What s/he works on may well depend on his/her brief, the innovative nature of the job or on how long s/he has been doing it.

Over time, these images change, which brings me to the fourth set of patterns I want to present. First, Outreach:

| Spring 85 | Autumn 85 | Winter 86 | Spring 86 | All Terms |

Outreach keeps its shape all year (as do Centre and ABE), though it loses parts of its tail and changes the emphases of the three major categories, *facilities, planning* and *procedures*. For comparison, here is the newest Area Team, East:

| Spring 85 | Autumn 85 | Winter 86 | Spring 86 | All Terms |

The Area Teams vary so similarly that one illustration can represent them both. First, South always has proportionately more *planning* items, East more *procedures*. *Classes*/reports hindquarters disappear in Spring 85 and reappear in Autumn 85 for both. Again for both, bodies disappear in Winter term, when *procedures* grows. The *planning* head for both teams is biggest in Spring 85 then shrinks until Spring 86, when it expands again. Once East's convening term (Spring, 1985) is over, concern with *procedures* expands for both, peaking in Winter, and decreasing to about the size of *planning* in Spring 86. Both add an *external events* thigh in Spring 86.

To test the images, I diagrammed each team in all the others' images. This diminished the images' patterning power except for the Area Teams; the poodle seems to aid tracing changes in activity over terms for both. Outreach comes closest to accepting another team's image -- it almost achieves the poodle if a back leg is added. It is the centrality of *planning* and *procedures* that links Outreach to the Area Teams. The analogy breaks down in the constancy over terms of *facilities* matters for Outreach -- not true of the Area Teams; the absence of the *classes*/reports categories for two terms, which East and South only lose in their convening term (Spring 85) when, logically, there was not much to "report"; and in Outreach's wide distribution of work across categories.

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(Three additional minutes item analyses suggested that, first, the Area Teams received more items from managers above them; second, that for all teams, between a third and 40% of all minutes items were "new"; and, third, that the teams mostly made decisions and received reports, though they differed in other options for dealing with items in meetings.)

In sum, we have a list of activities that the teams defined as managing work for adult education. We know something about category frequencies overall and for each area of work -- centre managing, subject specialism, outreach and geographical area -- and we have some indication of how activity varied over the year for each team.

The powerful precedent of the six-year-old Centre team and its way of working should have encouraged uniformity among the teams. Membership overlap, especially between East and Centre, should also have enhanced similarities(though there was no overlap between East and South). Crossteam agreement on what was involved in adult education managerial work was, as I have indicated, substantial. We are perhaps justified, then, in trying to explain differences among the teams, because their setting encouraged similarity.

Some of the patterns may be less important than the frequencies imply. For example, the compendium items used by all teams to deal with, it seems, repeated work(like South and East's "programme" or Outreach'S "class hours") reduce entries in a category like *publicity*. It may be that independent minute items are rather matters the teams did not understand than those they did -- the variation in pattern across terms reflect what each team was trying to understand at the time. Nevertheless, it will probably be useful to explore some of the determinants of pattern variation in the team images.

First, occurrences outside the teams should explain some of the patterns suggested by the images, particularly over time, as the Area Team *external event* thigh in Spring 86 implies. The log kept over the study period is a semi-independent record of these. Two comparisons may well result -- one which compares teams' treatment of the occurrence, and another which excludes these matters and considers all other pattern determinants.

Second, the Centre and Area Team minutes data seems to show seasonal differences -- more *planning* in Spring when the programme is being assembled, more *procedures* (in the case of Centre, *facilities*) in Autumn when the programme starts to run, and a "quiet" period with more *classes*/reports and fewer meetings in Winter while the programme "runs down", to quote a Centre member. Outreach shows less seasonal change perhaps because its classes operate all year round. The relative parity of *planning, procedures* and *facilities* in Outreach may reflect the demand outside termtime schedules that work with local community organisations creates -- small programmes many times during the year rather than one big one across three terms.

Third, structural matters may affect pattern determinants. The newest team, East, had an atypical first term, as the cross-term diagram indicates. Log entries say that the team "spent lots of time making it not to do with the Centre" -- a matter of stage of development of the team, perhaps. New members may cause changes in content frequencies too, especially if the team needs to reconvene itself to accommodate significant shifts in membership. The other new team, South, with the greatest membership turnover, will perhaps show differences because of this.

What can this data say about adult education managing work? Are all centres tricyles, all areas poodles? Again, I make three points. First, it does seem reasonable to assume that the work consists of *planning, procedures, facilities*, and *staffing*, and, to a lesser

extent, *classes*/reports, *external events, training,* and *publicity.*
These categories are raw, just as they came from the coding, and the
relationships between them kept as close to the original data as
possible. When items inside the categories are compared across teams,
it will probably emerge that most of the categories are ongoing
maintenance of existing work. *Planning* may well be an attempt to
understand what new work might be, and *procedures* partly exploring how
to develop and partly how to maintain what is already there. In the
codings, matters did move from *planning* once they occurred regularly;
sometimes this was marked by the team by its use of a term like
"report" or "feedback".

    Second, as one might have predicted, an adult education manager's
brief appears to affect both what is done and what can be done, if
s/he is like these teams.

    Third, each team took on a number of projects during the study
year, some of which became a part of their on-going work. The scale
of work undertaken may demonstrate how much work can be done in adult
education, and perhaps indicate the utility of organising adult
education through teams.

    Can this data say anything about the process of managing?
Perhaps some insight into managerial pattern-seeking will emerge. One
kind of evidence for this is in compendium minutes items which, when
they first arose in the coding process, were more a nuisance than a
possible pattern. The teams tended to try to group "new" things with
a known set of events to which responses were available. "Why don't
we defer the fee discussion till the planning meeting" places fees in
planning, probably hidden under the compendium "programme"; "if we
don't express an opinion about the fee system now, someone will decide
for us" places the fee discussion under *procedures* and keeps it an
independent item. It should be possible, with the data ordered as it
is to see something of this team analysis.

    If, all over the United Kingdom, the job of defining managing
adult education is left to the professionals so employed, as it
largely was to these teams, it is no wonder that the field finds it
hard to talk to itself, much less justify the work it does as a whole.
Put simply, what is important to a centre manager is irrelevant to an
outreach manager: each may be seeing a different part of the elephant.
We need to know more about the work of managing adult education, if
only so that we can talk to each other.

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Research report: Managing adult education

Mandy McMahon

What adult education managers do when they manage depends on

— their brief, and what they think it means;

— the season;

— how long they've been at it.

I can say that these statements, and more like them, are likely to be true because I have been studying the work of five adult education management teams who talked about their work to each other. Their meeting records show what they believed their work to be.

The brief and the season:

The work of managing adult education, for all five teams, was mostly planning (pl), facilities (buildings, books, rooms) (f), procedures (how to get things done) (pr) and staff (sf). To illustrate, here are the Adult Basic Education (ABE) flying bug and the Outreach ABE tadpole, images drawn to represent the work of four terms:

ABE: All terms

Outreach: All terms

If both teams organised ABE, why does the distribution of their work across the categories look so different? I think there are two reasons.

First, Outreach ABE founded new groups all year round, so it had to see to the detailed work of getting a group going, including publicity (pu), reports (r), facilities and staffing, more often than ABE. ABE's programme ran to adult education terms – Spring plans for Autumn programme.

The second difference is in the ABE bug's right wing. ABE trained (t) staff and volunteers, and participated in regional and national activities (e for external events), as an academic subject specialist might. ABE was a course team as well as a managing team; it interpreted its job differently.

New managers:

The two poodles (opposite) represent the work of a new team called East, whose responsibility was managing a geographical area. In its first term, the one in which the adult education programme is usually planned, the team spent most of its meetings discussing what it was going to do (planning) and how it was going to do it (procedures). By the following Spring term, East had settled to a pattern of working. It discussed planning and procedures still, but also saw to staff, received reports and dealt with external events.

East: Spring, Year 1   *East: Spring, Year 2*

How to get things done:

The East poodles show how important procedures are to a new team. Outreach shows that procedures can be important to an established team too, especially if it sets up new groups all the time. 'New' is the key word, I think. Managing is not just doing, but figuring out how it can be done, and fee systems, room rent, setting up meetings, and the rest a part of innovative work as well as a marker of a new manager.

Learners:

I have mentioned eight categories of work — planning, facilities, procedures, staff, reports, external events, training and publicity. The ninth category was students. 37 minutes items, 2% of the total, were specifically about students. These were mainly in ABE and in Centre, a team which ran an adult education building. Centre had a student association which brought matters to it; ABE made special arrangements for learners who became volunteers and tried to found a student association. East, Outreach and the other Area Team, South, had 7 student items between them. Adult Education managing is not specifically about learners, but about what goes on around them.

What you do and what you can do:

Centre, the oldest team, was a tricycle which kept its shape all year round. Facilities was most of the work. With this much commitment to one activity, it's hard to imagine Centre doing anything else. Perhaps what a team decides it must do excludes other activities.

Centre: All terms

Centre was the team from which all the other teams came. It dissolved itself in favour of East a year after the study ended, having, over its eight-year span, initiated working structures which the newer teams were able to modify to suit themselves. We as a field tend to give credit to big breezy projects, and to respect the new. Solid work like Centre's tends to be hidden in the smoothly-running adult education programmes used by learners all over the country.