

UNDERSTANDING THE DIMENSIONS OF SCHOOL CULTURE

AN INVESTIGATION INTO EDUCATORS' VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND VALUE CONFLICTS

by

Pauline E. Leonard

**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of Education
University of Toronto**

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An Investigation into Educators' Value Orientations and Value Conflicts

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ABSTRACT

Investigating school culture from multiple perspectives adds depth and breadth to our understanding of this complex phenomenon. In today's postmodern world, where universals and absolutes are virtually non-existent, and in light of increasing stakeholder involvement, there is a growing need for educators to distinguish between those issues which are contentious and those which are not. Without recognition of the variations in values perspectives, planned change, growth, and improvement in our educational institutions is less certain. This is particularly problematic in an era of social, political, economic, and technological upheaval.

The primary purpose of this study was to inquire about the complexities and dynamics of school culture through an examination of value orientations, apparent variations in those value orientations, and consequent value conflicts. Though the investigation was an emergent one, it was guided by a multi-perspective (i.e., District; School; Teaching Teams; Individuals) conceptual framework for examining four major aspects of school culture: Educational Purpose, Curriculum Orientation, Educator Professionalism, and Leadership. This qualitative study entailed five weeks of participant observation in an urban, multi-cultural, elementary school. During this time, each of two

teacher teams were separately observed for two-week periods while other school members were observed throughout the duration of the investigation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 19 participants and informal interactions with and among these and the other participants were recorded for analysis.

This interactive process uncovered commonalities, inconsistencies, and anomalies which led to further revelations concerning teachers' underlying basic assumptions about education. The data revealed that some of these basic assumptions were compatible with the cultural manifestations in the school while others were in apparent direct conflict. Examining both the *similarities* and the *variations* in core values from different perspectives provided added insight and a more thorough understanding of the school's culture beyond that which would have been achievable through a more limited shared-values orientation.

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- P.L.
Jan. 22, 1997

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This values-focused inquiry into school culture is inspired by an interest in both philosophical and practical educational concerns. First is the curiosity about *how* and *why* members of an organization, in particular the school organization, behave the way they do--hence the values perspective. Second is the pragmatic *need* to better understand the basic assumptions and values underlying educational philosophical orientations and the implications of adopting particular educational ideologies for educational practice, and for achieving educational goals. This reasoning seems justified in light of the following:

People often think that the practical and the philosophical are at opposite poles. Nothing could be more mistaken. Thinking clearly about what you are doing, which is at the heart of philosophy, is a highly practical activity because it can transform practice, often out of all recognition. (Smith, 1985, p.1)

To the end of transforming practice, or at the very least, to understand both what educators are doing, and why they are doing it, this values inquiry into the culture of a Canadian metropolitan, multicultural school is warranted.

Pseudonyms are used for the school, the district, and all participants in this study.

Contextualizing the Problem

Organizational culture is a complex phenomenon, and we should not rush to measure things until we understand better what we are measuring (Schein, 1990, p.118).

Upon my first visit to Hillside Elementary School, I was to meet with the principal to discuss some preliminary matters related to this research. Arriving early for the meeting, I waited in the foyer while Principal Mark Butler met with some students in his office. I sat in one of the comfortable chairs that had been arranged around a circular table. Classes were in session so the area was relatively empty. It was a convenient location to wait for Principal Butler because across the hallway I could see inside the central office which was largely encased in glass. Inside the spacious office, two secretaries sat at their desks, while on the far side of them open doors led to two more rooms, one of which was the principal's office.

I remember thinking how comfortable it felt to be back inside an elementary school. I listened to distant voices, both teachers' and students,' wafting through the hallway, and I envisioned the types of activities that might be going on in the classrooms. Although I had not yet ventured up the stairs I knew that there would be more classrooms there. In my mind's eye I could see wide-eyed children sitting in a semi-circle on the floor while an enthusiastic teacher read them a current theme-related story. And even though I had just passed through the threshold of the building, I knew that in the school there would be one large room with a high ceiling where students would go to participate in physical activities. It would be called the gym. There was also quite probably a music room. Almost certainly there would be a room, the staff room, where staff would convene, perhaps at recess time. And of course I had no doubt that there would be a recess break sometime near mid-morning. Yes, I was quite comfortable sitting there because, if there was one thing that I had learned in my years of experience as a student

and as a teacher in various schools, it was that there are some things about schools that are relatively consistent. Those were my initial thoughts.

Inasmuch as “observers of schools do not come to the task with blank minds” (Sarason, 1982, p. 14), it was easy for me to speculate about the “structure and functions” (Sarason, p. 28) of Hillside Elementary. However, as my wait progressed, I slowly began to cease thinking about what was beyond my vantage point, and instead began to take a closer look at my immediate surroundings. First I focused on the many flags from different countries that hung from the ceiling. I counted them. Thirty-one. I wondered how many of these countries were represented in the student population. I remembered the “WELCOME” poster I had seen just minutes earlier as I entered the front vestibule of the school. Underneath the English version of the message were numerous translations. I again thought of the multicultural student population at the school and felt delight in that this aspect of schooling would be a new experience for me. My eyes continued their journey. To my left and on the opposite side of where I sat, I could see another open doorway which led to a room called the Family Resource Centre. I speculated on the role of the centre but could not be sure. This too was new to me. I turned my attention back to the central office and took a closer look at the principal’s office just beyond one secretary’s desk. I had not realized it the first time, but now I could see that the principal and vice principal shared the office. There was an additional, and apparently, unoccupied room adjacent to it, so I conjectured that it was not out of necessity that these two administrators shared their working space. Yet I wondered why they had elected to do so. My experiences in schools led me to believe that separate offices were a high priority with

administrators. Was this what Schein (1990, p. 112) would call an “anomaly” which, by the very nature of its perplexity to me, could lead to me to discover the culture of Hillside Elementary?

My musings would have probably led me to perceiving additional surface differences between this school and others that I have known, but the time had come for me to meet with Principal Butler. Still, that initial visit at Hillside marked the beginning of my investigation into how to go about describing an organization’s culture and to understand the meaning of culture for what happens in the organization. During my short wait, I had begun observing what is described by some who theorize about organizational culture (Schein, 1990; Caldwell & Spinks, 1992), as the “tangible manifestations” of school culture. Even without seeing any of the students or teachers, I was getting a *beginning sense* or “impression” of the school’s “distinctive tone or character” (Erickson, 1987, p. 11). I stress ‘beginning sense’ because it is imperative for one to realize that getting an impression of a school’s character should not be confused with *understanding* the school’s culture. Tangible manifestations of culture may help *lead* to an understanding of the culture. That which is the culture is not so readily accessible.

The challenge of investigating school culture is one worthy of effort inasmuch as “the concept of culture can be helpful as one tries to gain new and deeper understanding about the nature of daily life and instruction in schools” (Erickson, 1987, p. 13). Understanding an organization and the interorganizational relationships is “the key to organizational excellence” (Schein, 1984, p.3). The primary purpose of this research was to investigate school culture. More specifically, the focus of the study was *to gain insight*

into the complexities and dynamics of school culture. If we accept that “all organizations and institutions are value-ridden” (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 44) and that “to really understand a culture and to ascertain more completely the group’s values and overt behaviour, it is imperative to delve into the underlying assumptions” (Schein, 1984, p. 3) then attempts to understand school culture necessitates a focus on values, value orientations and value conflicts. Therefore, the following questions guided the research:

1. *What are the value orientations pertaining to educational purpose, curriculum, leadership and educator professionalism from the perspectives of the District, the School, the Primary Team and the Junior Team and the Individual?*
2. *What consistencies and variations in orientations exist between perspectives?*
3. *What is the nature of the value conflicts which arise from variations in orientations?*
4. *What do consistency in orientations, variations in orientations and value conflicts tell us about how school culture is formed?*

Significance of the Study

Education is a deliberate, purposive activity; the determination of purpose requires reference to what is deemed valuable, choiceworthy and therefore a desirable objective, it is what we value and in what order of priority, that decides our educational aims. (Garforth, 1985, p. 66)

Garforth also states that, while questions about aims are questions about values, values also give content and direction to aims. Consequently, an investigation into school culture is really an investigation into the values, the variations in values and the value conflicts which characterize and give shape to that culture.

There is a long-standing educational debate “between those who urge . . . a return to the basics, a more rigorous curriculum, more testing, and greater discipline and those

who want to encourage freer learning environments, educational exploration, and a greater responsibility among students” (Pal, 1992, p. 211). Investigating school culture by examining value orientations to educational purpose, curriculum, leadership and professionalism, from multiple perspectives (District, School, Teams, Individual) helps to untangle the myriad of value conflicts inherent in a culture which is influenced by mismatched and competing ideological positions.

Furthermore, in light of this conceptualization of school culture and the recognition that little is known about the precise manner in which school cultures develop (Leithwood & Jantzi, 1990), this study contributes to knowledge about the interrelationship of school purposes, curriculum metaorientations, leadership orientations and educator professionalism in the development of school culture. It also sheds light on the interplay of personal values and the influence of external values embedded in district policies for what is taught and how it is taught (Darling-Hammond, 1988) in a given school culture.

While there is “virtually universal agreement that values play a key role in administration . . . there is only a limited amount of relevant scholarship” (Willower, 1994, p. 32). Moreover, current educational reform includes a “fundamental alteration in the relationships among the players involved in the educational process” (Murphy, 1991, p. 15). Understanding the value conflicts teachers and administrators experience in the leader’s quest to facilitate the move to collaboration, shared decision making and teacher empowerment in today’s schools is a step in the right direction. Therefore, research into value orientations pertaining to leadership and educator professionalism contributes to

educational leadership in particular and education in general in that it generates a better understanding of the need for “values sophistication” (Hodgkinson, 1991) in not only administrators, but in all educational stakeholders.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to what I was able to uncover during five weeks of participant observation. Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative investigation was to gain insight into, not to explain, the role of values in the development of school culture. Given the abstract nature of both the concept of values and that of culture, and the complexity of the multiple realities characteristic of human relationships in social organizations, it is impossible to find absolute truths, offer universal solutions or prescriptive procedures to guide professional action. That was not the intent of this investigation into values and school culture.

Rather, my intent was to describe and analyze the values which were embedded in the culture of one elementary school. It was also an attempt to understand the role of values in the development of school culture, the types of value conflicts that arose within that culture, and the manner in which these value conflicts were resolved, albeit through my subjective perception and interpretation in the data. However, this attempt to delve into values and underlying basic assumptions from different perspectives (i.e., the District, the School, the Teams, and the Individuals) was an interactive process between the participants and me to arrive at *shared* understandings of these subjective realities.

Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter One contextualizes the research problem, presents the research questions, discusses the significance of the study and addresses its limitations. A discussion of the theoretical underpinnings for investigating school culture and the multi-perspective conceptual framework are the focus of Chapter Two. The next chapter, Chapter Three presents a literature review of the major concepts of this study: values, school culture, educational purposes, curriculum orientations, and leadership and educator professionalism. Chapter Four, the methodology chapter, addresses the researcher's bias, the theoretical paradigm which guided the study, the research design, the sources and process of data collection, the data management and analysis, and issues pertaining to trustworthiness of the data and ethics.

Chapters Five, Six, Seven, and Eight are comprised of a presentation and comparative analysis of underlying value orientations pertaining to educational purposes, curriculum metatorientations, leadership and educator professionalism. Chapter Nine provides a discussion of the findings structured by the four research questions. In particular, the consistencies in value orientations, variations in value orientations and value conflicts are analysed for the underlying basic assumptions which are embedded in each perspective's position.

Lastly, Chapter Ten consists of a summary discussion and conclusion outlining the implications for practitioners and researchers which arose from the findings in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides the theoretical basis and the conceptual framework for this investigation into school culture.

Theoretical Underpinnings for Investigating School Culture

Culture, defined in a general way by Joseph Spradley (1979, p. 5), is acquired, shared knowledge that people use to “interpret experience and generate social behaviour.” Edgar Schein, who has written much about *organizational* culture (1983; 1984; 1985; 1990) defines culture as “(a) a pattern of basic assumptions, (b) invented, discovered, or developed by a given group, (c) as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, (d) that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore (e) is to be taught to new members as the (f) correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems” (1990, p. 111). Willower (1984, p. 36) also equates organizational cultures with patterns of what he describes as “traditions, values, norms, and other social structures” that give character to an organization. Caldwell and Spinks (1992, p.39) state more simply that “over time the ways in which things are done in a particular school fall into a pattern and the school’s culture starts to emerge.”

Whereas defining culture is unequivocally deemed to be a challenge and one which has generated varying definitions, there is consensus among many theorists and

researchers that culture may be conceptualized as a pattern of basic assumptions which are learned and shared by a group and are manifested in ways that are distinctive to a given group. What becomes difficult to explain, however, is the form and substance of these abstract concepts, that is, just how these basic assumptions are formulated or learned by a group, how they are manifested in a particular group such as a school, and how these manifestations of culture can help one uncover the underlying basic assumptions of the group. It is not only vague, it is a circuitous definition in that manifestations of culture do not, in and of themselves, tell you *what* the underlying basic assumptions of the group are (Schein, 1984). Yet basic assumptions are the underpinnings of a school's manifestations of culture.

According to Caldwell and Spinks (1992) manifestations are *both* tangible and intangible. Tangible manifestations of culture are: i. verbal, both oral and written, (e.g., the multilingual poster in the front vestibule); ii. behavioural (e.g., the principal and vice principal sharing an office); and, iii. visual (e.g., the flags of different countries hung in the foyer). This conception of tangible manifestations of culture is similar to Schein's depiction of the "artifacts" of an organization, and to some extent the "espoused values" that members of the organization express as a group. Artifacts are visible but may not be readily decipherable (Schein, 1984, p.4). Espoused values are just that, they are professed ideals that may be identified through analysing the school's artifacts or by interviewing members of the organization. On the other hand, intangible manifestations are declared to be the root of what makes up the culture of a school. They are basically the "assumptions,

values and beliefs which constitute the philosophy of the school (Caldwell & Spinks, 1992, p. 68). And Schein (1984) states:

To really understand a culture and to ascertain more completely the group's values and overt behaviour, it is imperative to delve into the underlying basic assumptions, which are typically unconscious but which actually determine how group members perceive, think and feel. Such assumptions are themselves learned responses that originated as espoused values. But, as a value leads to a behaviour, and as that behaviour begins to solve the problem which prompted it in the first place, the value gradually is transformed into an underlying assumption about how things really are. (p. 4)

This begs the question: *How does one go about trying to uncover these underlying basic assumptions for a better understanding of school culture?*

A further look at what writers on culture say is helpful in beginning to answer this question. Tarter & Kottkamp (1991) suggest that organizational culture can be measured at three levels ranging from the abstract to the concrete: i. basic assumptions; ii. values; and iii. norms. As already discussed, basic assumptions are 'typically unconscious' (Schein, 1984, p.4). Consequently they are difficult to uncover and require an interactive participatory observational process "between the investigator and motivated informants who live in the organization and embody its culture" (Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, 1991, p. 5). Values are usually expressed by members of the organization when asked why they behave the way they do (Hoy & Miskel, 1987, p. 250). Norms are the more concrete level of analysis of culture and are the unwritten and informal expectations that affect behaviour. Norms, because they are more overt, may be determined through survey instruments (Hoy et al., 1991).

Whereas investigating school culture at each of the three levels has specific advantages, given the abstract nature of uncovering underlying basic assumptions, an interactive, participant observation process is necessary. Schein (1990; 1984) suggests that examining artifacts are helpful inasmuch as this may help one uncover certain anomalies that may be embedded in these artifacts. When one discovers things that are unique to the organization, or not easily explainable, or in some cases upsetting, then this may lead one to an underlying basic assumption. Additionally, by talking with members of the organization and asking pertinent questions one comes to an understanding of the espoused values. Caldwell and Spinks (1992) suggest that answers to questions regarding the purpose of education, the role of the school, curriculum orientation, and the school/community relationship leads to understanding of these values. Upon examining the answers to these questions, the investigator may notice inconsistencies between what is professed and what is observed.

Schein (1990) also suggests that it is the anomalies and the inconsistencies which can lead an observer to the next step in the investigation which involves “pushing past the layer of espoused values into underlying *assumptions* [which] if we combine insider knowledge with outsider questions. . . can be brought to the surface” (p. 112). This is an interactive process which involves ‘teasing out’ basic assumptions.

Strong and Weak Culture

Although helpful in terms of understanding what culture is, there is a caveat embedded in definitions which describe culture as the manifestation of taken-for-granted

meanings, perhaps unexplored and unexamined, that are learned and shared among members of a particular group. It implies harmony, consistency, consensus and a common bondedness within the group. There is also the belief that if organizational members share a common history and that if there is sufficient stability within the organization then the culture can be “presumed” to be strong (Schein, 1990). However, conceptualizing culture in this way does not account for “the observable variations in the actions, beliefs, and sentiments of individuals and groups” (Erickson, 1987, p. 12) within all types of organizations. This is important because culture does not necessarily emerge smoothly, orderly, or without conflict “but is actively created and contested against competing visions and values of what people in the organization should do” (Hargreaves, Earl & Ryan, 1996, p. 8).

Caldwell and Spinks also commit the fallacy of oversimplifying strong and weak culture when they state:

A culture is deemed to be strong if all members of the school share the same values and beliefs. Conversely, a weak culture exists when there is a manifestation of inconsistent values and beliefs in its members. (1992, p. 68)

A problem with this position is that it does not seem to account for the fact that what may appear to be a strong culture may indeed be a culture whereby members of an organization are not encouraged to examine their values and beliefs. Unreflective practice may be confused with consensus, shared meanings and, by extension, a strong culture. The antithesis of this is when the culture of an organization is one that encourages and invites new and potentially conflicting meanings. In this case, critical reflective thinking and

practice may give rise to a lack of continual consensus and consequently be equated with a weak culture. The question we may infer is: Should a culture that is strongly based on the assumption that growth comes from sharing conflicting values, beliefs and ideas be labelled weak?

Schein *does* address the issue of variations in cultures within an organization and describes it as a “conceptual problem” in that, “systems contain subsystems, organizations contain groups and units within them, and it is not clear over what range the tendency toward equilibrium will exist in any given complex total system” (Schein, 1990, p.111). However, this concession to the difficulty of conceptualizing culture as being based on the common understandings of one group is somewhat too easily dismissed by some theoreticians and investigators. An example of this is in how Schein justifies his position regarding potentially contentious cultures within an organization:

For our purposes it is enough to specify that any definable group with a shared history can have a culture and that within an organization there can therefore be many subcultures. If the organization as a whole has had shared experiences, there will also be a total organizational culture. Within any given unit, the tendency for integration and consistency will be assumed to be present, but it is perfectly possible for coexisting units of a larger system to have cultures that are independent and even in conflict with each other. (1990, p.111)

Whereas Schein’s position addresses variations in cultures within an organization, the effort falls short in that it does not delve deeply into the heart of the matter. Recognizing the *potential* for conflicting values within an organization is like recognizing the potential for high winds during a hurricane. The point is that if we are to gain insights into school culture we need to focus not only on patterns of values and their consistency, but also on

variations in value orientations. What Schein does provide is a beginning basis for exploring culture in his analysis framework of artifacts, espoused values and basic assumptions. However, investigators of culture would do well to extend this framework further to include a focus on *variations in value orientations and value conflicts* for a beginning understanding of the complexities and the dynamics at work within a given organizational culture. Instead of framing our understandings of school culture in terms of how members of the organization *learn* this culture, I contend that it would be more insightful to investigate how members in a group either *adopt, submit to, or resist* a dominant, or overarching, or strong culture. The next section presents a view of how this can be done.

A Multi-perspective Conceptual Framework

In order to gain insight into the dynamics and complexities of school culture I developed for this study a multi-perspective framework of analysis approach. This approach was influenced by Hodgkinson's (1991) discussion of the importance of educational leaders to have a knowledge of the values of members at various levels of the organization. Although this research is not solely concerned with administrator leadership, Hodgkinson's conception of how the leader is immersed in a field of values reflecting multiple choices whereby decisions must be made is a useful one in that it draws attention to the variations in values of individuals and groups within a school system. Hodgkinson describes this field of values as follows:

Overlapping and subsuming levels of value (V₁-V₅), extend upwards and downwards from the individual (V₁) through his (sic) immediate organizational associations in the informal organizations (e.g., teachers who form a friendly peer group on the staff V₂) to the organization itself with its overt and covert purposes (e.g., the school V₃) to the subculture of the community in which the school is embedded (V₄) and finally the given social culture in space and time which is a function of geography and history and is expressed in those values represented by the German concept of the spirit of the times (Zeitgeist V₅). (1991, p.44)

These layers of values may be conceptualized in distinct ways but in actuality interact in a “systemic way” (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 68).

Values, according to Feather (1975) serve as standards “that guide thought and action.” These standards can be considered from the perspectives of both the individuals and the group. The difficulty of distinguishing between values of an individual and values that are shared by a group or groups within an organization should not be underestimated. It is difficult to clearly differentiate between the individual and society as the reciprocal relationship between the two is one of mutual need. According to Garforth (1985, p.107), “neither can exist, or even make sense, without the other.” Rokeach suggests that individual values are “*socially* shared cognitive representations of *personal* needs and the means for satisfying them [whereas] institutional values are *socially* shared cognitive representations of *institutional* goals and demands [emphasis added]” (1971, p.51). Despite the “individualist” focus in defining individual values, the definition includes a “social” element. Analogous to this is the definitional requirement of institutional values to include references to the “individual” in sharing “cognitive representations” with other individuals. As Hodgkinson (1991, p. 68) posits, “a culture or society is the totality of its organizations and these in turn are the totality of their idiographic human components.”

Furthermore, there is never perfect value harmony across or within the levels; value conflict is the nature of human activity.

However, the framework for this study does not necessitate conceptualizing organizational levels in distinct ways in the manner of Hodgkinson's schema. Instead of approaching this study of school culture in terms of examining organizational levels, the conceptual design is based on the understanding that organizations may be studied by examining them from the various perspectives of the individuals, the subgroups or the group as a whole. In the case of this study, these perspectives are: the District, the School; a Primary Team; a Junior Team; and Individuals. In approaching the study based on this conceptualization, my intent was to gain insight into the school culture in terms of whether there was an overarching or dominant culture, and if so, to describe how the teams and the individuals either adopted, submitted to, or resisted the overarching culture of the school.

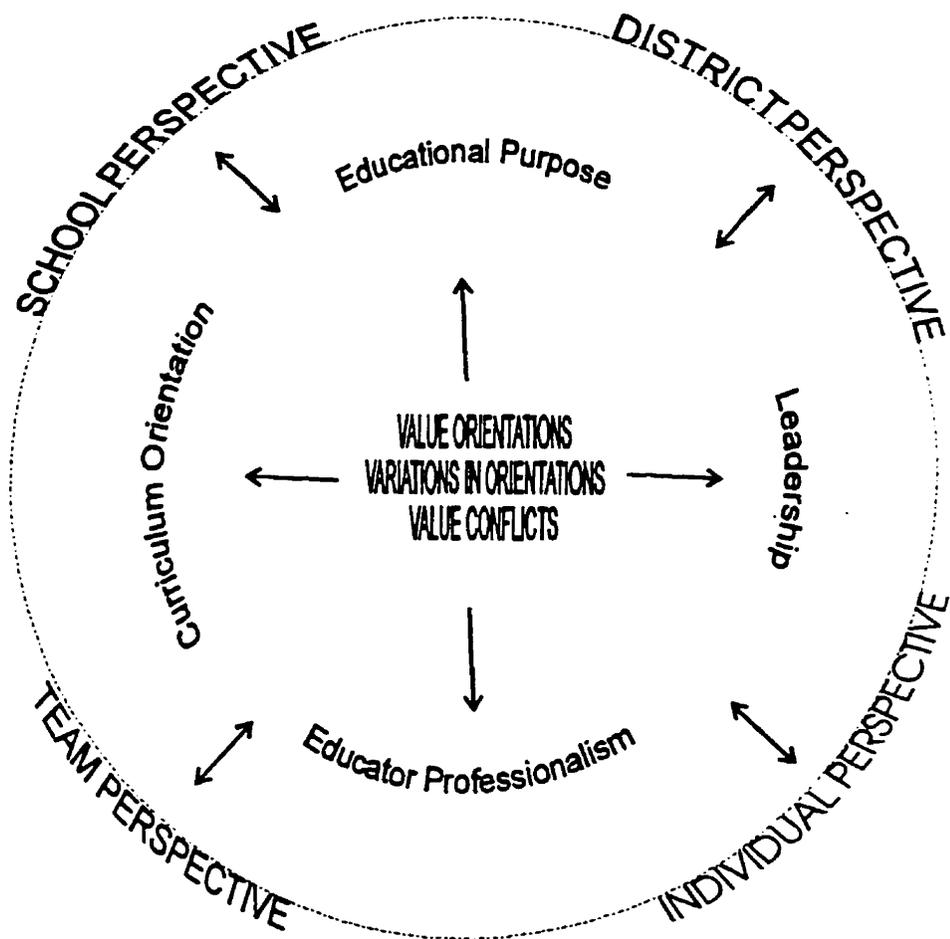
Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts

In order to better understand the dynamics and complexities involved when members of an organization interact in groups and subgroups, and to gain insight into how individuals and groups either accept or resist acculturation, the framework for this study provides a way to examine not only the value orientations of individuals, subcultures and the overarching culture within a school, but the variations in value orientations and the value conflicts that members experience in their daily interactions with others within the school system.

As earlier addressed, Caldwell and Spinks (1992) suggest answers to questions about the purposes of education, the role of the school in achieving these purposes, the relationship between a school and its community, and what and how students learn help define a school culture. Through a multi-perspective approach this study explores these questions through four major themes: i. Educational Purpose; ii. Curriculum Metaorientation; iii. Leadership; and iv. Educator Professionalism. The importance of these areas for understanding school culture is discussed in detail in the following Literature Review section. However, in terms of the conceptual framework, it is sufficient for now to describe how these major categories are part of the conceptual framework for this study. Figure 2.1 (See p. 19) provides a visual representation of the framework.

The figure depicts the multi-perspective approach for uncovering the culture (s) of the school in terms of the School (i.e., the whole group), the Teams (i.e., the subgroups) and the Classroom Teachers (the Individuals). The District perspective is included for the purpose of comparing the *espoused* values of the district with the values that are inherent in the culture (s) of the school. As suggested by the figure, educational purposes, curriculum orientations, leadership and educator professionalism are the four major areas which guided the study in terms of describing the value orientations discovered from each perspective. It is important to recognize that the framework for this study is one which focuses not only on consistency of orientations and how culture is learned, but on variations in orientations and how the overarching culture may be resisted. That is why variations in orientations and value conflicts are central to the conceptualization of this study as can be seen in Figure 2.1 (see p. 19)

Figure 2.1: A Multi-perspective Values Framework for Examining School Culture (Leonard, 1997)



In this way, there is also a focus on variations in orientations and value conflicts, and consequently on how members of any organization may merely submit to or even resist a dominant culture rather than consciously or subconsciously adopt it.

To summarize, this framework allows for a multi-perspective (i.e., the District, the School, the Teams, and the Individuals) conceptual analysis of four major areas (i.e., Educational Purpose, Curriculum Orientation, Leadership, and Educator Professionalism) in order to examine the tangible and intangible manifestations of culture through the artifacts, espoused values and basic assumptions expressed in groups, subgroups and individuals for the purpose of uncovering underlying value orientations, variations in value orientations and value conflicts that manifest themselves in the culture(s) of the school. Conceptualizing the investigation in this way provided a means *to gain insight into the complexities and dynamics of school culture.*

CHAPTER THREE

Literature Review

A Values Discussion: the Philosophical

Any philosophical inquiry requires, as a first step, the defining and clarification of significant concepts and terms related to the analysis. Despite the pedestrian familiarity of the term *value*, defining key terms is no less a concern for this investigation. Indeed, everyday usage of the term contributes more to obfuscate the task of defining value than it does to clarifying its meaning. Furthermore, deliberations on issues related to values are often obscured by the synonymous usage of other terms such as “morals”, “ethics”, and “quality.” Even where meanings are differentiated, a situation often develops where “the murky domains of moral and ethical philosophy and value inquiry . . . [have] . . . innumerable varying and often competing definitions” (Campbell, 1992, p.3). Consequently, any successfully communicated discourse on values requires an a priori discussion of particular key concepts associated with the various and potentially contending schools of thought.

Defining Value

A deceptively simple definition proposed by Hodgkinson describes values “as concepts of the desirable with motivating force” (1991, p.101). It is derived from

Kluckhohn's (1951, p.395 in Hodgkinson, 1991) definition of value as "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the *desirable* [emphasis added] which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action." Rokeach (1973, p.5), however, deliberately omits "moral" terminology such as *ought*, *should* and *desirable* when defining value, stating that a value "is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially *preferable* [emphasis added] to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence."

Another contributing issue to the illusiveness of value definition resides in this example:

Let us define valuation as a proposition having the form "X: is good or bad, right or wrong, better or worse [emphasis added] than something else (in some ways or respects and/or in certain circumstances and/or in itself or for some purpose)." A value of a person is then a valuation believed to be true by the person, or whose truth is presupposed by the person's reason set. (Kane, 1985, pp.84-85)

The obscurity rests in the ambiguity of certain terminology. Consider Kane's usage of the following: *good or bad, right or wrong, and better or worse*. The problem lies with the ambiguous nature of the phrase "right or wrong" in that its use can connote right or wrong in the moral sense or in the descriptive sense of being true or false. For example, one may say, "Honesty is the best policy" and mean either that he or she believes it is morally right to be honest as an end in itself, or that he or she believes it is true that being honest will help one to achieve one's goals. The difference in the meanings may be subtle,

but in the former, right signifies a standard of behaviour while in the latter right is associated with the accuracy of the statement.

Another problem in discussions of value is related to the dichotomous nature inherent in attempts to define the concept. Garforth (1985, p.55) suggests that the word “value” is frequently used to signify worth. If something has worth then it is choiceworthy. For example, *objects* such as clothes, vehicles, and money may be considered to *hold* value. However, values such as *happiness* and *contentment*, considered to be affective (Rokeach, 1973, p. 6) in that they imply a state of mind (Garforth, 1985, p.55) and values such as *courtesy* and *kindness* considered to have a “behavioural component” (Rokeach, 1973; Garforth, 1985) in that they refer to conduct, are not objects holding value but abstract notions of value. What follows is a bifurcated understanding of the concept of value: i. a person may value; or, ii. an object or abstraction may hold value. In the former, values connote subjectiveness in that the worth of the value (e.g., money, happiness, kindness) is perceived or held by the individual. With regard to the latter, value is used in the objective sense in that it may be used to indicate the thing that is being valued (e.g., money, happiness, kindness). In other words, value can refer to the values that a person subjectively perceives or holds, or it can refer to the object or abstraction that is being valued. This may not be a problem when discussing concrete notions such as money, cars or clothes. However, when considering abstractions like peace, truth or respect, the distinction between subjectiveness and objectiveness is an important one.

When undertaking value research, it is important to be aware of different value positions; it is also important to understand that it is often difficult to polarize these

differences. Consequently, clarifying differences in value positions involves an attempt to navigate the many subtle complexities, the network of nuances and the gradations of differences associated with these varied value positions.

Characteristics of Values

Implicit in the preceding discussion of definitions of value are the following antithetical characteristics: *means* and *ends*; *relative* and *absolute*; *subjective* and *objective*; *desired* and *desirable*. Lack of a consensus about these value characteristics is the basis for much of the dispute and debate surrounding values. This debate also has implications for issues related to educational values and school culture. Consequently, each conceptual pair requires elaboration.

Means and Ends

. . . [T]here is the familiar distinction between end-value and means-value, between what is valuable as the goal of action and what is valuable only as instrumental to that goal. Failure to make this distinction is not an uncommon source of confusion in educational thought. (Garforth, 1985, pp. 56-57)

Rokeach (1973) makes a clear distinction between ends and means in his discussion of “instrumental” and “terminal” values respectively. Instrumental or means-values are beliefs concerning desirable modes of conduct, whereas terminal or end-values are beliefs relating to end-states of existence. Examples of instrumental values or “modes of conduct” are “love,” “responsibility,” and “courage” and examples of terminal values or

“end-states of existence” are “freedom,” “equality” and “worldpeace” (Rokeach, 1973, p.28).

In presenting his “teleological” conception of values, Beck (1993) also distinguishes between ends and means. Derived from the Greek word, *teleos*, teleological means end or goal and a teleological position is one which purports that “objects and actions are good because they promote one or more goals” (Beck, 1993, p. 22). This contrasts with a “deontological” approach which focuses on the goodness of the “means” or the “action” itself.

In relation to education, questions of means and ends are significant when discussing the purpose of education. There is much educational discourse pertaining to the issue of what are desirable ends and what are the best means for achieving these ends. In examining the culture of Hillside Elementary school, this study provides insight into variations in value orientations to educational purpose. In doing so, we also gain insight into the implications of adopting particular educational values as either the overall educational purpose or as the means to achieving that purpose.

Absolutism and Relativism

. . . the enduring quality of values arises from the fact that they are initially taught and learned in isolation from other values in an absolute . . . manner . . . It is the isolated and thus absolute learning of values that more or less guarantees their endurance and stability. . . . Paradoxically, there is also a relative quality of values that must be made explicit if we are to come to grips with the problem of value change. (Rokeach, 1973, p. 6)

This value paradox spurs continued debate regarding the absolute or relative quality of values. An absolutist's view depicts value choices as moral judgements which can be considered to be "true or false in virtue of some non-natural fact, some absolute value or Platonic Form which never changes" (Downie, 1971, p.174). This value perspective upholds that there are universal values which are common to all cultures and societies (Louzecky & Flannery, 1989, p. 70). Conversely, a relativist account of values holds that "judgement of value of certain kinds . . . presupposed by different persons (or groups or societies or cultures) may differ, and . . . no one person's (or a group's) judgements are privileged or superior to any of the others in the sense that they are absolute . . ." (Kane, 1985, p.84).

Hodgkinson suggests that Type 1 values of principle have "a quality of absoluteness"--as opposed to the more relative Type 3 values--in that adoption of "transrational" values most likely requires an act of faith and commitment, and therefore are undisputable according to the holder of these values (1991, p.99). Whereas, these values of principles *may* be objectified into systems of law and codes of ethics, Hodgkinson's subjectivist focus is on the individual and not the objective and *shared* conception of what constitutes absolute-like values. Furthermore, he suggests that since values, unlike facts, are always "to a degree matters of personal choice or preference then it follows that values are relative and not absolute" (p. 90&91).

Rokeach (1973) suggests that a value may be enduring but it is not completely stable. Similarly, from an ethical perspective, Strike, Haller, & Soltis (1988, p.14) suggest that rights are not absolute but generally "need to be balanced against other rights and

interests.” Beck (1993) clearly considers *no* values to be absolute. Rather the position he takes is that values are relevant to a situation in that they constantly “must be weighed against each other, and are only ends in themselves to a relative degree” (p.24).

Garforth (1985) also has difficulty accepting value absolutism. He does concede, however, that there are certain “ethical concepts” like “justice,” “right,” “goodness” and “beauty” which are *common* to societies, but the content of these concepts is culturally dependent and therefore vary. Furthermore, values such as “happiness,” “freedom,” and “equality,” having withstood the test of time and experience, eventually acquire an *apparent* permanence and acceptance as “rules of conduct.”

A caveat inherent in qualities of permanence and acceptance associated with the concept of absolute values is the resultant resistance to change. Consequently, Garforth (1985) warns that belief in absolute values may stifle thinking and discourage cultural and individual differences. The relationship between moral and ethical principles and absolute values is evident. However, Garforth suggests that value relativity does not exclude a moral or ethical component nor does it suggest that questions of value choice are to be decided “without reference to other individuals or to society” (p.60).

The implications of this for education are many. This investigation into the value orientations reflected in the culture of Hillside Elementary School addresses questions about how individuals within the organization conceptualize values. Are values considered to be absolute or relative? Or, are certain values deemed to be absolute while others are considered to be relative? And what are the implications of holding values

uncritically and/or unquestionably as universal, particular in a culturally diverse school such as Hillside Elementary?

Objective and Subjective

Ethical relativity may mean . . . the moral value is relative to the subject asserting it or to the type of society in which it is commonly asserted . . . [or] . . . that what is right in one set of conditions may be wrong in another set of conditions. The two meanings are frequently confused.
(Ginsberg in Beck, 1993, p. 29)

Ginsberg correctly draws attention to the ambivalence surrounding the relativity of values by distinguishing between relativity in the sense of circumstances or situation and relativity in the sense of reference to an individual's subjective reality or judgement. In the case of the latter, when value relativism is applied to individuals, it is commonly referred to as "value subjectivism" (Kane, 1985, p.84). Belief in the relativity of values does not necessarily mean that one believes values to be subjective. For example, although Beck believes values to be relative, he submits that they are not culturally relative nor are they subjectively defined. Instead, they are grounded in "objectively identifiable basic values" (1993, p.29). Belief in the objective nature of values has a long history. According to Garforth (1985, p. 68), Plato believed in objective, external values "independent of human experience" such as Truth, Beauty, Goodness, Reason, Justice, and Temperance.

The problem for subjectivists with this position is that "while individuals may share some attributes of a value for a . . . period of time that sharing is more an intersection of orientations or interests attained in different ways by each individual" (Begley, 1988, p.2.13). Hodgkinson's (1991, p. 95) subjectivist position embodies the view that values

are phenomenological entities and value orientations are dependent upon the “holder’s circumstances, biography and culture.

How educators conceptualize values is particularly important in a multicultural school where individuals are constantly immersed in a field of culturally diverse values. One’s position on whether values are dependent upon the subjective interpretation of the holder or independent of the holder in an objective sense, is important for how educators approach many aspects of education.

Desirable and Desired

Questions about values can be reduced to questions of ethics and morality; values are here conceived of as propositions that state whether X is morally good, desirable and so on. Value judgements turn into ethical imperatives, statements for what people should or should not [original emphasis] do. (Lakomski, 1987, pp. 72-73)

Reducing value questions to the essence of what are moral and ethical concerns is to confine the discussion to matters related to *desirable* modes, means or ends of action. However, the word “value,” as the preceding examination of value definitions suggests, is generally used to include not only what one considers desirable, but also to include what one *desires*. Making the distinction between the desirable and the desired is, according to Hodgkinson (1991), a matter of distinguishing between what is right and what is good. He suggests that the “value problem is a universal feature of the human condition and is defined by the tension which exists between the lower dimension of indulgence [desired] and the upper dimension of denial [desirable]” (p.102). In this manner, there is a

distinction between concepts of what one *ought* to do, that is, what is *right* from concepts of what one would like to do, or, what is *good*.

Rokeach's instrumental values include, among others, those with a moral focus such as behaving "honestly" and "responsibly," giving them an "ought" quality. Conflict arises when values of a personal focus, for example, behaving "logically" and "intellectually" compete with these moral values. However, analogous to Hodgkinson's view, Rokeach does not consider values to be objective moral principles or standards for strictly determining right and wrong action.

According to Feather (1975), Rokeach believes that "values are not neutral but are held with personal feeling and generate affect when challenged" (p. 5). This is an important point to consider when undertaking an inquiry into educational value conflicts. The emotional and affective dimension is sometimes too easily overlooked when investigating both the nature of these value conflicts and how teachers and administrators resolve the conflicts.

Furthermore when discussing moral issues, and/or resolving conflict between what is desirable and what is desired, the act of morality is frequently elevated to an end in and of itself. As Beck (1993, p. 3) suggests, "being moral should be seen not as an end in itself but rather as a *means* (original emphasis) to the good life, for ourselves and others." Beck defends his position by reporting, for example, that telling a "white lie" is sometimes necessary to protect others. Consequently, Beck does not include moral values in his list of basic values.

Related Concepts

Embedded in this discussion of values and their characteristics are other fundamental concepts essential to the dialogue. These key concepts are addressed in the following discussion.

Choice & Conflict

Values . . . imply persons valuing, making choices, value judgements. A value judgement is a decision which involves an assessment of value of worth or choiceworthiness. Such decisions range from the trivial to the profound; whether we have tea or coffee for breakfast . . . [to] decisions about issues like abortion, conservation and nuclear war. The range of value judgments reflects the range of human experience and the choices it demands on us. (Garforth, 1985, p.57)

At the heart of the value question is the matter of *choice*. Kane (1985, p. 100) discusses three kinds of choice: practical, prudential, and moral. Prudential and moral choices involve deciding between perceived obligation and inclination, that is, between what *ought* to be done and what one *wants* or *desires* to do. Practical choices involve decisions between competing *wants* and *desires*. However, choice is not always consciously executed (Garforth, 1985). Choice is implicit rather than explicit when decisions are made in habitual fashion as a result of what some consider to be social and environmental conditioning. Nevertheless, Garforth cautions, values do not have to be unconsciously accepted or perpetuated in an incognizant way.

Choices impose burdens (Kane, 1985), hence conflict. The incommensurable nature of values that may be defined as different but not necessarily better or worse is evident in certain kinds of value choices, particularly *practical* choice, that is conflicts

between matters of *desire* or what one *wants* to do (Kane, 1985). As earlier stated, for Hodgkinson (1991, p.93) the matter of choice-which values are the *right* values and how the values are to be ordered-ultimately rests with the individual, not upon objectified moral commandments. In order to bring the *right* resolution of conflicts of value, Hodgkinson (1991, p.102) states that “sophistication about the nature of value” is required.

Rokeach (1973, 1979) advances a similar position, conceptualizing a hierarchical system of values which, he claims, may vary from one individual to another. It is the different ordering of these value systems which accounts for “the richness and variety of individual differences in behaviour, attitudes, ideologies, self-perservations, judgement, evaluations, and rationalizations” (Rokeach, 1979, p.49). Given the multitudes of different ways a relatively small number of values can be ordered, it is little wonder that value conflict is the “normal human condition” (Hodgkinson, 1991, p.102).

Given the nature, variety and range of values in education, making choices is very much a part of the daily life of individuals within a school organization. Consequently, examining variations in values embedded in the culture of a school through a multi-perspective analysis is a way to better understand the kinds of choices that confront teachers and administrators. It is also a means to discover the nature of the value conflicts which may arise from making these choices.

Consequences & Responsibility

Values and value choices implicate consequences (Garforth, 1985); sometimes it is the consequences of a value judgement that is central to the decision-making process. For

example, when a decision is based upon what is considered to be the best result, or what is best for the most people, then it is the consequences of the choice which enters into resolving a value conflict (Strike, Haller & Soltis, 1988, p.19). Even when values are internalized through social and cultural conditioning and may not enter into conscious decision-making, they have consequences in that they are determinants of social behaviour and ideologies (Rokeach, 1973).

The consequence of a commitment to a particular value is, by nature of the relationship between values, a commitment to other, related values:

For instance, if affluence is taken to mean a state of copious material goods, it seems to imply (if one deems it choiceworthy): that material goods are desirable; that enjoyment of them is superior to other kinds of enjoyment; that the acquisition of them should be a primary human purpose; and that the possession of material goods is a principal criterion for assessing the worth of individuals. All these are further value decisions which can be reasonably inferred from the original commitment to affluence. (Garforth, 1985, pp.58-59)

A caveat in the unconscious acceptance of values can be found in Garforth's discussion of consequences. Commitment to affluence, for example, may have undesirable consequences for future generations if natural resources are depleted and/or the earth's environment is sacrificed in the process through industrial pollution.

The significance of this for educators is in recognizing that making responsible choices means that we need to think clearly about consequences. This calls for a greater awareness and understanding of our educational values and our commitment to these values. Moreover, the transmission of societal or cultural values in schools should not go unexamined. As Garforth (1985) suggests, values can be adopted without scrutiny,

modified, created, and/ or rejected outright. This study investigates not only teachers and administrators' educational values and the variations in their value orientations, but it also examines how aware these educators are of the underlying values and assumptions they hold and the implications of commitment to these values for their students.

Individual and Society

Clearly, the individual needs society and cannot realize his self or his humanity without it. Equally society needs the individual; the relationship is reciprocal, the need mutual. This is inevitable, since individual and society are so indissolubly interwoven that neither can exist, nor even make sense without the other.
(Garforth, 1985, p. 107)

Examining educational values in a multicultural school from multiple perspectives (i.e., district, school, teams, individuals) is an attempt to uncover values which may be shared by the members of a group or a subgroup, or which may be held by an individual within a group and distinctive from the group in which the individual belongs. However, as Garforth's preceding assertion suggests, this does not mean that the individual is an entity independent of the social group in which he or she belongs. It does mean, however, that values can be considered from the perspectives of both the individual and the group (Feather, 1975).

The difficulty to clearly differentiate between the individual and society may account for some of the confusion associated with discussions of individual and societal values. Despite the "individualist" focus in defining individual values, the definition includes a "social" element. According to Hodgkinson (1991), Type 1 values of principles invoke the will and, therefore, are individual or idiographic although they may be

“nomothetically endorsed” (p.100 & 101). One type of value conflict arises when there is discrepancy between a person’s value system and that of the social environment. In fact, “successful adaptation depends upon a reasonably close match between these personal and environmental characteristics” (Feather, 1975, p.17).

Deliberation about the multiple and conflicting collective values associated with competing educational philosophies which may exist within a school is confounded further when the business of personal values is considered. Schools, as social systems, are hierarchical structures of individual and group value systems characterized by value conflicts (Rokeach, 1979, p. 26). Individual values “are never perfectly aligned with the organizational role” (Hodgkinson, 1991, p.69). Personal educational values are significant for the choices teachers make within the organizational environment, especially one that is characterised by conflicting collective values as this often leads to “confusion” and “chaos” (Bohm, 1980, p.20). Oftentimes, teachers’ “personal convictions...[take]... priority over the consensus of society” (Bohm, 1980, p.20). When considering the effect of values and value conflict on the organizational culture of the school, examination of the influence of both collective and personal values is imperative.

Value Theory

This discussion of values warrants a brief examination of value theory. According to Lakomski (1987, p. 72 & 73), three ways for understanding values are: i. values are all of a kind which includes *desires* and *desirables* , that is what is *good* and what is *right*; ii. values are ethical and moral and have to do with what is *right*; iii. values are subjectively

held and it is an individual's internal *desires* which is the source of value standards. An examination of certain aspects of particular value theories against Lakomski's (1987, p. 72) "broad tendencies" for understanding values should reveal how particular value theorists assimilate key value characteristics and concepts into developing value theories.

Values Are All of a Kind

Clive Beck (1993, p. 23) presents a teleological value theory where values are considered to be relative in the sense that *all* values must be weighed against each other in pursuit of the overall purpose or end, that is, human well-being. Values are part of a system and categorized as basic, moral, social, economic, political, spiritual, intermediate-range and specific. The basic values - survival, health, happiness, companionship, friendship, sympathy for others, helping others, self-respect, respect from others, discovery, aesthetic experience, freedom, fulfilment, a sense of meaning in life - are what comprise human well-being and the Good Life. The other categories of values within this value system are the *means* to the Good Life.

Beck's value theory considers values are all of a kind in the sense that there are *no* absolute values. Even basic values are "ends in themselves to a relative degree" (Beck, 1993, p. 23). This theory differs from Lakomski's second depiction of ways for understanding values in that moral values, (along with political, social, economic, etc., values) are means to the Good Life not ends in themselves. Consequently, moral and ethical concerns are not the primary focus of this value theory. Furthermore, Beck's value

theory is not a subjectivist theory as values are considered to be objective. Beck states that it is an objective fact that some values promote the Good Life better than others.

Values Are Ethical and Moral

Ethical and moral theories are based on *principles* which guide us in choosing what is *right* or *desirable*, that is what we *should* and *should not* do. Frankena (1963) provides four ways for classifying ethical theories: i. teleological, ii. deontological, iii. ethical egoism, iv. ethical universalism or utilitarianism. Each may be described as follows:

1. Teleological Theories: In order to know whether something is right one must know what is good in the nonmoral sense.

Whereas Beck's theory is a teleological theory, it cannot be considered as solely an ethical theory in that it is not concerned primarily with questions of morals and ethics or guiding principles.

2. Deontological Theories: Actions or rules may be morally right even if they may not necessarily promote the greatest good.

There are two types of deontological theories:

a. act-deontological - circumstances of a particular situation help determine what is right.

The Principle of Equal Respect, as described by Kane (1985, p. 124) states that all persons should be treated in every situation with respect as persons, whenever it is possible. In situations where an individual is treating another unfairly or without respect, then "minimum coercion" to prevent the guilty from treating the innocent with disrespect

should be used. In this case, the guiding principle of equal respect for action is modified in relation to the circumstance or situation.

b. rule-deontological - moral rules are fundamental for determining what is right.

When the Principle of Equal Respect is interpreted as the “Golden Rule” whereby we act in ways that respect the equal worth of persons, and no matter how people differ, they are of equal value, then this can be considered a rule-deontological theory.

3. Ethical Egoism Theories: An act or rule of action is right if it promotes one's own greatest good.

This is a subjectivist ethical theory in that the focus is on what the individual perceives as one's own greatest good.

4. Ethical Universalism Or Utilitarianism Theories: an act or rule is right if it promotes the greatest good over evil in the world.

The Principle of Benefit Maximization (Strike, Haller, & Soltis, 1988, p. 16) is an ethical theory of this type. The guiding principle for judging what is morally right when making choices is that which will result in the most good or the greatest benefit for the most people. The best action is the one which will bring about the best overall results.

Values Are Subjective Standards

Begley (1996) describes Hodgkinson's subjectivist value theory this way:

Hodgkinson's (1978) analytical model of the value concept identifies three types of value, motivational bases that become the source of values, beliefs, attitudes and actions for individuals. Type 3 values (personal preferences) represent a conception of what is "good". . . . Type 2b values

[are] based on consensus, expert opinion or the will of the majority in a given collectivity. . . .Type 2a values [are] focussed on a desirable future state of affairs or analysis of the consequences entailed by the value judgement. . . .Type 1 values situated at the highest level . . . are transrational. Hodgkinson uses the term principle to denote this value type. (p.7)

According to Lakomski, (1987, p. 71) Hodgkinsons' view is that "values are never true or false, but are only "good" or "bad" and are always subjective." Hodgkinson's depiction of values as phenomenological entities which are "synonymous with meaning in the sense that we live within an invisible world of meaning in which the objective referents or contents of experience are distinct from whatever meaning or value we might ascribe them" (1991, p. 101) appears compatible with Lakomski's interpretation of his subjectivist position. Hodgkinson's view of classical and traditional theories of value is that they fail to resolve the questions of which values are the right values. He prefers to differentiate between values as types within a hierarchy of motivating bases, not just as a dichotomy of moral and ethical values which solely have to do with what is right. "The answers which ethics deliver are in the final analysis dogmatic. The business of ethics is a sort of preaching. Perhaps this explains why codes of ethics are, in practice, about as convincing and efficacious as are preachments and moral exhortations . . ." (1991, p.93). Whereas Hodgkinson posits that value choices, that is, deciding which values are the *right* values ultimately rests with the individual and that traditional, ethical theories of values fail at the job, does reflect his subjectivist relativist perspective, it is invalid to state that his value theory does not distinguish between desire (what is good) and desirable (what is right). This distinction is seen in his delineation between Type 1 and Type 3 values. In actual fact,

Hodgkinson describes value conflict as being the “struggle between self-indulgent desires and what ought to be done” (1991, p. 96).

Lakomski’s (198, p.81) criticism of the subjectivist relativist position is that when subjectivists make value choices “they can never *know* whether they have made the *right* choice” (original emphasis). This lack of standards to guide decision-making does nothing to resolve educational conflicts. Nevertheless, this argument does not go unrefuted. Kane (1985, p.2) suggests that “as long as philosophers and others critical of relativism continue to dispute among themselves about what the objective or absolute standards ought to be in value theory and ethics, belief in relativism will persist.” Moreover, inasmuch as free will is “the power in human beings . . . to bring into existence the purposes, or ends that guide their actions” (Kane, 1985, p.2) then the value inquiry must acknowledge the ability of individuals to make choices based on their subjective interpretations of the world. However, that value choices rest ultimately with the individual does not exclude the importance of standards for guiding choices.

Implications for Investigating Value Conflicts and School Culture

Kluckhohn’s (1951) conception of values as either distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group implies that the road to understanding teachers’ value conflicts within a given school culture is more accessible through the examination of *both* values held collectively (i.e., perspectives of the District, School, Team) and values held individually (i.e., perspectives of Individuals). This values inquiry into school culture, then, provides a conceptual background for examining and understanding educational

values from various perspectives of the organization - the district, the school, the group and individual teachers. This will be accomplished through a comparative analysis of school philosophies, in particular, educational aims, curriculum metaorientations, and professional and leadership ideologies, for the varying and often competing *collective* and *personal* educational values which they reflect. After all, if successful adaptation depends upon a close match between personal and group values (Feather, 1985), then inquiry into both is essential.

Related to personal values and school culture is the research finding that teachers' discipline ideology and actual teachers' behaviour are not always consistent (Willower, Eidell & Hoy, 1967; Lunenburg, 1991a, Campbell, 1994). Many of the pupil-control studies (Packard, 1988) have brought this issue to light. Considering the potential for value conflicts embedded in the nature of competing orientations which may exist within a school, this may not be all that surprising. It is an issue, however, that deserves further attention. In addition to the necessity for reconciliation of conflicting collective values as reflected in educational policies, it is also incumbent upon educational administrators to understand that the individuals functioning within the organizational values of the institution are daily involved in reconciling personal educational values with those of the collective organization.

This study embraces the broader perspective of value inquiry which includes values of all types. Restricting the investigation to moral and ethical concerns would narrow the focus of the study and exclude potentially significant value concepts related to understanding teachers' value conflicts within a school culture. Whereas moral and ethical

components are included in the scope of this paper, it is not restricted to dogmatic concerns and rational processes of valuing.

School Culture

Over time the ways in which things are done in a particular school fall into a pattern and the school's culture starts to emerge . . . Culture has intangible manifestations: the assumptions, values and beliefs which constitute the philosophy of the school. The tangible manifestations of culture may be found in the various words (oral and written), behaviours and materiel (sic). (Caldwell & Spinks, 1992, p.39)

For Caldwell and Spinks the culture of a school manifests itself in written policies, mission statements, philosophies, goals, aims, objectives, programs and rules. But the most significant illustrations of culture are found in the actions of administrators, teachers, and students as reflected in “rituals, ceremonies, approaches to learning...[and]...the ordinary day-to-day activities” (1992, p.39) of the school. Organizational culture, then, is a system of shared orientations, or “pattern of basic assumptions” (Schein, 1984, p.3) that hold a group together and “give it a distinctive identity” (Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, 1991, p.5).

According to Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp (1991, pp.5-7), organizational culture can be measured at three levels ranging from the abstract to the concrete: i. basic assumptions; ii. values; and iii. norms. Basic assumptions “are typically unconscious but which actually determine how group members perceive, think, and feel” (Schein, 1984, p.4). Consequently, they are difficult to uncover and require an interactive participatory observational process “between the investigator and motivated informants who live in the organization and embody its culture” (Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, 1991, p.5). Values are at

the “middle range of abstraction” (Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, p.6) and in terms of organizational culture, are shared conceptions of what is desirable. Values are usually expressed by members of the organization when asked why they behave the way they do (Hoy & Miskel (1987, p. 250). Norms are at the more concrete level of analysis of culture and are the unwritten and informal expectations that affect behaviour. Norms, because they are more overt, may be determined through survey instruments (Hoy, Tarter, & Kottkamp, 1991). It is useful to investigate school culture at these three levels (Hoy & Miskel, 1987).

Caldwell and Spinks’ (1992, p.68) “intangible manifestations” of school culture- assumptions, values and beliefs-are similar to the conceptualization of culture as basic assumptions, values and norms. Furthermore, their suggestion that the “tangible manifestations” of culture are found in “ the words we use, the behaviours we engage in, and buildings and other artifacts we construct and gather” helps to provides a framework for describing and analysing school culture. Beare, Caldwell and Millikan (in Caldwell & Spinks, 1992) posit that the following questions can help define school culture:

- What are the purposes of education?
- What is the role of the school in achieving these purposes?
- What knowledge, skills and attitudes are worthy of being addressed in the educational program of the school?
- What is the relationship between a school and its community; between a school and government?
- To what extent should the school cater for the needs of all of its students?
- How should a student learn?
- What behaviours and relationships are desirable among different members of the school community?

Furthermore, Caldwell and Spinks (1992) suggest that values, philosophies, and ideologies are reflected in the answers to these questions and manifested verbally (eg., documents, oral language, organizational stories, etc.), behaviourally (eg., rituals, ceremonies, interactions, etc.), and visually (eg., facilities, uniforms, crests, etc.). It is my intent, in this study of value orientations, variations in value orientations and value conflicts pertaining to educational purposes, curriculum, leadership and educator professionalism, to describe the culture of Hillside Elementary School.

Purposes of Education

- *Moral and value difficulties arise through each of the purposive aspects of educational organization and through built-in conflicts of interest and value dysfunctions stemming from bureaucratic modes of organization.* (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 38)

Purposes or aims of education are “attempts to specify . . . precisely” the values of a society which educators consider necessary to emphasize at a given time (Peters, 1977, p.3). Similarly, Garforth (1985, p.67) believes values and aims to be intrinsically related in that values give “content and direction to aims and provide the motivation.” Garforth also suggests that aims are values “practicalised,” a position which seems much in line with Hodgkinson beliefs about values of principles being “objectified” into written dogma. Educational purposes are often conceptualized and discussed in terms of aesthetic, economic, and ideological aims (Hodgkinson, 1991). Whereas today’s schools rarely reflect discrete aims, administrators should have knowledge of each strand of purposes so as to better understand and evaluate the “purposive source of criticisms that arise from

various client and member groups” (Hodgkinson, 1991, p.26). Each strand may be defined succinctly as follows:

- *aesthetic* - the aim is concerned with students’ self-fulfilment and enjoyment of life
- *economic* - the purpose of education is more to do with educating students to further their opportunities for developing profit and wealth
- *ideological* - the focus is on the development of moral conduct and transmission of cultural values.

Cohen’s (1982, p.11) discussion of educational purposes closely aligns with these three strands. She categorizes the three main purposes of education in the following way:

- *individualistic* -the aim of education focuses on the needs of the individual, self-development and takes a “therapeutic” approach to education
- *instrumentalist* - a utilitarian purpose in that the aim is both student training in basic skills and vocational training, and to develop citizenship skills which serve the needs of a particular contemporary society
- *liberal* - a view which has a wider perspective in that it is concerned with the whole of human culture, and disregards “boundaries of time and place (Cohen, 1982, p.12).

Table 3.1 (see p.46) depicts the educational values associated with each educational purpose.

Although a complex task, administrators and teachers are well advised to critically reflect on the educational purpose that is embedded in the culture of their schools. For as Smith suggests:

As far as learning to teach is concerned, when proper weight is given again to questions of what our aims are . . . then I think there will be everything to be gained by closer attention than in the past to questions of how to do it. (1985, p.25)

Table 3.1
Educational Values Reflected in Educational Purposes
 (Hodgkinson, 1991; Cohen, 1982)

| Purpose of Education | Ideological/ Liberal | Economic/ Instrumentalist | Aesthetic/ Individualistic |
|-----------------------------|--|---|---|
| Aims | Cultural Transmission Moral Education | Profit/Wealth Needs of a Particular Society | Self-fulfilment Enjoyment of Life |
| Values | <u>Public Good</u> Citizenship Patriotism Cultural Preservation Principles | <u>Personal and Public Good</u> Money Careers Material Success | <u>Personal Good</u> Pleasure Liberation Individual Autonomy |

As an example of the implications of adopting particular aims, it is perhaps unrealistic to anticipate that students will develop individual autonomy, creative thinking, reasoning skills or realize self-fulfilment if the primary aim of the school is to transmit and perpetuate what is the cultural status quo. Furthermore, in today's multicultural society, one has to consider *which* or *whose* cultural values are to be transmitted. The potential for value conflict is no doubt high, a situation which can be appropriately described as "the . . . moral life of teaching . . . [which is] . . . a matter of resolving multiple dilemmas" (Hargreaves, 1994b, p.11).

Curriculum Metaorientations

Related to school purpose is curriculum metaorientation. Miller and Seller (1990) identify the aims or purposes of school as one of the key elements associated with curriculum development. Aims, they posit, “should reflect a well-developed position that is rooted in a particular conception of philosophy, psychology, and society” (Miller & Seller, 1990, p. 175). Included in statements of aims are “organizational” strategies and teaching strategies. The authors define curriculum as:

...an explicitly and implicitly set of interactions designed to facilitate learning and development and to impose meaning on experience. The explicit intentions usually are expressed in the written curricula and in courses of study; the implicit intentions are found in the ‘hidden curriculum’, by which we mean the roles and norms that underlie interactions in the school. (Miller and Seller, 1990, pp.3-4)

Miller and Seller (1990) provide a three-dimensional framework for categorizing major curriculum positions. These “metaorientations” are called orientations of *transmission, transaction, and transformation*. The authors’ comprehensive discussion of these metaorientations includes elements that are directly pertinent to the school culture. The salient points germane to each orientation is depicted in Table 3.2 (see p. **48**).

The table demonstrates the major philosophical, psychological and sociological roots of the three curriculum metaorientations. The transmission emphasis is on “rational thought,” “programmed learning,” “atomistic learning,” and “competition.” A close look at the roots of transactionalism reveals a focus on the developmental stages of students, demonstrating a shift from viewing students’ as a group which must be controlled if learning is to occur. Instead, learning is seen as a growth experience and educators are to

Table 3.2
Curriculum Metaorientations Summary

| Curriculum Metaorientations | Transmission | Transaction | Transformation |
|---|--|---|---|
| Philosophical Roots | Analytic philosophy Rational thought (e.g., Francis Bacon John Locke, Durkheim, the early Ludwig Wittgenstein) | Experimental Pragmatism (e.g., Dewey, Schwab, Barnard) | Ecological View Perennial Philosophy Transcendentalism (e.g., Pythagoras, Emerson, Thoreau, deChardin, Heidegger, Fritzo Capra, Huxley) |
| Psychological Roots | Behavioural Psychology Operant conditioning Programmed learning (e.g., Skinner, Thorndike) | Stages of Growth Moral Development (e.g., Kohlberg, Piaget) | Humanistic Psychology Transpersonal Psychology (e.g., Maslow, Rogers, Jung) |
| Sociological Roots | Laissez-faire Free Market (e.g., Adam Smith, Friedman) | Liberal Economics (e.g., Keynes, Galbraith) | Ethical Principles Voluntary Simplicity Non-exploitative Co-operative Economics (e.g., Mark Satin, Elgin) |
| Extrinsic vs. Intrinsic Motivation | <u>Primarily extrinsic</u> | <u>Unclear/Middle Ground</u> Students' intrinsic interests / teacher controlled environment Emphasis on <i>interaction</i> between student and environment | <u>Primarily Intrinsic</u> Self-directed learning |
| Teacher vs. Child Control | Teacher manipulates environment "Strict" discipline | Teacher facilitates choice of learning tasks but controls the learning environment | Teacher tries to relate subject-matter to student interests |
| Values | <u>Transmitted Through School</u> Competition, Uniformity, Authority, Rule Compliance, Respect, Obedience, Work ethic, Punctuality, Moral behaviour | <u>Transactionally Learned Through Cognitive Analysis</u> Cooperation, Sharing, Individual Rights, Democracy, Rationality | <u>Transformed Through Interaction</u> Intuition, Insight, Unity, Social Action, Interconnectedness, Meaning, Subjective Experience, Individualism & Pluralism, Diversity, Spirituality, Personal Autonomy |

understand the stages of growth that students experience. Students' intrinsic interests are important. Motivation is intrinsic in that teachers are expected to stimulate students' *individual* interests. However, there is an extrinsic component as the role of the teacher is to *control* the learning environment for optimal learning. To the extreme of the transmission position is the transformation orientation which focuses on "subjectivity," "intuition," and "shared decision making."

As previously noted, uncovering the culture of a school involves, among other things, examining the answers to questions about curriculum content, learning and instruction (Caldwell and Spinks, 1992) and the values embedded therein. Understanding a school's curriculum metaorientation will tell much about the culture of the school.

Leadership and Educator Professionalism

Administrators have become increasingly sensitive to values issues because of the pluralistic societies in which they live and work. As social and cultural diversity increases, as equity becomes a social priority, and as demands for fiscal restraint persist, the circumstances of educational decision making become more complex and challenging. More specifically, prevailing social conditions have produced a significant increase in the frequency of value conflict situations to which administrators must respond. These value conflicts become particularly apparent when administrator perspectives run across the organizational boundaries which traditionally separated community from school, school from district office, and district office from department or ministry (Begley, 1995, pp.11-12).

In relatively recent years the bureaucratic, top-down, model of organizations has undergone criticism for its value-free conceptualization of decision-making (Hodgkinson, 1991; Greenfield, 1986; Begley and Leithwood, 1990; Marshall, 1992). Scott and Hart

(1979) strongly criticize traditional bureaucratic organizations in that management tends to be "heavily weighted toward the expedient by people who have been trained to consider value questions as impractical, even foolish" (p.40). Leadership, then, is more than being effective, efficient, pragmatic, and rational; it is "a function of self-knowledge and of values" (Hodgkinson, 1991, p.16). Given the move away from this narrow representation of "managerial" administrators towards a more facilitative administrative style, it is becoming increasingly clear that teachers must be involved in school decision making. Furthermore, decentralization of educational decision making embodies the "the idea of expanding opportunities for teachers, parents, and other local groups to play a role in guiding their schools" (Duke & Canady, 1991, p. 130). Consequently, traditional forms of leadership no longer work in schools where organizational goals include shared governance, teacher empowerment and site-based management.

Traditional leaders set directions, make the decisions, and in general take *control* of the organization. The problem with this is that it externally motivates people to perform for someone else, and therefore stifles creative thinking and growth (Senge, 1990). Within current educational reform and restructuring, this type of leadership is no longer adequate. What is needed is a "transformational" leadership style which is based on "facilitative" and "consensual power" (Leithwood, 1992, p.9). Given the shift in focus from top-down management and control to leaders who can both "harness the collective genius" (Senge, p.257) and help "develop a set of shared values and commitments" (Sergiovanni, p.23), it would seem that those who value collaboration over control are more suited to the role of educational leader in today's school organizations.

Nevertheless, not all teachers are willing to give up the isolation of their classrooms (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991) and participate fully in collaborative activity. Transformational leadership is important for developing a strong school culture, collaborative decision making, teacher development and collective problem solving. This leadership style is at once desirable and necessary for achieving educational purposes and student success. Nevertheless, routine, everyday tasks must be carried out. These are the kinds of problems and demands on administrators which require "transactional" leadership skills (Leithwood, 1990). In a discussion on the stages of leadership, Sergiovanni (1990, p.23) describes the following:

1. **Leadership by Bartering: (Initiation)** This stage of leadership is transactional in that there is an exchange of needs and services for the purpose of achieving the objectives of the leader.
2. **Leadership by Building: (Uncertainty)** At this stage the leader and the followers are united in purpose. There is a sharing of goals and objectives. The leader develops a supportive climate for the fulfillment of higher order intrinsic needs.
3. **Leadership by Bonding: (Transformative)** The leader and followers develop shared goals and bond together through moral commitment to this common cause.
4. **Leadership by Banking (Routinization)** The fourth stage is characterized by efforts to routinize and sustain improvements.

In describing the differences and relationship between the four stages of leadership,

Sergiovanni (1990) states:

Each of the stages of leadership comprises distinct school improvement strategies. However, tactically speaking, bartering, building, bonding and banking are leadership styles that can be used simultaneously for different purposes or with different people, within any of the stages. (p. 24)

There is room and need for variations in orientations to leadership and finding the "balance between top-down and facilitative power is the problem" (Leithwood, 1992, p.9).

Arguably, the "visionary" and "collaborative" school principal is conducive to the pursuit of educational goals; at the same time, however, the administrator is faced with the challenge of being able to "take charge" and attend to the "tasks at hand" when warranted. The implication is that expert leadership embodies elements of control and collaboration combined with the skill of balancing the two to achieve organizational goals. This, undoubtedly, is not an easy task. It requires that leaders embrace new administrative ideologies which incorporate variations in leadership styles that include a combination of the best administrative qualities. Leaders are involved in creating *and* coping (Senge, 1990); being visionary *and* systematic (Leithwood, 1992). "On the one hand, they solve the immediate swampy problem. And on the other, they contribute to the long-term capacity of the school to solve future problems" (Leithwood, Begley, and Cousins, 1992).

According to Senge (1990), leaders are designers, teachers, and stewards. Leadership involves an understanding of "creative tension" and a knowledge of its implications for a successful organization. Creative tension is the desirable state between vision and reality. Successful leaders are able to move reality towards their vision. To accomplish this a principal has to evoke a shared vision of what the school culture should look like, while at the same time have an understanding of current reality. This makes many demands on school administrators, not the least of which would be the requirement of strong interpersonal skills and the knowledge of how to foster a collaborative and

collegial professional culture whereby teachers and parents would feel empowered in their roles.

Willower (1994) posits that administration involves a "combination of normative and descriptive judgements" (p.472). School leaders are always involved in making decisions that require solutions based on a balance of the desirable with the reality. Moral choice involves good intentions and caring (Willower, 1994). However, caring and good intentions, while desirable, are not sufficient for successfully achieving organizational goals. Leaders have to be able to adequately assess the probable results of a particular choice. Therefore, knowledge of current reality is necessary. In this regard it would seem that practical ethical decision making involves the process of weighing the facts with the desirable and being able to make the best choice in terms of "negotiating the maze that separates good intentions from desired results" (Willower, p.469).

Whereas, the importance of developing a shared educational vision and "practicalising" (Garforth, 1985) educational aims and curriculum orientations in the form of clear and coherent policy is crucial, conflict resolution in the implementation of these policies rests with the individual. Given the complex nature of values, the variations in value orientations embedded in competing educational ideologies, and the multiple choices which confront educators in the daily activities of their school life, value conflicts are unavoidable. Right resolution, Hodgkinson (1991) states, requires sophistication about the nature of values. Consequently, an investigation into educators' value orientations and value conflicts is significant for helping administrators and teachers gain a better

understanding of their educational values and their underlying basic assumptions and to realize that these values have serious implications for the education of students.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

This chapter begins with a brief account of my experience as a teacher. The account is an attempt to address certain aspects of my educational career which may have influenced my approach to this research. The chapter also includes a discussion of the research design and the methods I used for collecting and analysing the data.

The Researcher's Bias

Even though committed to empathy and multiple realities, it is the researcher who decides what is the case's own story, or at least what of the case's own story he or she will report. (Stake, 1994, p. 240)

This research into values and culture is the outcome of an emergent methodological design and, inasmuch as this emergence was guided by the data, it is necessary to acknowledge my influence, as the researcher, on the process. Specifically, the researcher's subjective reality needs to be taken into account in order to better understand the interpretive paradigm that was at work during the stages of the research. That is why qualitative reports (Merriam, 1988, p. 194) should include information about the researcher's "training, experience, philosophical orientation, and bias." What follows is an attempt to describe some experiences which I believe may have significantly shaped my

worldview. However, even in this declaration, I make the decision about what to report, and of course, it is my subjective interpretation of these experiences that gets reported.

I spent 15 years teaching in 11 schools, both elementary and all-grade, in Newfoundland and Labrador. The majority of these schools were situated in small, rural, and in some cases, isolated communities throughout the province. In a few cases, the schools were similar to Hillside Elementary in terms of the size of the student and teacher population and in terms of being situated in an urban area. However, in terms of race and ethnicity, the student population of the schools in which I have taught were more homogenous in that the students were of white, European descent. A majority of the students had been born in the province. The teacher population in the isolated schools was largely transient. The students were not. The larger the community and the more accessible it was to an urban centre, the more stable the teaching staff.

Over the years I have reflected on my experiences in these schools, and have thought about the schools in terms of their similarities and their differences. What I learned early on in my transient teaching career, was that each school has a certain uniqueness which may or may not have been readily observable upon initial visits. In order to ease my transition into new school cultures, I eventually came to rely heavily on my skills of perception and intuition. This, I believe, became a way for me to “blend” into new environments with just the slightest of ripples. Although I would not have been able to describe it as such at the time, I was really trying to come to some understanding of the basic assumptions and value orientations that were underlying the culture of each school. I was also attempting to understand how my own value orientations fit within the context of

each school. Whereas I wanted to be sensitive to the unique culture of each school, I also did not wish to compromise my own values. Some variations in the orientations did not incite conflict, whereas others did -- which made compromise difficult.

In essence, this process of understanding the shared assumptions and variations in value orientations in each school was one which involved an examination of my own subjective reality, and an acknowledgement that there are multiple realities which also have to be examined and understood. My experience in moving to many schools helped shape my thinking about how values influence the culture of schools. It also influenced my thinking in terms of how to understand the role of values in shaping the culture of a school.

Theoretical Paradigm

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994; p. 107) all research is informed and guided by the researcher's paradigm, or worldview that "defines, for its holder, the nature of the "world," the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts." This worldview is based upon a set of non-verifiable basic beliefs that are ontological (i.e., what is the nature of reality), epistemological (i.e., what is the nature of the relationship between the knower and the known) and methodological (i.e, how the inquirer goes about finding out what can be known) in nature.

Regarding the ontological beliefs which guided this research, it should be stated that the research paradigm was a constructivist one in that it reflected a relativist view of the nature of reality inasmuch as "realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple,

intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature . . . and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). In that these multiple realities are sometimes conflicting social realities, I undertook a multi-perspective approach, (i.e., District, School, Teams, and Individuals) *to gain insight* into value orientations, variations in value orientations and value conflicts of individuals for *understanding* the culture of one elementary school.

Consequently, epistemological beliefs leaned towards the assumption that knowledge is subjectively created and understood rather than being objective, verifiable facts and laws. The subjective nature of acquiring knowledge implies that there are multiple realities. These realities may be understood and interpreted and are capable of being revised, particularly when different constructions of reality are juxtaposed and examined (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Once again, this had implications for the research in terms of why participative inquiry methods were used. As Guba and Lincoln suggest, “individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction *between and among* investigator and respondents” (p. 111). A subjectivist inquiry into the inner realm of value conflicts required interpretive, naturalistic methods that allowed for an intensive examination of the “multiple realities” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 13) of teachers for understanding the interplay of individual and group values in the development and maintenance of, and resistance to, a prevailing school culture. This focus on the perspective of the individual permitted the identification of the underlying sources of teachers’ inner conflicts in the process of maintaining and fostering a school’s culture.

Whereas the personal and subjective realm of the teacher was the primary focus, the individual's world was considered within the organizational realm of the school, as well as the social-cultural realm of societal values (Hodgkinson, 1991). The organizational realm included a focus on: i. the *formal* organizational values "as expressed in the overt and covert goals, policies, and purposes of the organization as well as the organizational culture" (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 68); and, ii. the *informal* organizational values as reflected in "interpersonal relations" (Hoy & Miskel, 1987) and "group value orientations" (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 68) of the members of the organization. In other words, the intent was to understand and describe teachers' personal value conflicts from the perspectives of subgroups as well as the overall group.

The interpretive methods of inquiry employed for this investigation can be justified on other grounds. Examination of teachers' value conflicts involves, in part, a cultural approach to "determine the underlying forces that motivate behaviour" (Hoy, Tarter, & Kotthamp, 1991, p. 7). Culture consists of shared assumptions, ideologies and values, and investigations into organizational culture "tend to use the qualitative and ethnographic techniques of anthropology and sociology to examine the character or atmosphere of organizations" (Hoy et al., 1991, p. 8).

Research Design

In that the paradigm "guides the investigation . . . in choices of method" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.105), the research design needs to be compatible with the constructivist and interpretive nature of this study. The selection of the research design, or "plan for

assembling, organizing, and integrating information (data)" (Merriam, 1988, p. 6) is based upon the nature of the question, the amount of control the researcher has on variables in the study and the desired end product. Therefore, consistent with interpretive inquiry, and in keeping with the descriptive intent to understand and interpret basic assumptions, espoused values and cultural artifacts, rather than to explain any causal relationship between variables, this study was a qualitative, instrumental case study - instrumental (Stake, 1994, p. 237) in the sense that a particular case (i.e., Hillside Elementary School) was examined to provide insight into an issue (i.e., value orientations of teachers and school culture). Furthermore, the adoption of a qualitative case study design met other criteria in that a case study is an "examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group" (Merriam, 1988, p. 9). This study was concerned with the manifestation of teachers' (i.e., the social group) value orientations, variations in value orientations and value conflicts in the development and maintenance of, and/ or resistance to (i.e., the process) school (the institution) culture, and, therefore, suitably investigated through the qualitative case study approach.

Additionally, this design was suitable because of the largely inductive nature of the study. The complex nature of personal and group values and "multiple realities" as influences on behaviour and school culture make it difficult, if not impossible, to control or "identify all the important variables ahead of time" (Merriam, 1988, p. 7). The nature of the research questions did not lend itself to quantitative answers. Rather, it generated data which was analysed and interpreted qualitatively.

Data Collection

Pseudonyms are used for the school, the district and all participants.

Sample

A purposive, non-random sampling procedure was used to select one metropolitan elementary school as the focus of this study. Permission to conduct research in the school was granted after written submission of the summarized research proposal to both the principal of the school and to the district research committee. Before granting permission, the principal discussed the proposed research with his staff explaining its purpose and the participatory nature of it and subsequently secured the agreement of the staff to participate in the research. Written consent was obtained and parents were advised of the nature of the research (see Appendices A, B & C). In keeping with the research design, which called for examining the complexities and dynamics of value orientations from the perspectives of the individuals, the sub-group and the larger group, the principal also requested that staff consider the research project further in terms of teams and/or individuals volunteering to be a primary part of the research. Ultimately, two teaching teams, a Primary Team and a Junior Team came forward.

During my 5-week visit at the school, I spent two full weeks with each of the two teacher teams whereby I became involved in various classroom activities which presented opportunities daily to make observations, to pursue answers to questions pertaining to understanding teachers' value orientations and their value conflicts, which would lead to understanding the culture of the school. Furthermore, during the process of participatory

observation, the interactions of teachers (approximately 40), students, visiting and volunteer parents, and administrators in the school were observed. As the investigation unfolded, I interviewed five more teachers, two parents, four specialists and the two administrators. These interviews were semi-structured in that there were both guiding questions (see Appendices D, E, F, G, H, I, & J) and emergent ones. Furthermore, informal discussions with varied members of the organization helped me to gain insight into how things were done at this school, which in turn led to new questions and/or shed new light on focusing the research project.

School Profile

Hillside Elementary School is one of approximately 130 schools which comprise one Canadian metropolitan school district. This particular school is located in a residential area and is largely surrounded by apartment buildings and town houses. It has an enrollment of approximately 600 students in grades JK-6 and there are approximately 40 teaching staff including 25 classroom teachers, the principal and vice principal, and various specialists positions (i.e., computer, french, resource, reading recovery, music). There are four teaching assistants. The school also has a Family Resource Centre with one co-ordinator and a secretary. The Centres' mission is to support and empower parents, establish a two-way link with the community and be sensitive to the multi-cultural characteristics of the community. In addition to this, a new position, Child Youth Worker, has been created at Hillside to help "behavioral" children. Three first-year teachers and five experienced teachers, including the Primary Team teachers, are new to this school.

Approximately 70 percent of the staff at Hillside are white females while approximately 19 percent are white males. In addition to this, 9 percent of the staff are of various racial and ethnic background while 2 percent of the staff are black male. Over 90 percent of the staff have been born in Canada. By contrast, the student population of the school is approximately distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|-----|
| Number of languages represented in the school | 33 |
| Number of countries (students' birthplace) | 48 |
| % of students and/or parents who had immigrated to Canada | 87% |
| % of students with primary language other than English | 63% |

The student population at Hillside is deemed a highly transient one because of their recent immigrant status. Many of the parents are unsettled in terms of employment and therefore are apt to relocate frequently. According to the Family Resource Co-ordinator, roughly 45% of the students have come from Iran, with the next largest group coming from Eastern European countries and a relatively large group coming from China. The remaining countries are represented by smaller numbers of students. Approximately 13% of the students are Canadian born.

District Profile

This large Canadian metropolitan school district has a student population of approximately 65,000 students. Approximately three-fourths of either, or both of, the students and parents in this district have immigrated to Canada, and over 100 countries and 70 different languages are represented in the district's schools. The district's student population is described as representing the rich cultural, ethnic, racial and linguistic diversity of the large Canadian metropolitan city in which it is situated.

Primary Team Profile

The Primary Team consisted of three female teachers, Bernie, Gail and Mavis, and one male teacher, Ted. These teachers have from seven to twenty years of teaching experience, with most or all of it being in their current school district. However, each of these four teachers is new to Hillside Elementary School. One of the them worked with Hillside's principal previous to the 1995-1996 school year and requested a transfer in order to work with the principal again, and also because she adhered to the team teaching philosophy. The three remaining teachers requested transfers to Hillside Elementary because they wanted to work on teams as well.

The three female teachers in this group had elected to work together as a team. Later, Ted joined the group as a team member when numbers warranted the assignment of another Grade one teacher early in the school year. The Primary Team teachers stated they wanted to be a part of the research process because they felt that it would be an opportunity to be critically reflective of their team teaching practices, and therefore should help them grow as teachers.

Junior Team Profile

Technically, the Junior Team was comprised of four teachers, two female and two male. However, their classrooms were physically separated in that the two male teachers were located in portable classrooms apart from the main school building. In practice, then, the team was more or less split with the two female teachers, Ester and Louise, collaborating on a daily basis while the two male teachers work independently. These

teachers had come together as a foursome informally from time to time. Furthermore, Ester and Louise had volunteered to be a part of the research and the other two had not. Consequently, for the purpose of the this research the Junior Team is considered to be comprised of two teachers.

Ester has spent approximately seven years teaching, all at Hillside. However, she has held several different positions during this time. Louise has spent three years at Hillside and 4 years elsewhere with the board. Both teachers had elected to work together as team.

Administration Team Profile

Mark Butler, is into his second year as principal at Hillside Elementary School. He has over twenty years experience both as a teacher and as an administrator and teacher in other multi-cultural schools with the board. Principal Butler is a strong advocate of team teaching and feels that it is simply good pedagogy. He encourages teachers at Hillside to work as teams but he is aware that some are more reluctant than others to collaborate this way. At the end of the previous year, his first in the school, he facilitated the organization of a professional development day related to team-building. He also encouraged teachers to create their own teams, feeling that if teachers had some control over whom they worked with, then chances for the team's success would be increased.

The vice principal, Karen Brown, is also new to the school, having been in her current position only four months at the start of this research. She has experience teaching in other schools in the district and also has experience as a consultant with the district. She

wanted an administration position because she prefers to have continuous contact with one organization and its members. Vice-principal Brown feels that being in one school full-time allows her to build strong interpersonal relationships, which is in itself empowering and conducive to achieving educational goals. Also an advocate of team teaching, Vice-principal Brown believes that it is not a teaching approach that can be forced or arbitrarily set up.

Principal Butler and Vice-principal Brown share an administrative office. The office door is usually open during the day, and quite often one or the other, or both, can be seen in the office attending to administrative responsibilities such as meeting with teachers, students and/or parents throughout the day. Adjacent to their office is another room called the den. It is comfortably furnished with a sofa, an armchair, a round table and wall hangings. Meetings of an informal or impromptu nature are sometimes held in the "den."

Procedures for Collecting Data

Observational methods are compatible with the qualitative case study for gathering data. Observational methods require researcher involvement in observing and recording what is observed (Dixon, Bouma & Atkinson, 1987, p. 69). Furthermore, observation as a method for gathering data "ranges across a continuum" (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992, p. 41), varying in researcher participation from complete observer to observer as participant, to participant as observer to complete participant (Merriam, 1988). Determining whether the aim of the research is to test a hypothesis or to achieve an objective (Evertson &

Green, 1986; Dixon, Bouma, & Atkinson, 1987; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992) has significance for the method of observation. The complete observer role is "more in keeping with the traditional scientific paradigm" (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992, p. 40) which is "adequate for testing a causal hypothesis" (Dixon et al, 1987, p. 6) and for addressing "empirical questions which can be answered by observing and systematically recording observable and measurable facts" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 6), and therefore not suitable for this qualitative, descriptive study. However, the three remaining categories of observation--observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant--were compatible with this study's design in that they are often carried out in a field study or case study research (Merriam, 1988). Frequently, observational studies comprise a "mix of participation and observation" (p. 94) which changes as the researcher becomes more actively involved in the study. The participatory observational method for both gathering data and understanding the subjective and underlying sources of influence on teachers' behaviour was crucial to the success of this study.

Observations "may be in the form of records, statistical rates, tape-recordings, writings, questionnaires or interviews, archaeological remains, diaries, and so on" (Hughes, 1990, p. 97). For the purpose of this study, and in keeping with the qualitative case study design, (Anderson, 1990, p. 160) there were three main sources for my observations which were deemed suitable for answering the research questions concerned with description and meaning (Morse, 1994, p. 224):

i. Participatory Observation: Largely Open and Unstructured

The intent was to create an inter-reactive, reciprocal process of data-gathering, and interpretation of the underlying values reflected in school artifacts and teachers' espoused values. My intent was to examine these espoused values and to examine organizational members' behaviour to try to uncover any anomalies, consistencies and incongruencies which might then lead me to ask further questions. The process became an interactive one in many cases, especially with teachers on the Primary and Junior Teams, and together we worked toward uncovering some of their basic assumptions about teaching. This is in keeping with this type of observational study, in that the researcher becomes a human instrument "capable of understanding the complexity of human interaction" (Merriam, 1988, p. 103), for "knowledge of persons" can only be acquired through "understanding . . . the lived experiences of others . . . through the apprehension of their inner meaning" (Hughes, 1990, p. 90). Observational Guides (see Appendices K and L) were two guiding instruments which I developed to focus my observations. However, I did not restrict myself to these guides but rather followed my intuition in many cases and allowed the process to unfold.

Participants in the school were observed over a five-week period in various situations (e.g., classroom, staff room, playground, assemblies, cafeteria, etc.) and, when I felt it appropriate, these participants were encouraged to "tell their stories" (Morse, 1994). Questions related to understanding the culture of the school, value orientations and variations in orientations emerged through this process of being "immersed in the situation" (Anderson, 1990, p. 150). Daily, written descriptions of teachers' stories were

kept. The primary intent was to gain insight into the values reflected in group interactions and manifested in school culture and to understand teachers' experiences in reconciling value conflicts.

ii. Cultural Artifacts

Inasmuch as the culture of the a school manifests (Caldwell & Spinks, 1992; Schein, 1990) itself in formal documents (e.g., policy handbooks, mission statements, district documents) and informal documents (e.g., school newsletters, memos to staff) and visible and audible school rituals and ceremonies (e.g., bulletin boards, posters, art work, festivals), these artifacts became a focus of my observations. Written records were kept describing in detail my observations of these artifacts. This became part of the emergent process which led me to understand the values that were being espoused in this school. This process also focused my attention on certain anomalies in the school which then helped me to get at certain underlying basic assumptions.

The following school documents were examined: *Staff Handbook; School Profile; Major Committees Pamphlet; Primary Report Card; Three School Newsletters to Parents, Pre-Conference Letter to Parents; Conflict Resolution Strategies For Students; Respect Quiz for Students; and, Team Development Scale.*

The following district documents were examined: *System-Wide Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95 Report Card for Parents and All Taxpayers; Strategic Directional Statements, 1995-1998; Mapping Students' Success 1995-96; Supervision for Growth: A professional Growth and Performance Appraisal Program in XX Schools: Indicators of*

Effective Teaching 1994; and, Supervision for Growth, A Professional Growth and Performance Appraisal Program in XX Schools: Development Track and Administrative Track 1994.

iii. Semi-structured interviews

For the teachers who were members of the two teaching teams, an interview schedule was designed (see Appendix D) to serve as my frame of reference for probing these teachers and for helping them to uncover their “sacred, secret and cover” stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 1995, p. 3). This process helped help me to understand their espoused values, and in conjunction with my observations in their classrooms, proved to be a dialectical process which helped the teachers uncover their underlying educational values and, in some cases, the value conflicts they experienced when there were variations in value orientations within the subculture of the team, and/or within the larger, overarching school culture. Development of the interview questions was guided by my conceptual framework and an effort was made to include various types of questions to facilitate teachers’ ability to explore and describe their knowledge (Spradley, 1979).

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted individually with the principal and vice principal, the Family Resource Co-ordinator, The Child Youth Worker, two other junior division teachers, and two teacher specialists and two parents. One group interview was conducted with a primary division team. In total 19 participants were interviewed. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes to 120 minutes.

Data Management and Analysis

The instrumental case study is one where “. . .critical issues are more likely to be known in advance. . . .[so]. . . such a design can take greater advantage of already-developed instruments and preconceived coding systems (Stake, 1994, pp. 242-243). Similarly, my observations in the classrooms and the school were initially guided by observation guides (see Appendix K & L). However the process of gathering and recording my observations was one of deliberation, reflection and intuition. Consequently, the observation guides were modified throughout the research process. Whereas the guides helped to focus attention on critical issues, as time went on I found that there were other issues I wanted to explore. There were times when the guides were restrictive in that what I wanted to write didn't fit on the page. About a week into the process, I began to reorganize my approach in terms of relying more on my intuitive sense of where the research was going and less on the structure of the guides. In the end, approximately 230 pages of field notes were produced. This included pages of my intermittent reflections on the process, and an examination of my personal underlying basic assumptions, some of which were enlightening for me.

The interview process unfolded in much the same way. After a couple of interviews, I more or less had internalized the types of questions that I wanted to ask. In the case of the Primary and Junior Team teachers, I asked the basic questions that I thought would help me to answer the research questions. I also asked questions concerning observations I had made in their answers. This process was focused on encouraging these teachers to clarify their value orientations and to understand their basic

assumptions about teaching. Frequently, after the interview, and upon further reflection, these teachers would come to me to clarify an issue that had been discussed during the interview.

“Unstructured” interviews with others in the school took place on a daily basis. The unstructured interview is described as one that is used to “understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any a priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry” (Fontina & Frey, 1994, p. 366). This type of interviewing is more conversational as there is an interactive dialogue between the interviewer and the participant, a deviation from the more traditional role of the cool and rational interviewer. This type of interviewing was useful because it allowed me to better understand the culture of the school and the variations in value orientations of individuals and groups within the school. It also provided me with opportunities to request interviews with others besides the Primary and Junior Team teachers at Hillside. At the end of each day I would make written notes about the discussions I had had with various people throughout the day.

The semi-structured interviews were audio-taped in all cases except one where, because the teacher was new, she preferred not to be recorded. For that interview I took hand-written notes.

All interviews and field notes were transcribed and stored on diskettes and kept in a secure location. A computer software filing system (NUD●IST) was used to store and retrieve the data. The system was used to assist me in storing, formatting, indexing, and managing the rich and thick data which was derived through the documents, interviews,

and field notes. Using a computer software program facilitated the coding process in that it eliminated many of manual tasks associated with this process. Consequently, it afforded considerable flexibility to the coding and analysis process.

According to Huberman and Miles (1994, p. 429), data analysis “contains three linked subprocesses . . . [which are] . . . data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.” Whereas data reduction began with choosing the conceptual framework, research questions and the instruments, further inductive and deductive data reduction followed as themes and patterns were identified and verified throughout the research process. This was a highly intuitive and emergent process. While the major themes had been structured by the conceptual framework and research questions, other major themes emerged as well as categories and subcategories. As the process unfolded I found it necessary to keep records in terms of which interviews and which perspective had been completed. Otherwise, given that there was such an abundance of data, it would have been difficult to know what I had completed.

Data display, according to Huberman and Miles, refers to the compression of data in such a way so as to allow the researcher to make meaning of the data and to draw conclusions. The nature of the data display emerged through the process of analysis.

Trustworthiness

“Most writers on the topic argue that qualitative research, because it is based on different assumptions about reality, a different worldview, a different paradigm, should have different conceptualizations of validity and reliability” (Merriam, 1988, p. 166).

Janesick (1994, p. 216) suggests that the term "validity" is confusing because it is traditionally a quantitative one. Trustworthiness is the more appropriate word inasmuch as it "signifies a different set of assumptions about research purposes than does validity" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994, p. 151). Because of the assumptions about the multiple realities that go with qualitative research, judgements about validity have to do with the researcher demonstrating that he or she has represented these perspectives adequately (Merriam, 1988). Some of the ways to ensure trustworthiness are triangulation, member checks, peer examination and clarifying the researcher's biases (Merriam, 1998). In the case of the latter, I have presented my basic assumptions and orientation at the beginning of this chapter.

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to gain insight into, not to explain, the relationship between two conceptual variables--values and culture. Weaknesses associated with the validity and reliability of such a descriptive, non-experimental study were remediated through the use of triangulation. If we "accept both a pluralism of theories" (Hughes, 1990, p.157) and "believe that skilled researchers can combine approaches" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 9), then methodological triangulation combining "dissimilar methods such as interviews, observations and physical evidence to study the same unit" (Merriam, 1988, p. 69) can be used to enhance the trustworthiness of participant observational studies. In that this study involved the use of document analysis, interviews, and participatory observation, triangulation of methods is implicit in the nature of the research.

Furthermore, member checks were conducted whereby interview data was brought back to each participant to verify and clarify. Frequently, throughout the process of being at the school, I presented my interpretation of what I had observed and asked school members to react to it. During the coding and analysis process, I asked colleagues to comment on the categories as they emerged, and I discussed my interpretations and data display strategies. This process helped me to clarify my thoughts and understand the data better.

Ethics

To preserve the anonymity of participants, pseudonyms were used. In presenting and discussing the findings, consideration was given to what the data revealed about the individuals. In some cases, individuals are referred to in general terms rather than specifically by pseudonym or by position. This was done when issues discussed were considered to be sensitive and/or potentially controversial. This was particularly the case to ensure confidentiality and to protect the identity of “informants.” Nevertheless, I was surprised at the brutal honesty with which participants responded, especially when self-descriptions did not necessarily present them in a “favourable” light. The majority of the people I talked with ensured me that they were not concerned with the issue of anonymity in that what they were saying was not something that they would not express openly with their colleagues if the subject was broached.

The next chapter begins the presentation of the data pertaining to value orientations, variations in orientations and value conflicts. This is presented in four chapters, the first beginning with educational purpose.

CHAPTER FIVE

Educational Purposes and Underlying Value Orientations: A Multi-perspective Comparative Analysis

This chapter begins with a discussion of educators' beliefs about educational purposes and underlying value orientations from the perspectives of the District, the School, the Primary Team, the Junior Team, and by extension, Individuals. This is followed by an analysis of the variations in orientations between and among the various perspectives.

Establishing Educational Purposes and Underlying Value Orientations from Different Perspectives

An examination of district policy documents (see Table 5.1, p. 78) helped me to uncover the District orientation to educational purpose. These documents included mission statements regarding educational aims and goals. Discovery of the school's orientation to the purpose of school emerged through an analysis of the following: i. my recorded observations of various organized and impromptu activities involving teachers, students, parents, and administrators, of daily informal staffroom discussions, and of the more formal staff meetings which took place during my five-week visit; ii. my recorded semi-structured interviews with the principal, the vice principal, twelve classroom

teachers, three specialists, and two parents; and, iii. formal and informal school documents (see Table 5.1, p. 78). Similarly, beliefs about educational purposes and the underlying value orientations of individuals on the Primary and Junior Teams were determined through an examination of the data derived from my recorded, daily observations over a two-week period in each team's classrooms, the written recorded discussions which arose as a result of my observations in the classrooms, and the semi-structured interviews with each team member.

Table 5.1

List of Documents Analyzed

District Documents

- System-Wide Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95 Report Card for Parents and All Taxpayers. (PA)
- Strategic Directional Statements, 1995-1998 (SDS)
- Mapping Students' Success. 1995-96 (MSS)
- ▶ Supervision for Growth: A professional Growth and Performance Appraisal Program: Indicators of Effective Teaching (IET)
- ▶ Supervision for Growth, A Professional Growth and Performance Appraisal Program: Development Track and Administrative Track. (DT&AT)

Formal School Documents

- ▶ Hillside Elementary Staff Handbook (SH)
- ▶ Primary Report Card (PRC)
- ▶ School Profile 94/95 (SP'94/95)

Informal School Documents

- ▶ Three school newsletters (SNL)
- ▶ One school paper: The Wolf Pack (TWP)
- ▶ Pre-Conference Letter to Parents (P-CL);
- ▶ Conflict Resolution Strategies (CRS),
- ▶ Respect Quiz (RQ),
- ▶ Team Development Scale (TDS)

Educational purposes are generally broad statements regarding beliefs about the overall purpose of schools and, therefore, difficult to determine through observation alone. That is, observations of classroom practices such as what or how a teacher teaches mathematics may not readily suggest one purpose over the other. For example, how does one know if a teacher's intent in expecting students to engage in problem solving is to prepare them for future employment, or if it is to help students develop cognitive skills that would foster lifelong learning, or for that matter, if the teacher is just unreflectively following the text? Consequently, educational purposes and value orientations in this study were determined primarily by analysing *espoused* values, both written, as in policy documents, and oral, as articulated in the responses to direct questioning about what individuals believed to be the purpose or purposes of education. Nevertheless, analysis of my observations in the school helped to supplement this process in that a fuller picture of how the educational purposes were revealed through the rituals, artifacts and behaviour that I witnessed in the school.

In the early stages of the data analysis, four main categories of educational purpose emerged: social development; personal development, career development, and intellectual development. Further analysis led to a bifurcation of two of these categories: social development was subdivided into social adaptation and social reconstruction, while intellectual development was subdivided into academic development and cognitive development. In the case of the former, initially all statements pertaining to the social purpose of education were coded as social development. However, there emerged two distinct classifications of social development, which is compatible with two of Eisner's

(1979) curriculum orientations: social adaptation and social reconstruction. According to Eisner, these two educational purposes are similar in that they both require a look at society and the world to determine what schools should teach. They differ in that the first is to serve the interests of society while the second is to “fix” it. Regarding intellectual development, this category first included all statements related to developing the mind. However, as I continued to analyse the data I came to see a distinction between statements which emphasized intellectual growth in terms of acquiring knowledge of subject matter, and statements which centred around the development of intellectual processes; hence, the development of the categories academic development and cognitive development. These two purposes of education also are similar to Eisner’s classifications, development of cognitive processes and academic rationalism.

Consequently, whereas the data shaped the emergent categories, the literature on educational purpose influenced the manner in which I labelled and defined the categories (see Table 5.2, p. 81). Put another way, the data analysis informed the content of the categories while the literature review influenced the labels for the categories. Table 5.2 outlines the key elements which characterize each educational purpose. Not all perspectives were oriented to all six educational purposes. For example, the District perspective did not include social reconstruction as an educational purpose while Ted on the Primary Team made reference to only social adaptation. The data analysis is presented under each of the six orientations and includes, where applicable, each perspective in the following order: District, School, Primary Team by individuals, and Junior Team by individuals. Table 5.3 (see p. 82) displays the educational purposes from each of these

Table 5. 2
Educational Purposes

I. EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

A. Social Adaptation

- Citizenship Skills (e.g., participation in a pluralistic, global society, celebrate Canadian heritage, acceptance of societal standards)
- Standards of Behaviour (e.g., punctuality, rule compliance)
- Social Skills (e.g., co-operation, tolerance, compassion, caring, respect, participation)
- Respect for Cultural Differences (e.g., religion, race, ethnicity, gender)
- Moral Development
- Maintenance of Status Quo

B. Social Reconstruction

- Developing Critical Social Consciousness
- Alleviate Ills of Society
- Focus on Controversial Issues (e.g., religious values, sexual preferences, political corruption, race, gender, prejudices, etc.)

C. Personal Development

- Self-esteem
- Self-discipline
- Life-long Learning
- Emotional Well-being
- Personal Meaning

D. Career Development

- Career Education Skills
- Technology Skills (e.g., to meet demands of high-tech multicultural workplace)
- Specialization (e.g., specialized programming for future success)

E. Academic Development

- Literacy
- Numeracy
- Rationalism
- Arts and Sciences

F. Cognitive Development

- Developing Problem Solving Skills
- Strengthening Intellectual Faculties

perspectives. This table demonstrates the data sources for arriving at these orientations: Document data are coded as D, interview data are coded as I and Observational data are coded as O. Where the data analysis provided information to suggest that there was an

emphasis in orientation, then the data source is presented in bold lettering and underlined (e.g., Document data is coded as **D**).

Social Adaptation

References to educational purpose which embodied the concept that the purpose of school is to serve the interests or needs of society in terms of conforming to existing values, maintaining the social order and preserving culture were coded under this category. In other words, a social adaptation orientation is one which would support the idea that students must be helped to acquire the skills needed to fit into society as it presently exists.

Table 5.3
Educational Purposes Across Perspectives

| VALUE ORIENTATIONS | DIST | SCH | PRIMARY TEAM | | | | JUNIOR TEAM | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| | | | <i>Bernie</i> | <i>Gail</i> | <i>Mavis</i> | <i>Ted</i> | <i>Ester</i> | <i>Louise</i> |
| EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE | | | | | | | | |
| Social Adaptation | D | <u>D O I</u> | <u>I</u> | <u>I</u> | | <u>I</u> | | <u>I</u> |
| Social Reconstruction | | | I | | I | | | |
| Personal Development | D | <u>D O I</u> | | | I | | | I |
| Career Development | D | D | I | | I | | | I |
| Academic Development | <u>D</u> | <u>D O I</u> | I | | | | | |
| Cognitive Development | D | D | I | | I | | I | |

D = Documents

I = Interviews

O = Observations

Bold Underlined Letter Indicates Strong Orientation (i.e., **D**; **I**; **O**)

Social adaptation: District

Document analysis revealed a strong and explicit emphasis on *social adaptation* as a purpose of education at the district level. Policy statements such as the following were found:

- it is the mission of this Board to empower students to . . . participate responsibly in a pluralistic, global society (Strategic Directional Statements)
- the culture of the school fosters participation, responsibility and success (Strategic Directional Statements)
- education must reflect the multicultural population we serve while at the same time celebrating our strong Canadian heritage (Development Track and Administrative Track, p. 6)
- in the process of education with this Board, students become contributing citizens to Canada and the world (Mapping Students' Success)
- strong values support our programs and become part of the learning process: students learn to co-operate and respect each other. They learn compassion and caring. They learn tolerance and fairness.

Social adaptation: School

Social adaptation as a purpose of education was reiterated both orally by the administrators through interviews and in writing in the form of school documents such as the staff handbook and the primary report card. Examples from documents are:

- one of the primary objectives at this school is to foster interpersonal relationships (Staff Handbook, p. 1)
- we believe that the prime outcome of school is student achievement in terms of academic, personal, social [emphasis added] and vocational growth (Staff Handbook, p. 1)
- we believe our programs and services encourage the development of . . . a feeling of community respect for cultural values (Staff Handbook, p. 1)
- Primary Report Card Categories: Personal and Social Growth (Work Habits; Follows directions; works independently; accepts responsibility; respects rights/property of others; is thoughtful and courteous; has positive attitude; shows initiative) (Primary Report Card)

The principal placed great emphasis on the teaching of social values:

I guess the more I look at it the more I'm concerned that we must develop a set of values that we all agree upon, more than teaching them how to read and write, cause those are the skills that we need to get through life. I guess if I see any discouragement it is the number of children who can't get along. And I think it's increasing. And that's a microcosm of the world and the hostility that we see even to where a Jew kills another Jew, and that's been going on for years but certainly not a big part of that culture. And I see that hostility in the school yard and when the comments are made, it's always about the mother. It's never about the father. When you want to hurt someone you say something either about the sexuality or about the race. Our kids have been pushed into a multicultural society. They haven't grown up in it and they don't know how to cope with that. I don't know where we go with that but I think we do need to get back to accepting more responsibility for the teaching of values.

The principal's belief that the school must take responsibility for the teaching of social and moral values was born out in tangible ways at Hillside Elementary School. For example, one weekly ritual was to introduce a "thought for the week" as part of the daily morning announcements. Some of these thoughts included: "Truth is still truth, even if it makes you angry," "If you think you're beaten you are, if you dare not, you won't, and if you think you can't win, you most certainly won't," "Knowledge without action is not knowledge" and "Don't complain if you have to struggle, that is when the work begins. There is no victory where there is no battle." The value concepts implied in these statements are related to: "truth," "competition," and a "work ethic." Other adages were relayed daily such as this moral message: "When a bird sees a trap it stays away. Some of you seem to be attracted to trouble." The principal stated that the thought for the week "introduces some values into the system which are sadly needed."

Other methods of transmitting moral and social values were evident. Values such as “peace” and “respect” were manifested in the various bulletin board displays throughout the school. One such mural display was centred around the theme, “Keep Making the Road of Peace,” and depicted a picture of the world divided into the following labelled sections: Love; World Peace; Perfect Team; Friendship; One Human Family; and Take Down Invisible Walls. A poster with the words, “ A great school is built on a solid foundation: RESPECT” conveyed the idea that there would be more learning and less conflict if everyone respected one another.

Acknowledgement of the multicultural student population was implicit in the principal’s recognition, through the morning announcements, of the various festivals and holidays such as Hanukkah, Christmas and Kwanzas. Bulletin board displays and posters also represented people of many races and ethnicities. Over 30 flags from around the world hung in the main foyer and the word “peace” in four languages was clearly visible on its walls.

Social adaptation: Primary Team-Bernie

Bernie espoused the belief that the purpose of schooling was to maintain the societal status quo. Her position was characterized by a kind of hopeless resignation that schools do, and perhaps even should, serve to perpetuate social and economic stratification. However, this unfortunate situation could be alleviated by helping students to lead a fuller and happier personal life so that they could be content with their “position” in life:

I think from my own education in university we talked a lot about the fact that education, the education system really, it's main purpose is to train people and prepare people for the outside world and therefore, it should be maintaining the status quo, teaching conformity, teaching people how to respect authority, teaching the top ten percent to be assertive and aggressive and the bottom ten percent to be ready to be garbage people. And even though at the time I thought that was appalling, I really understand that if I want society to be maintained as it is that has to be done in the school system, because otherwise you've got no one to pick up the garbage, and as a member of our society I want somebody to pick it up, and I want to still be middle class and somebody else to be lower class. So I think that's one of the, if you want to think that way, I think that's education's purpose.

Bernie was not without reservations in this position and felt it to be an “ambiguous” condition. Nevertheless she suggested that because “in many ways our society is working and I can't see how to make it better” there was a need to “prepare the children for what's out there.” Bernie also felt that to deny that she was in a “privileged position,” or to deny that society for her was fine as it was, would be hypocritical.

Social adaptation: Primary Team-Gail

Gail spoke about the purpose of education being to provide a strong sense of core moral values, particularly values which helped to perpetuate a Canadian culture while at the same time respecting the diverse nature of its population:

I really think that Canada has to have a strong moral, country moral and that people coming into the country while they may have different morals and that's fine, that they can have the different morals but they have to fit it into the Canadian society. For example, the Sikhs, when they bring their religious knives. Well, it's not safe for anyone to have a knife in society and this is a Canadian society and we've decided that it's not safe for anyone to have a knife in this society. So while, if you're at home or if you're going to your church that's one thing that you have your religious ceremonial knives but in terms of Canadian culture I think that there has to be a, I wish there was a strong Canadian culture that while we would

encourage and welcome a diversity we would still have a common moral background, a common moral ground to build the country on.

In this discussion, Gail distinguished between three societal institutions -- the family, the church and the school. The underlying assumption here is that the purpose of school is to perpetuate common moral principles for the betterment of Canadian society. Cultural differences in terms of religious rituals and practices, where “incompatible” with Canadian values, should be carried out in the privacy of the home or church.

Social adaptation: Primary Team-Ted

Ted believed that the manifestations of behavioural problems in schools today were more intense and the focus of teachers’s attention was generally not on something trivial like chewing gum “because you’re concerned with kids fighting and kids hurting one another.” To counter this growing violence Ted believed it was necessary to “foster a caring attitude in kids.” This would better serve the primary purpose of education which he deemed to be to fit into society:

We have a lot of information that we’re just starting to get. I mean the research, brain research really, the information we’re starting to get has only been recently . . . We know very little about what we’re doing. We only have what we’ve got and we take that and use it and try to interpret it and use what we can to do what we’re trying to do which is educate kids to prepare them for some productive life in society.

Social adaptation: Primary Team-Louise

Louise’s espoused belief, similar to Gail’s position on the Primary Team, was that schools have a responsibility to teach children how to behave in a society. This purpose

was becoming increasingly more difficult because of the cultural diversity in many schools today:

Okay. Well, I guess, being a teacher, I think, has become more complicated over the last few years. We tend to be spending a lot more time teaching the children, you know, more of the social behaviour. . .and a lot of children are getting that sort of education from home and with the number of different cultures we have here in Canada, different cultures have different ideas of what's acceptable, what's not acceptable and so, you know, educating them as to what social behaviour is acceptable in Canada.

Louise's discussion suggests that the cultural diversity of the social behaviour learned in the home creates a problem for many schools today and, therefore, children need to be educated about what is appropriate social behaviour in Canada.

Social Reconstruction

Only two individuals, both members of the Primary Team, made references to educational purposes which embodied a social reconstructivist perspective. There were no statements which were indicative of this educational purpose for the District, the School, or for two members of the Primary Team or either member of the Junior Team.

Social reconstruction: Primary Team-Bernie

Whereas Bernie's discussion of the purpose of education strongly expressed a social adaptation position, she also believed that schools should address controversial issues such as homosexuality. This is more in line with a social reconstruction perspective in that the emphasis is on alleviating some of the ills of society stemming from

discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Bernie felt dismay in that issues such as this were lacking from the curriculum:

Like another good example, for me, is homosexuality and sexual orientation through choices that people make. I think it's absolutely appalling that that's a value that we don't teach in the schools, that we allow children to, we say you can't come to school and foster a racist attitude but it's okay to come to school and foster a homophobic attitude and as an educator I am actually going to encourage it by excluding homosexual discussion or mention from my curriculum. And I'm actually going to let other teachers probably say pretty terrible things at times, people who feel those things, because the board didn't have a policy on it. Our board, for instance, has a policy that says no discrimination and so therefore that includes homosexuality and homophobia, but will not back you up if you teach sexual orientation in your class.

Bernie felt this “hugely contradictory” and suggested that teachers would be likely to leave such controversial issues alone for fear of being “sold up the river.”

Social reconstruction: Primary Team-Mavis

Mavis believed that schools should be concerned with the interests of all society, not just those of the dominant class.

I think right now, I mean, the education system, most businesses, most of society, everyone centres around what the white expectations and values are and we're looking, here, you look at this school, how many white children born in Canada live here? So no, I'd say if anything I'd want to see us moving away from maintaining society the way it is, and opening up, like seeing more teachers who are Black or Chinese. I'd certainly like to move away from that because I think we are almost putting our cultures, our Canadian expectations onto these children.

Mavis was correct in stating that there was a large number of students at Hillside who were not born in Canada. Student population statistics reported in the 1994-1995 School Profile for Hillside Elementary support her claim. In the school district itself, more

than 100 countries and 70 different languages were represented. Out of the approximately 40 teachers at Hillside Elementary, the large majority of them were white, while two of them were black. There were a few non-teaching positions which were represented by other visible minorities and various ethnicities.

Personal Development

Statements pertaining to the personal interests of the students in terms of their self-development and enjoyment of life were coded as personal development. The focus here would be on helping students achieve individual freedom and personal fulfillment by fostering self-esteem, making curriculum personally relevant and developing an appreciation for the aesthetic value of life.

Personal development: District

The following statements from two district documents imply a personal development value orientation at the District level:

- As their self-esteem and self-discipline grows, students learn to make decisions and to accept their consequence according to societal standards (Mapping Students' Success)
- Programs should be relevant (Strategic Directional Statements)

Personal development: School

The following statements written in the staff handbook demonstrate that personal development was considered to be a purpose of education for Hillside Elementary School:

- one of the primary objectives at this school is to develop and maintain each student's sense of self-worth and self-discipline (Staff Handbook, p. 1)

- we believe that the prime outcome of school is student achievement in terms of academic, personal (emphasis added), social and vocational growth (Staff Handbook, p. 1).
- we believe our programs and services encourage the development of self worth, a feeling of community respect for cultural values, and a recognition of accomplishment (Staff Handbook, p. 1)

These documents statements were coherent with the vice principal's position regarding the importance of meeting students' personal needs:

In terms of the needs, it's a unique community in that it's all apartment dwellers and a lot of single families and then you've got the cultural diversity on top of that . . . I think the transient quality of this is the difference in terms of how the needs get met and what you can do because I see real disadvantages just starting with some children in terms of trying to get support and looking at assessing them and they're gone and I think that also adds to the intensity of the school because kids, these kinds of kids float from here to here to here and each school picks up and starts over again so often their needs never get met til way down the road and they continue to have difficulties all the way around.

Both the principal and the vice principal encouraged teachers to engage in activities with students that would help them develop their self-esteem and self-discipline. As one convener suggested, extra curricular clubs such as the Green Club and the Games Club were set up to "give them things to do at lunch . . . and the more they're together the more they're involved, the more they like the school, the more they like the school the less trouble they get into." This also helped them to develop "pride" in their school. The principal considered these clubs to be "phenomenal."

Tangible manifestations of the importance of personal development were evident throughout the school building. For example, bulletin boards near several primary classes displayed students' art work and writing entitle "All About Me." Another bulletin board near one kindergarten class provided information for visiting parents about the necessity to

nourish children's emotional intelligence (i.e., cooperation, empathy, consensus building) which was considered to be more important than rational intelligence.

Personal development: Primary Team-Bernie

Even though Bernie's views on educational purpose reflected a social adaptation in position, this seemed to be a position stemming from resignation rather than personal commitment. Her remedy to this undesirable condition was to focus on emotional and personal development as an educational purpose. In relation to the way schools work to maintain the status quo, Bernie stated:

Unfortunately, as a teacher, when you're really in here, it really works that way and so I do think that's what we achieve and I wish we didn't but that is what we achieve.

However, this was not a conscious effort on her part:

But I think what your purpose becomes when you're actually in here is quite different. I don't think I sit in my room and think, 'How am I going to get some of my children ready for the upper classes and some ready for the lower classes and in this particular community how am I going to make sure they all fail in life?' I think it doesn't work like that as much.

And there was a way to counteract this phenomenon, a way to help those situated at the lower level of the social class compensate for their unfortunate place in society:

I guess what the purpose ends up being instead, now, as a teacher, you make each child as successful as they can be and prepare them to, I guess, accept their lot, but if they do end up having to step into the same status as their parents had, I think, helping them know how to maximize what they're gonna face. Do you know what I mean? If you don't have very much money, helping them understand that they can enjoy their life through the arts and through physical fitness without necessarily being rich, teaching them that there are different ways to express themselves and have them understand that your life isn't made up of what you do from 9 to 5 so even if you have a lousy job it's not the end of the world. I think all

those things are really important and don't necessarily contradict the goals of keeping society the way it is. Ideally, what I'd like it to be, what I want it to be or what it is, I'd like it to be that everybody can learn how to be happy and successful and learn how to work well together so that the world can be a better place - which is what would happen.

Personal development: Primary Team-Mavis

Mavis felt that the purpose of school should include individual self-fulfilment, as revealed during one interview:

I think that it's very important that the children feel that they can achieve and work towards individual self-fulfilment and feel positive about what they're doing. I do see individual self-fulfilment as a purpose, certainly.

Personal development: Junior Team-Louise

An interview with Louise also provided data to suggest that she felt that the personal development of each child in terms of foster their self-esteem and confidence was important:

Our job is to make sure that these children are feeling good about themselves and that they are capable and that, making them aware that just because they're not maybe good in math they may have strengths in language or they may have strengths in visual arts or they maybe some day they'll grow up to be a wonderful actor or actress because that's where their strengths lie. So looking at the different intelligences that we have in the classroom and really trying to get the kids to hone in on those and hang onto those and to still work on the other ones, to still try and develop those but to be aware that it's okay if you're not a mathematician or a writer or an actor.

Career Development

Analysis of data from interviews, unstructured discussions, documents and observations revealed that the District, the School, two members of the Primary Team and one Junior Team member believed that the purposes of school should include career development. Career development as an educational purpose pertains to school's purpose as utilitarian in that the aim is to train or educate students so that they will be able to meet the demands of the workplace.

Career development: District

Several explicit statements from one district document were coded under *career development*:

- Canadians are key contributors to our global economy. By setting high standards for students, we help them prepare to meet the challenges and demands of our high-tech, multicultural workplace (Strategic Directional Statements)
- Programs should . . . include . . . career education skills (Strategic Directional Statements)
- Student programs are balanced with opportunities for specialization to prepare them for future success (Strategic Directional Statements)

Career development- School

Preparing students for eventual *careers* is implicit in this statement written in the school's staff handbook:

- we believe that the prime outcome of school is student achievement in terms of academic, personal, social and vocational [emphasis added] growth (Staff Handbook, p. 1)

Career development: Primary Team-Bernie

Inasmuch as preparing students to be part of existing society in terms of class structure, Bernie's implicit belief was that the purpose of school was to help students enter the work world for the good of the individual and the good of society:

How am I gonna make sure that these [black] boys in my class get as much opportunity as the other boys in my class or that the [black] girls are gonna do more, you know, or be more I think that's what many of us do because realistically we know we're not gonna change anything in a big way and none of us are gonna sell our children up the river either. So we say, 'I think right now that Jerome's going to go nowhere but maybe he's here, as Einstein, and in primary school we're gonna say that he's learning disabled but in two years he's gonna blossom and when he's 15 he'll discover the cure for AIDS and am I gonna sentence Jerome to go to an institution when he's 6 years old or am I gonna give him a chance? And because I'm going to assume that there are some brain surgeons in my class even though these are the lower classes, the 'lowest' members of our society at the moment, I'm gonna assume some of them can go very far and for their sake because I love them and for my own sake because I'm gonna have members of my family dying of illnesses that they can maybe cure. I want to drive the car that they invent. I'm gonna work towards their betterment but in reality I'm using my values to decide what some of them may achieve. In reality I'm coming with my biases and so my purposes, at the same time, are also to do what the Big Brother, Society, wants me to do. Does that make sense? -

Career development: Primary Team-Mavis

Mavis was somewhat ambivalent about education's role in preparing students for particular careers. She did believe, however, that schools should prepare students for what they will need to be successful in their careers, but did not equate this as the prime purpose of schools:

I don't know if the overall purpose is to prepare them for a career necessarily, to prepare them for life after school, after high school, certainly. I do see that we have to prepare them for what's out there, and for the skills they're going to need to be successful in careers. But I don't

see that as the total goal of education so that they can get a job when they can get out. It's one aspect of it but I see it sort of as a whole umbrella.

Career development: Junior Team-Louise

Louise believed that inasmuch as it was her job to help students make the link between particular subject areas and the types of careers that required knowledge in these areas, then career development was a school purpose:

Well I think that in the elementary and intermediate schools is when we can introduce the children to all the different possibilities that are out there, you know, and different things that you can do with math and we try to show them why is math important and here are all the different ways we use it and then here are, you know, some of the different jobs that people will use these math skills. The same with all the different areas of the curriculum, you know, if a child is interested in drama they don't just have to grow up to be an actor or an actress. There are all sorts of other areas in the theatre they can be involved in where they're still involved in theatre but not necessarily on stage. There are all the back stage positions and there's production and direction and all those types of things.

It was also school's responsibility to help students maintain a positive attitude towards the various subject areas so that no career opportunities are denied them when it came time to make choices in their post-secondary education:

So I think at this level it's when we want to start introducing the kids to all the possibilities that are out there and then I think once they get to high school is trying to get them to sort of pin point what they are really interested in, keeping the doors open for themselves and not saying, okay, I hate science. I'm not going to take any more sciences. I'm closing that door. They need to be encouraged to keep that door open and, you know, maybe not major in sciences later on in life but to just keep them up and just in case they do find, because I know I found when I got to university, you know, what you thought you wanted to do when you were twelve or when you were sixteen, all of a sudden when you're twenty-five becomes very different so if you close doors in high school then it ends up that you've closed doors for, you know, it makes it much more difficult to go back.

Louise felt that it was important to help students understand the relevancy of what they were learning in school for how it could be applied in the workplace. Even at an early age, students should be taught to explore the variety of occupations that might stem from knowledge of the arts and sciences.

Academic Development

Statements from document data, interview data and observational data which centred on the importance of intellectual growth through knowledge of traditional subject matter, particularly pertaining to the arts and sciences, were coded as representing an academic development orientation. Both the District and the School perspectives held academic development as an educational purpose. However, only Bernie on the Primary Team articulated this orientation.

Academic development: District

Although not *frequently* articulated in the policy documents that were analyzed, academic education was *strongly* stated as an educational purpose by the District. One district document contained the following statement:

- Literacy and mathematics are the top two priorities [emphasis added] (Mapping Students' Success)

Academic development: School

Document analysis revealed the following statements regarding the academic purpose of education:

- we believe that the prime outcome of school is student achievement in terms of *academic* [emphasis added] personal, social and vocational growth (Staff Handbook, p. 1)
- Primary Report Card categories: Communication (Listening, Speaking, Reading, Creative Writing, Handwriting, Spelling, Computer Confidence, Overall Effort); Mathematics (Number, Measurement, Geometry, Problem Solving, Overall Effort); Environmental Studies; The Arts (Drama, Music, Physical Education, Visual Arts); (Primary Report Card)

Implicit in the following account is the principal's position regarding the importance of academic goals being suited to the needs of the students at Hillside Elementary:

The expectations for students were too high for the first year We were doing field testing as we were moving along, and we felt the expectations were too high so we modified them. So they didn't do as much work as the board mandated.

This reflects a relativist position with regard to academic purpose inasmuch as academic development was valued. However, expectations for academic achievement were relative to the needs and strengths of the students at Hillside.

Once again, bulletin board displays represented some of the academic curricula. One bulletin board in the junior section of the school was covered with student drawn maps of the Canadian provinces, the various provincial and territory flags, and historical, political and geographical information about each province and territory. Other academic subjects, particularly in the areas of math and language, were represented by the students' work which covered the walls in the hallways and stairwells.

Academic development: Primary Team-Bernie

Bernie believed academic development to be an integral part of the purpose of schooling. However, she felt restricted by board prescribed curricula:

I think of learning kind of in two different groups (which isn't so good) but partly the stuff that the board makes me do and I guess that the school makes me do and in terms of my relationship with the children. A lot of the academic is wonderful, exciting stuff but there's stuff that I have to do because it has to be done right now and I can't do what the children are wanting to. I have to have math every day, do you know what I mean?

The content of the prescribed academic program was less of a problem than was the timing. The expectations associated with the grade level organization of schools set limits on the discretionary teaching of concepts and teacher flexibility:

Yes. It's not so much, there's nothing I can think of that I've ever had to teach a child that I didn't want to teach a child but sometimes I don't want to teach it right now and it would have been much better to wait til they're in Grade 5 and they'd learn it in five minutes, and to worry about it right now in Grade 1.

Cognitive Development

There were references in document, interview and observation data from the District, School, two Primary Team teachers and one Junior Team teacher perspectives which pointed to the importance of helping students develop their problem solving skills and intellectual processing capacities. This suggests a cognitive processing orientation in that the purpose of schools is to help students learn *how* to learn.

Cognitive development: District

Cognitive development was found to be an educational purpose, as well:

- It is the mission of this Board to empower every student to learn (Strategic Directional Statements)
- The Board values life-long learning (Strategic Directional Statements)

Cognitive development: School

Cognitive development as such was not represented as one of the four “prime outcomes” of school in the staff handbook. Nevertheless, other statements implied its worth as an educational purpose:

- we believe that students should have the opportunity to develop *skills* (emphasis added), knowledge, attitudes and values as part of a *lifelong learning process* (emphasis added) (Staff Handbook, p. 1)
- this report of your child’s progress during the past term is based on observations of his/her *intellectual* (emphasis added) physical, social, and emotional development (Primary Report Card)
- the primary objectives at this school are i.) to develop each student’s *potential for learning* (emphasis added) and to foster interpersonal relationships; and ii.) to develop and maintain each student’s sense of self-worth and self-discipline (Staff Handbook, p. 1)

Cognitive development: Primary Team-Bernie

Bernie believed that intellectual development was supposed to be the primary purpose of school. The challenge in achieving this purpose, however, was that schools ended up taking on the responsibilities of the family which made it difficult to attend to intellectual needs:

I think my commitment is supposed to be to their intellectual development for the most part. And I think that's one of the problems that come up is that we're trying to do all of those things [social, emotional, moral, physical] and that's a parent's job, not a teacher's job.

While it may not be the teacher's job to do "all those things," for Bernie intellectual development could not be achieved until emotional, physical and social needs were met.

So there were few alternatives:

But I don't really think that you can do the intellectual job without the others. I really do feel quite strongly that it shouldn't be as much as it is. I should have more kids coming into my room who are ready for that without my help. I should be able to slip into a relationship quite easily but there are many, many, many that you have to work with too hard. But with the situation as it is and I think all of them crucial it's very much my job.

Cognitive development: Primary Team-Mavis

Mavis believed an important purpose of education is the development of cognitive skills as opposed to traditional memorization of information:

I think if I was to say it I would say individual self-fulfilment is extremely important but I would also hope that there's achievement in the sense that they're able to solve problems, locate information, in that sense, not necessarily being able to tell me what a nebula is . . . They'll be ready to move on to university or to move on to a career and be ready for the training for that career.

Cognitive development: Junior Team-Ester

Ester believed that the purpose of education was to foster the intellectual development in the broad sense of stimulating their interest in learning. Academic disciplines such as mathematics, science and literature could be the means to sparking this intellectual curiosity:

Well, I think those are things that foster the whole child. So it's not specifically teaching them math. Math is the avenue we're using to get to a certain point where they're independent learners and you're really hoping, I'm really hoping that the kids learn how to learn because if they

do that they can learn anything on their own, you know, so if you teach them how to read they can read other things on their own though we can't keep up with technology today and the amount of information that's out there and we're silly if we think can. So we have to teach the children how they can gain information through technology.

Whereas Ester spoke of fostering the whole child, she elaborated on the idea of learning *how* to learn. Her underlying belief was that literacy and numeracy were not in themselves ends, but the tools which students needed to learn. A corollary to students learning how to learn, according to Ester, was that they would be able to keep abreast of a fast-changing technological society. This was necessary, especially in light of the fact that schools could not and should not be expected to keep up with these technological changes. Consequently, the onus for learning would be on the student. Nevertheless, the school's responsibility was to make sure that students were equipped intellectually to handle these new and ever-changing learning environments.

Summary

The preceding discussion has presented six educational purposes and a discussion of the underlying value orientations for each of the perspectives (i.e., District, School, Teams, Individuals). Analysis of the data for each of the perspectives disclosed variations in educational purposes and the underlying value orientations. In some cases there were subtle differences in orientations while in others there were more significant differences. Differences were found between and among perspectives and within perspectives. Furthermore, differences in beliefs about educational purposes did not always engender feelings of intense value conflicts in the individuals. These issues are explored further in

the next section where a comparative analysis of beliefs about educational purposes is made to gain insight into the nature of the value conflicts which these variations in value orientations engendered.

Educational Purposes: Variations and Conflicts Among Underlying Values

What becomes apparent in the descriptive analysis of educational purposes from the various perspectives of the educational organization (i.e., District, School, Teams, Individuals) is that there are variations in orientations, both across perspectives and in some cases within perspectives. Although there was consistency in beliefs about educational purpose, the findings showed that there were some variations in these beliefs in terms of where the emphasis lay. Some of the variations in beliefs about the purpose of education led to value conflicts. However, differences in beliefs did not *necessarily* generate feelings of intense value conflicts in individuals.

Table 5.4 (see p. 105) displays where the *variations in value orientations* occurred. As discussed earlier, variations in orientations can exist in different ways between, among, and within perspectives. Where applicable, *variations in value orientations* are identified and discussed as follows:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. District & School | 5. School & Teams | 9. Team & Team |
| 2. District & Teams | 6. School & Team | 10. Individuals Within a Team |
| 3. District & Team | 7. Individuals Within a School | 11. Team & Individual |
| 4. District & Individual | 8. School & Individual | 12. Individual |

An asterisk beside particular numbers indicates that an individual, or individuals, articulated experiencing value conflict as a result of a variation in beliefs across perspectives. Therefore, the table identifies the occurrence of: a.) the variations in beliefs

about educational purpose; and, b.) the value conflicts teachers experienced as a result of these variations in orientation. In the case of the former, it is necessary to reiterate that only the variations which I identify and discuss are numbered. However, there were variations in orientations which are not numbered or discussed. For example, on the Primary Team, both Bernie and Mavis espoused a social reconstruction value orientation, an orientation which was not articulated by the District, the School, or other individuals on the either Team. However, only the variation in orientation pertaining to social reconstruction between Bernie and the District (i.e., 4=District and Individual) is depicted in the table as this is the one which is addressed in the discussion. The aim is to provide examples of *different* ways variations in orientations may manifest themselves rather than to report *all* of the variations.

These concepts -- variations in beliefs about purpose of education, and value conflicts -- are the focus of the remainder of this chapter, whereby a comparative analysis of variations in underlying values which constitute the varied positions from the different perspectives (i.e., District, School, Team, Individual) is made. This analysis includes an identification and discussion of both the variations in orientations and the nature of the value conflicts which these variations in beliefs fostered in individuals in the school.

In the case where the variations in orientations gave rise to feelings of conflict in individuals on the Primary Team and Junior Team, I address these value conflicts as well. This is not to suggest, however, that these were the only value conflicts which were experienced by these teachers pertaining to variations in educational purpose orientations. Nor does it suggest that any value conflicts which had arisen from these variations were

static in the sense of being constantly at the forefront of the teachers' educational activity. The complexities of human interactions are not played out that neatly in the world of teaching and learning, nor for that matter in any social endeavour. The purpose of this analysis, then, is to gain insights into: i.) the variations in beliefs about educational purposes and underlying value orientations, and ii.) the nature of the value conflicts which arose from these variations in orientations.

Table 5.4
Variations in Value Orientations and Value Conflicts Pertaining to Educational Purposes.

| VALUE ORIENTATIONS | DIST | SCH | PRIMARY TEAM | | | | JUNIOR TEAM | |
|----------------------------|------|-----|--------------|------|-------|-----|-------------|--------|
| | | | Bernie | Gail | Mavis | Ted | Ester | Louise |
| EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE | | | | | | | | |
| Social Adaptation | 4 | 1,8 | 11,12 | 11 | | 11 | | 11 |
| Social Reconstruction | | | 4*,12 | | 8,11 | | | |
| Personal Development | | | | | | | | 11 |
| Career Development | | | | | | | | 11 |
| Academic Development | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Cognitive Development | | | | | | | 11 | |

1=District & School

5=School & Teams

9=Team & Team

2=District & Teams

6=School & Team

10=Individuals Within a Team

3= District & Team

7=Individuals Within a School

11=Team & Individual

4= District & Individual

8=School & Individual

12=Individual

*Value Conflict Experienced

Variations and Conflicts # 1: District and School

One instance of variation in orientation between the District and the School emerged in the data analysis. It is discussed under they categories where the variation occurred.

Variation and Conflict # 1: District and School - Social Adaptation/Academic Development

Whereas there was much consistency in espoused educational purpose value orientations, there were differences across perspectives with regard to where the emphasis lay. When it came to actual practice, the most obvious difference was that of the school's main focus on the social adaptation purpose of school as opposed to the District's apparent emphasis on academic development. Although District policies emphatically articulated the importance of other educational purposes, academic competency seemed to have gained the most attention. Literacy and mathematics were considered to be the "top two priorities" and this was borne out in the way that these were the two areas in which students were regularly evaluated. Many of the district policy statements reflect this emphasis:

- ▶ we assess and evaluate programs, services and student performance continually (Mapping Students' Success)
- ▶ school-by-school test results are available from each school or from the Board office (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 1)
- ▶ city-wide and province-wide tests offer teachers and parents additional information on student achievement (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 1)
- ▶ teachers use a variety of techniques to evaluate and monitor student achievement in all subjects: examinations; regular in-class tests and quizzes; portfolios of student work; class presentations; homework assignments; group discussion; student interviews (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 2)

- ▶ Literacy Assessment Profiles (LAP) for all students from kindergarten to grade 9 were introduced in 1994 to help teachers and parents monitor student progress (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 2)
- ▶ results from city-wide tests in mathematics and literacy help teachers, schools and Board of Education officials pin-point strengths and weaknesses in achievement for individual children, for a school and for the school system as a whole (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 3)
- ▶ students in grades 4, 6, 8 and 10 are tested in mathematics while students in grades 3, 5, 7, and all graduating students are tested on reading, writing, spelling and grammar (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 3)
- ▶ mathematics tests are developed by Board educators based on the Board curriculum and consistent with ministry mathematics curriculum (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 4)
- ▶ the Canadian Achievement Test (CAT) in grades 3, 5 and 7 is used to measure students' abilities in reading comprehension, grammar, spelling and language skills (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 4)
- ▶ the CAT results indicate if students literacy skills are below, at or above the national average or "norm" of student achievement in different grades (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 4)
- ▶ 1994/95 test results indicate that there is considerable room for improvement in mathematics (Profiles of Achievement: 1995-95, p. 8)

No doubt, many of the teachers at Hillside Elementary School were frequently involved in some form of testing and recording of student academic progress. Therefore, this orientation in practice was realized. Nevertheless, concerted action led by the principal's example, seemed to address the social adaption purpose of schooling, particularly in the shaping of social and moral values through the development of a family milieu at Hillside Elementary, for as the principal stated, "those are the skills that we need to get through life."

The transmission of moral and social values was achieved in a variety of ways. As addressed earlier, it was demonstrated through the interactions of students and teachers, through the bulletin board displays, through the principal's public address each morning, and through the variety of clubs and other extra-curricular activities that took place in the

school. As an example, one such method for fostering such traditional social and intellectual values as family, loyalty, cleverness and leadership was the adoption of the wolf as a school mascot. The wolf's "admirable" traits were conveyed through a bulletin board display of the students' wolf research outside the library. These are my summarized observations of their research:

- **Characteristics of Wolves:** Clever, expert hunters, wolves ruled in ancient times, leaders, North American, lives in cold climate, lives in a den in cave, protects territory, travels in a pack, loyal and good.

When asked how the wolf was chosen as a mascot, one school convener responded:

Yeah, we decided last year when Mark [the principal] came. He wanted a mascot so we could build some team support and spirit. And so I did a contest with, it had to be a Canadian forest animal, so they submitted all these things and the classes voted and they ended up voting on the fox. And we sort of hummed and hawed and thought when we were looking at the qualities of a fox - sly as a fox, and that they're solitary, and they steal food - and we thought it doesn't really have admirable qualities so we sort of switched it to the wolf and the wolf won. So we sort of did that and I'm working with the enrichment groups and that was sort of our focus this term . . . I really wanted my enrichment group to be the experts and walk around and talk about why we chose the wolf.

Interestingly, one parent I spoke with felt there was not enough emphasis on moral values in the school, despite the many efforts on the part of administration to take advantage of opportunities to impart these values. The parent stated, "There is nothing in the system to improve the moral values and to improve the behaviour of the children." Explaining further she said, "In the Middle East, my son went to a Catholic school so there was a subject about this, human love, and without passing through that subject you cannot do your exams." Either this parent did not fully perceive the ways that the school was indeed "teaching" moral values through the ubiquitous posters, daily readings and

social interactions, or if she did, she may have felt that unless moral values are taught specifically as a subject, then it is less than effective.

Variations and Conflicts # 4*: District and Individual

One variation in orientation related to educational purpose occurred between the District and the Individual.

Variation and Conflict # 4*: District and Individual - Social Reconstruction/Social Adaptation

As described earlier, Bernie felt that the omission of discussions on homosexuality in the curriculum served to foster a “homophobic attitude.” Other issues related to sexuality like same sex marriages, masturbation and abortion were ones which were considered taboo also. She expressed dismay regarding the board’s passive position on these controversial issues. Nevertheless, she realized that the multicultural environment set certain restrictions on the types of discussions that would be acceptable by the community itself:

I think there's sometimes when, even then I'd be really careful though, I had Grade 5s who wanted to talk about, we talked about Sexual Education, we started with an open conversation about their questions and they asked me a question about masturbation and many of the girls wanted to know about girls masturbating and I found it very difficult to talk to them about it because their parents would maybe have problems with that but at the same time my values say that they need to know and it's really scary how they're gonna probably grow up and think that all these things are only for boys and that they shouldn't, you know, want them to be more liberated but I don't think that I can really ask questions or allow them to talk about those kinds of things.

Bernie felt she could acquiesce to the board's position regarding "careful" discussion of certain controversial topics on the grounds that her students might not be directly and immediately affected. Conversely, if omitting discussion was potentially detrimental to the well-being of her students then there would be no compromise:

I have had students who've had the same sex parents and when I decide not to talk about that then the child is excluded, and it's been shown that children have committed suicide over those issues. And am I really gonna say, 'The board told me they're not gonna stand beside me so I'm gonna let it go? No.' I would make an active attempt to include it and to make sure other teachers would possibly include it.

Intuition also played a role in terms of Bernie's decision about whether or not particular controversial issues would be discussed:

But that's, I guess it's measured by that little Richter Scale in your head, when it tops the Richter Scale and I see red over the thought of it I'm gonna talk about it and tough if my values aren't yours. And I'll just have to hope that I work for someone like Mark [the principal] who'll back me up.

Bernie experienced conflict with the District in that she felt the purpose of education was that of social reconstruction inasmuch as changes in attitudes regarding sexuality are socially reconstructive notions. However, her conflict was exacerbated by the multicultural environment in which the school belongs in that she understood that she had to be sensitive to the cultural differences of various ethnic groups on matters of sexuality. Nonetheless, the student's well-being and her intuition about what *should* be included in discussions were her guiding principles.

Variations and Conflicts # 8: School and Individual

One case of variation in orientation between the School and the Individual emerged in the data analysis.

Variation and Conflict # 8: School and Individual - Social Reconstruction/Social Adaptation

Mavis' position on social reconstruction as an educational purpose differed from that of the school perspective whereby the emphasis was on helping students to become socially adaptive. Mavis had expressed concern about the danger of imposing dominant societal values onto diverse cultures. Mavis did not believe the purpose of school to be to help students fit into the society as it was. She felt that the students at Hillside were diverse in culture and, consequently, educators should be sensitive to this and take great effort to avoid transmitting dominant cultural values:

I'd like to say we're changing it but sometimes I wonder if we're changing. I certainly think we are doing it and always not through the fault of our own, not intentionally doing it, but being a white teacher, I mean, I have values that I have been taught which are the expected values from white parents and I'm passing them on because they're the values I am familiar with. So I see in one way we're perpetuating it in society but also in another way I'm always thinking, in the back of my mind, about how I'm gonna change that. For example, a story I read today, introducing and talking about books like that. The first time I read that to my kids they just loved it and they were just amazed that, they talk about well, she couldn't do it because she was black, I mean, all of a sudden they had a great discussion about that.

Mavis was aware that she was quite possibly transmitting Western values, in particular Canadian values to her culturally diverse students. She suggested that she tried to increase her awareness of this and that she made efforts to avoid imposing her values onto the

students. It can also be stated that teachers and administrators at Hillside also made a concerted effort to respect the various cultures that were represented at the school. Nevertheless, there seemed to be an underlying belief that there are certain core values that are common to all cultures. Moral and social values such as respect, truth, compassion, punctuality, a work ethic, compliance to rules, cooperation, and sharing were guiding principles for all. In essence, the basic assumption at Hillside Elementary seemed to be one which was based on a respect for cultural differences in terms of acknowledging and celebrating the cultural festivities, holidays, lifestyles, religion and dress inasmuch as this recognition did not conflict with core moral and social values.

Mavis did not make clear how the teachers and administrators at Hillside should or could improve in this area. She did make it clear that educators needed to be careful to be inclusive of all cultures in their teachings. However there was no discussion as to what could be done at Hillside in terms of examining current practices and uncovering if and how they were imposing dominant cultural values on their students.

Variations and Conflicts # 11: Team and Individual

There was one instance where there was variation in orientation to educational purpose between the Team and the Individual.

Variation and Conflict # 11: Team and Individual - Social Adaptation/Social

Reconstruction

Table 5.4 indicates that three of the four teachers on the Primary team and one of the two teachers on the Junior team were oriented to a social adaptation educational

purpose. In the case of the Junior Team, Ester espoused cognitive development as the prime purpose of schooling whereas Louise felt that one of the purposes of schools was to teach students what is “acceptable” in Canada. On the Primary team, Bernie’s implied belief was that, although it may be unsavoury in some respects, schools do indeed serve to preserve class structure the way it is. Gail felt that more emphasis should be placed on preserving Canadian culture while Ted felt that the purpose of school was to help individuals lead productive lives. As already addressed, Mavis differed in her espoused belief that social adaptation in terms of transmitting cultural values was *not* the purpose of education.

Interestingly, although three of the four teachers Primary Team teachers and one of two Junior Team teachers espoused social adaptation as an educational purpose and the need to maintain societal status quo in terms of moral values, standards of behaviour and in Bernie’s case, social status, all the teachers I observed on both teams incorporated some form of teaching and learning which was culturally and ethnically sensitive and inclusive. Whereas these practices will be further described in the curriculum metaorientation analysis, it is worthy to note for now that these teachers exhibited teaching practices which recognized and respected the culturally diverse nature of the student population. However, when it came to moral and social behaviour there were standards of behaviour which were deemed universal.

Variations and Conflicts # 12: Individual

Lastly, there was one occurrence of variation in orientation to educational purpose within the Individual.

Variation and Conflict # 12: Individual: Social Reconstruction/Social Adaptation

Also of interest is the fact that Bernie's discussion implied that both social adaptation and social reconstruction were educational purposes. Here there *appears* to be conflict between orientations within the Individual. Bernie seemed to have reconciled these two orientations in her belief that the purpose of education was to maintain the "good" or the "unchangeable" in society while simultaneously attempting to alleviate the ills that are engendered through prejudice and bias. Nevertheless, this begs the question: How aware are teachers of the underlying beliefs which guide their teaching practices? This apparent inconsistency in orientation also draws attention to the lack of clarity involved in teaching, particularly in a multicultural school where teachers are constantly trying to sort through conflicting beliefs and philosophical ideals.

Summary

There were five types of variations in orientations addressed in the preceding discussion:

- i. Variation # 1: District and School
- ii. Variation and Conflict # 4*: District and Individual
- iii. Variation # 8: School and Individual
- iv. Variation # 11: Team and Individual
- v. Variation # 12: Individual

In the cases of the District and School, and the Team and the Individual, the variations in orientations did not appear to give rise to strong value conflict. However, with regards to the District and the Individual, Bernie did express value conflict with the school board related to making decisions about whether or not to include controversial topics in her discussion with students. Furthermore, Individual variation in values was discussed in terms of Bernie's apparent conflicting educational purpose orientations. This variation in orientation did not appear to give rise to feelings of value conflict.

The next chapter examines the curriculum metaorientations of the various perspectives. The variations in orientations are discussed across perspectives and within perspectives. Again, value conflicts which are embedded within the discussion of these orientations are addressed.

CHAPTER SIX

Curriculum Orientations: A Multi-perspective Comparative Analysis

This chapter follows a similar line to the discussion of the previous chapter in that the value orientations for each organizational perspective, the District, the School, the Primary Team, and the Junior Team, are presented. An analysis of the variations in orientations between and among the various perspectives follows the presentation of value orientations.

Arriving at Orientations from Different Perspectives

At the root of individual perception is a particular world view or model of reality. Such models of reality shape each educator's personal belief structure about the purposes and methodologies of education. (Miller & Seller, 1985, p. 4)

According to Miller and Seller (1985, p. 4), “these basic beliefs about what schools should do and how students learn” are the essence of which gives shape to an individual’s or school’s curriculum orientation. According to Eisner (1979, p. 50), it is important to understand the underlying values and premises which inform these orientations as it is these basic values which influence the daily activities of educators in a school setting.

Miller and Seller’s schema was the primary source of categories for determining the curriculum orientation from the various perspectives. Their curriculum metaorientation framework, is subdivided into three main parts: A. Learning Experiences;

B. Role of the Teacher; and, C. Evaluation. The first dimension, Learning Experiences, includes data pertaining to i. The Learner; ii. The Learning Process; and, iii. The Learning Environment. Miller and Seller used the following Berlak Dilemmas (1981) in conjunction with their model to further understandings of each curriculum orientation:

- i. *Each Child is Unique vs. Each Child has Shared Characteristics*: Emphasis on student's unique combination of complex and highly differentiated attributes, or emphasis on student's characteristics shared in common with other students.
- ii. *Whole Child vs. Child as Student*: Concern for children's aesthetic, intellectual, physical, social, emotional, and moral development, or concern for children in the role of student only.
- iii. *Child as Person vs. Child as Client*: Teacher views the child as a whole person, or teacher views the child as a client with special problems to be treated.
- iv. *Intrinsic Motivation vs. Extrinsic Motivation*: A belief that student motivation comes from without through rewards and punishment, or a belief that student motivation comes from within the learners themselves.
- v. *Personal Knowledge vs. Public Knowledge*: Emphasis on traditional subject matter, or emphasis on knowledge rooted in deep personal meaning.
- vi. *Learning is Holistic vs. Learning is Molecular*: Focusing on the interdependencies and interconnections of learning, or focusing on the accumulation of discrete parts.
- vii. *Learning is Social vs. Learning is Individual*: Emphasizing interaction among learners, or emphasizing the privacy of the learner with the material.
- viii. *Teacher Control vs. Child Control*: Control is held primarily by the teacher, or control is relinquished to the student.
- ix. *Informal Focus vs. Traditional Focus*: Emphasis on informal forms of evaluation, or emphasis on traditional forms.

The curriculum framework for this study is one which is based on a merger of *pertinent* Berlak dilemmas with Miller and Seller's framework. While the coding process was informed by Miller and Seller's framework, there was some modification of categories as the data analysis progressed. For example, Dilemma # 3, Child as Person vs. Child as Client and Dilemma # 2, Whole Child vs. Child as Student were collapsed to make one category. In addition to this modification, there was an addition of one category, Student-directed Learning vs. Teacher-directed Learning. Consequently, while the basic

categories for curriculum orientation were largely inspired by Miller and Seller's curriculum orientation model, the range of emergent data necessitated the modification of these categories.

Table 6.1 (see p. 119) outlines the key elements which characterize each curriculum orientation category. The data analysis is presented under these ten categories for each perspective in the following order: District, School, Primary Team, and Junior Team. The District orientation was determined through examining district policy documents. The School curriculum orientation emerged through an examination of the following: i.) formal and informal school documents; ii.) interviews and discussions with various teachers, administrators and parents at Hillside Elementary; and, iii.) my written observations over five weeks. Lastly, the Primary Team and Junior Team curriculum orientations were determined through an analysis of interviews and discussions with each of the six teachers on both teams combined with an analysis of my written observations over a two week period with each team. In the case of the Primary Team and Junior Team, the orientations of individuals are discussed within the context of the Team.

Table 6.2 (see p. 121) displays the curriculum orientations for the District, the School, the Primary Team members and the Junior Team members. As is the case for the Educational Purposes table (see Table 5.3, Chapter 5), this table demonstrates the data sources employed for arriving at these orientations: Document data are coded as D,

Table 6. 1
Curriculum Metaorientation

II. CURRICULUM METATORIENTATION

A. Learning Experiences: The Learner

1a. Uniqueness of Learners - emphasis on student's unique and complex attributes

- Accommodates Individual Exceptionalities
- Student Centred Curriculum

1b. Similarities of Learners - emphasis on student's characteristics shared with others

- District, Provincial, and National Standardized Testing

2a. Whole Child - concern for whole child (i.e., aesthetic, intellectual, physical, social, emotional, moral)

- Social (e.g., conflict resolution, collaborative team learning, leadership, global responsibility)
- Affective (e.g., self-concept, caring environment, praise)
- Intellectual (e.g., mathematics and literacy)

2b. Child as Student - concern for child in role of student or client

- Academic Testing (testing program focused on mathematics and literacy - key skills important to student achievement)

B. Learning Experiences: The Learning Process

3a. Intrinsic Motivation - belief that motivation for learning comes from within

- Independent Learning Activities
- Self Discipline

3b. Extrinsic Motivation - belief that motivation for learning comes through rewards and punishment

- Strategies for Behaviour Control (e.g., rewards, praise, suspension, expulsion)

4a. Personal Knowledge - emphasis on knowledge rooted in deep personal meaning

- Cultural Relevancy (e.g., learning materials must represent racial, religious, ethno cultural, and gender diversity)
- Experiential Learning (e.g., student interacts with environment beyond the classroom)

4b. Public Knowledge - emphasis on knowledge as traditional subject matter

- Foundational Knowledge (e.g., literacy, mathematics are emphasized as the foundation for all areas of the curriculum)

5a. Knowledge as Process - emphasis on knowledge as a process of thinking

- Critical Thinking
- Investigative Study
- Creative Problem Solving

5b. Knowledge as Content - emphasis on knowledge as organized bodies of knowledge

- Subject/Discipline (e.g., math, science, language, social studies)

6a. Holistic learning - emphasis on the interdependency and interconnectiveness of learning

- Subject Integration
- Global Perspective

6b. Molecular Learning - emphasis on the accumulation of discrete parts of knowledge

- Outcome-Based Curriculum
- Measurement of Skills and Knowledge

C. Learning Experiences: The Learning Environment

7a. Social Learning Environment - emphasis on interaction among learners

- Cooperative Learning

7b. Individual Learning Environment - emphasis on the privacy of the learner

- Provision of Space for the Individual

D. Role of The Teacher

8a. Student-directed Learning - emphasis on student regulating the learning

- Child Accepts Responsibility for Learning

8b. Teacher-directed Learning - emphasis on teacher regulating student's learning

- Teacher Selects Instructional Strategies
- Teacher Manipulates Classroom Environment

9a. Self-control - emphasis on relinquishing control of social behaviour to the student

- Shares in Decision-making
- Develops Rules
- Accepts Responsibility for Behaviour

9b. Teacher Control - emphasis on teacher control of student's social behaviour

- Manages Behaviour (e.g., reinforces positive behaviour, implements Code of Behaviour)
- Manages Time (e.g., promotes effective use of time)

E. Evaluation

10a. Informal Evaluation - emphasis on informal and experimental forms of evaluation

- Self-evaluation
- Non-traditional Evaluation (e.g., portfolios, presentations, homework assignments, group discussion, student interviews)

10b. Formal Evaluation - emphasis on traditional forms of evaluation

- City-wide Testing (Literacy Assessment Profiles)
 - Province-wide Testing
 - Nation-wide Testing (Canadian Achievement Test)
-

interview data are coded as I and Observational data are coded as O. Where the data provided evidence of an orientation attributable to both bipolar categories (e.g., informal and formal evaluation) the sources of data are coded under each aspect. Where there was data to support both positions of an orientation, but an emphasis on one more so than the other, then the data source is presented in bold lettering and underlined (e.g., Document data is coded as **D**).

Table 6.2
Curriculum Metaorientations Across Perspectives

| VALUE ORIENTATIONS | DIST | SCH | PRIMARY TEAM | | | | JUNIOR TEAM | |
|-------------------------------|----------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| | | | Bernie | Gail | Mavis | Ted | Ester | Louise |
| CURRICULUM ORIENTATION | | | | | | | | |
| Uniqueness of Learners | D | D I O | I O | I O | I O | O | O | O |
| Similarities of Learner | D | D O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O |
| Whole Child | D | D I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O |
| Child as Student | | | | | | | | |
| Intrinsic Motivation | D | D | I O | I O | I O | I O | O | O |
| Extrinsic Motivation | D | D | I O | I O | I O | I O | O | O |
| Personal Knowledge | D | D I O | I O | O | O | O | O | I O |
| Public Knowledge | D | D O | O | O | O | I O | O | O |
| Knowledge as Process | D | D O | O | O | O | O | O | O |
| Knowledge as Content | D | D O | O | O | O | O | O | O |
| Holistic Learning | D | I O | O | O | O | O | O | O |
| Molecular Learning | D | I O | O | O | O | O | O | O |
| Social Learning Environ. | D | D I O | I O | I O | O | O | I O | I O |
| Indiv. Learning Environ. | D | | I O | I O | O | O | I O | I O |
| Child-directed Learn. | D | D O | I O | I O | I O | I O | O | O |
| Teacher-directed Learn. | D | D O | I O | I O | I O | I O | O | O |
| Internal Control of Soc. Beh. | D | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | O | O |
| External Control of Soc. Beh. | D | D O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O |
| Informal Evaluation | D | I O | O | O | O | O | O | I O |
| Formal Evaluation | D | I O | O | O | O | O | O | I O |

D = Document Data

I = Interview Data

O = Observation Data

Bold Underlined Letter Indicates Strong Orientation (i.e., **D**; **I**; **O**)

A. Learning Experiences: The Learner

The following discussion includes curriculum metaorientation categories that are subcategorized under “The Learner” (see Table 6.1, p. 119).

1. Uniqueness of Learner vs. Similarities of Learner

References which connoted an emphasis on either the uniqueness or similarities of learners were coded accordingly. District documents indicated an emphasis on the distinctiveness of the students for teaching and learning. From the perspectives of the School and the Teams, there were orientations to both aspects of the learner.

Uniqueness of Learner vs. Similarities of Learners: District

Document analysis revealed considerable emphasis on the individuality of the learner, particularly with respect to each student’s needs, interests, learning style and developmental level. The following are just a few of the many direct references to valuing the uniqueness of the learner:

- recognizes and accommodates individual learning exceptionalities (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 12)
- the teacher treats all students as individuals and responds to their needs (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 7)
- selects instructional strategies appropriate to students’ developmental stages, learning styles and facility with language (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 12)
- we recognize each student has unique strengths, talents and interests (Mapping Students’ Success)
- the teacher respects individual differences in relation to ability, religion, race, ethnocultural and gender equity (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 4)
- expects and encourages respect of each other’s race, gender, religion, culture, and abilities (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p7)
- antiracism and ethnocultural equity are incorporated in all aspects of curriculum and learning environments (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

Whereas the emphasis lay on the individuality of the learner, some indicators of effective teaching implied that students do share characteristics which would allow for group learning:

- is attentive to group process (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 13)
- provides classroom space for individual, small group and large group learning (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 5)

Uniqueness of Learner vs. Similarities of Learners: The School

School documents contained statements such as the following which emphasised students uniqueness in terms of their special needs:

- we provide a Resource Reception Centre to support students needing ESL, Special Education and remedial assistance (School Profile '94/95)

Mark Butler, principal of the Hillside Elementary School, suggested that “it’s not the colour of the child’s skin, it’s the child” that is important when trying to understand the learner in any capacity. Although he did admit that given the relatively high number of black children in the school who required special attention, particularly in the area of behaviour, that it could be “perceived that way.” He felt that this “imbalance” however, was due to environmental conditions and should not be generalized to statements about race or ethnicity.

On many occasions throughout my visit at Hillside Elementary I observed students getting special attention on an individual basis, both in the classroom and elsewhere in the school. For example, there was a volunteer-run reading program which operated out of the staff room and served to help individual students who needed the extra help. Other

times, I noted specialist teachers pulling individual children out of the regular group to focus on particular skills or themes.

The document analysis revealed a *desire* to think of students as being unique and at the same time a *need* to be able to group students according to the characteristics they share:

- team teaching allows student grouping for special purposes (Staff Handbook, p. 15)
- Child development checklist on Primary Report Card: Achievement: Experiencing Difficulty; Satisfactory; Very Good (Primary Report Card)
- children develop at differing rates and vary greatly over time, and from child to child. For this reason a scale is used to report levels of development. All levels are considered normal for this age range, unless otherwise indicated by your child's teacher. (Primary Report Card)

This tendency to meet the needs of individual students by grouping according to their shared attributes was a common practice in this school. One school newsletter reported:

- The Reading and Writing club started Nov. 23 and runs from 3:00 - 4:00. It will be focusing on students who need enrichment or encouragement as well as those who are working below grade level or have an ESL background. Teachers selected students who would benefit from the program. (School Newsletter -Dec.)

Uniqueness of Learners vs. Similarities of Learners: Primary Team

In terms of learning, Mavis believed that setting routines was important because "if they don't have routines they can't go on to being independent." However, she didn't like to be "too strict in it [for] if a child . . . has just come up with this incredible idea and is dying to share it that's different than a child who is continuously interrupting people." In this sense, Mavis gauged her response to students based on their unique attributes. I

observed this sensitivity to students' needs throughout the day. Ted also demonstrated sensitivity to the uniqueness of his students and suggested that in a multicultural school it was especially necessary to be acutely aware of students' differences as "much of what we do, in terms of imposing values, is unconsciously done."

In choosing books for her students to take home at night, Gail was responsive to the differences among her students in terms of each child's reading level and interests. Referring to the kids who were intimidated by print she said, "I try to choose books for them with one word on the page or the little books that are repetitive" whereas for the kids at the "higher end, I try to find books that are high interest and high vocabulary. This recognition of the unique combination of different attributes in her culturally diverse classroom intensified the challenge of teaching:

These kids, the multicultural aspect, there are so many different cultures and there are so many ESL students, you know, in a normal classroom you have your low kids and your high kids, and your average kids, but in here you can divide the kids into many different groups. There's so much to deal with that it's really hard.

Despite this challenge, all The Primary Team teachers found ways to work with students individually, in small groups and in whole group situations. Grouping of some sort was considered a necessity.

Regarding the distinctiveness of her students Bernie suggested that, as human beings, we all have characteristics that make us similar to others combined with those that make us distinctively unique. Of her students she said, "They have as many similarities as I do to you and as many differences as I do to you." Bernie felt that because of this she could group her students. Nevertheless, the caveat in this was that even though she could

“sort and classify them by certain characteristics that they all have in common,” she might be “guilty of doing that in ways that are inappropriate sometimes.”

Uniqueness of Learners Vs. Similarities of Learners: Junior Team

Ester described how she and Louise combined their classes to reorganize them into “a high and low language group.” This grouping according to language similarity in terms of ability was done for practical reasons. It helped the teachers meet students’ needs in that there was not such a varied range of language ability. According to Louise, the students in Ester’s “low” language group were those who were “not quite as strong, their organizational skills, . . . their handwriting skills, . . . their reading skills, . . . are not quite as strong as the group I have.” Conversely, the “high” group consisted of students who were not necessarily “high functioning in the language area” but were ready to be challenged. These two groups were not considered to be static as Ester and Louise thought they would “probably do some switching back and forth” over time.

There was an attempt to meet the individual needs of students who were especially weak in language. The special education teacher worked with the students who had been identified as either special education or who needed English as a second language. Again this was not a static arrangement but one where the special education teacher would let them know when she felt a student was “ready to come back into the classroom” for the language period. This applied to students who required individual attention in the area of math as well. In the case of math, the students who experienced difficulty would be

involved with the same concepts that the whole class was working on, but often at a “slower pace” where there would be “a lot more talking through a lot of the problems.”

Louise expressed concern about teaching French in that it was very difficult “because they are all at different levels.” The diversity of the students in terms of their first languages meant that many of them were ESL (English as a Second Language) students. The diversity of their cultural backgrounds meant that the exposure to French was for some a new experience. Louise stated that some had had exposure to French the previous two years of school, one had been immersed in French and some recent immigrants had had no exposure. Therefore she tried to modify the program to suit the individual student levels.

I observed the ways Ester and Louise grouped their students for language arts. During this period the “high” group of students in Ester’s class would gather their materials and walk out to Louise’s room for that period while Louise’s “low” group would join those in Ester’s room. Generally a lesson or activity in each class would take place with students as a whole group on the carpet followed by seatwork whereby the teacher would attempt to work with those students who required individual guidance. Nevertheless, Ester and Louise took advantage of opportunities to address individual needs throughout the day. One example of this type of approach is the time Louise was passing back their homework exercises prior to the start of morning class. She spent several minutes in consultation with one student who had made a grammatical error in her homework. I observed many times when teachers “snatched” the opportunities like this to work with individual students. Moments that were set apart from the regular teaching day

such as prior to class, during recess, and at the end of the day, seemed to be optimal times to attend to individual needs.

2. Whole Child vs. Child as Student

Statements which emphasized a concern for either the development of the whole child (i.e., aesthetic, intellectual, physical, social, emotional, and moral development) or the development of the child as student or client were coded under this category. There was a primary emphasis on the development of the whole child from *all* organizational perspectives.

Whole Child vs. Child As Student: District

There was clear support for the development of the whole child in terms of being sensitive to students' aesthetic, intellectual, physical, social, and emotional development.

No direct references to moral development were found:

- guides and supports students with their emotional, social and intellectual development (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p8)
- students develop personal and social skills including: conflict resolution, collaborative team learning, leadership, global responsibility, self discipline, community service (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)
- effective teaching is implementing strategies that build self-concept (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 14)
- students learn in safe, supportive and caring learning environments (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

Whereas intellectual and academic development were high “priorities” according to the documents analysed, there were no statements to indicate that learners were to be considered strictly in the role of students.

Whole Child vs. Child As Student: School

Humour was highly valued as a means to reach out to the students at Hillside. Groaners and riddles were always part of the morning announcements heard over the public address system each morning during my visit at Hillside Elementary School. According to one secretary who worked in close proximity to the administrators' office, and had a great deal of contact with the students because of this, the principal's humour was infectious and this contributed in a large way to the sense of closeness and caring that was evident at Hillside. Even when things were stressful, Principal Butler would find some humour in it. And she noted, there were plenty of situations that were humorous. Like the time the young boy asked if he could serve his detention at home because he was in a hurry. And the young girl who walked up to her desk one day, looked her in the eye and said, "Office, there's a boy outside being mean to me." The secretary was quite amused that the young student had somehow associated all references to the office with her as an individual. It was clear that she cared for the students at Hillside. Her belief was that, "you have to love kids if you're going to be working with them all day." This caring attitude was evident throughout the school. The custodian in the school believed the kids to be "nice kids" as well, and although new to the school, seemed to have built up a good rapport with them as he went about his work. Not only was it an atmosphere which fostered affection for students, but teachers felt comfortable enough to openly express concern for one another. I noted in my journal one day an incident where a young male teacher approach an elderly female teacher, put his arm around her saying in a concerned

voice, "How are you feeling today, Rhonda?" I was not aware of what the teacher's problem was, but her face brightened at the interest of her fellow teacher.

Undoubtedly, Principal Butler played a major role in fostering and supporting this ethic of care. Consequently there was concern for the "whole child" (and "whole" teachers) whose multi-faceted needs he felt could best be served within a "family" environment.

I keep describing it as a family. In fact I do a Christmas letter, and I'll give it to staff tomorrow, and I talk a lot about family. And I talked a lot about it last year. This may be the only meaningful family that some of these children may have. So I think it's really important to develop that kind of attitude where a child can walk into my office and tell me about something that is really exciting to him, and doesn't have to stop to the secretary to ask if he can get permission. That they can walk up and give you a hug in the hall. And that teachers will come in and say you know this is going on in my life and I really can't [cope]. So that is my goal. Whether I'll reach it in this school or not by the time I finish, it's hard to say. Because it is very large and it's harder to reach people. I find there's much more time spent in the office than out in the classrooms, what I was used to. But that certainly is my goal.

The vice principal concurred with the principal's belief that the students at Hillside required special attention, particularly in the areas of social and affective development. In response to my question about the purpose of all the clubs, she stated:

A lot of the kids don't have a lot of, you know, a lot of experiences outside of home and school and I think it [the array of clubs] really broadens the world for them plus it's this community, since the school is the hub really, there's nothing else here but apartments and the school and I think they try to build in a lot of experiences for the kids. And it keeps them busy and it keeps them interested, you know, with some other things to sort of do, and they're trying to help them in that kind of thing as well.

Indeed the school was a beehive of activity and I witnessed various sorts of "extra-curricular" activities taking place during the morning prior to classes starting, during

recess and lunch breaks, and also after school. These activities included auditioning for an upcoming drama club presentation, a morning fitness class, students participating in a variety of game clubs such as checkers and soccer, a green club and a newspaper club. I was told that there was a conscious effort on the part of teachers to encourage participation in these activities so as to represent the diverse ethnic student population.

The school's documents clearly represented this concern for the whole child, also. There were numerous statements in various school documents that were coded under the whole child orientation. One document stated that the "child's progress during the past term is based on observations of his/her intellectual, physical, social, and emotional development" (Primary Report Card). Some examples for each are:

Aesthetic:

- we offer a wide variety of co-curricular activities including sports, choirs, cultural groups, dance, and student generated interest groups (School Profile '94/95)

Physical:

- students must leave dangerous and/or expensive items at home (Staff Handbook, p. 3)
- students should remain on school property during the school day unless the school is contacted by the parent/guardian (Staff Handbook, p. 3)
- throwing snowballs is permitted only at designated targets (Staff Handbook, p. 3)
- Crisis Team Protocol Sexual Abuse/Assault: the role of the Crisis Support Team is to provide consultation to assist in working out a plan of action and to provide for specific services following disclosure and reporting procedures (Staff Handbook, p. 33)

Social:

- common sense and courtesy apply in all games (Staff Handbook, p. 3)
- students must respect each other's belongings as well as their own (Staff Handbook, p. 3)

Moral:

- ground rules for discussion: promise to tell the truth; promise to listen to the other person's side; no name calling; no blaming; no interrupting; try really hard to think of a solution that is O.K. for both of you (Staff Handbook)
- students are expected to tell the truth at all times, and to use common sense and courtesy (Staff Handbook, p. 2)

Emotional:

- anger mountain: what pushes your buttons; climbing up; volcano; climbing down; conflict resolution (Staff Handbook)
- students are expected to tell the truth at all times, and to use common sense and courtesy (Staff Handbook, p. 2) physical restraints are humiliating for young people and should be used only as a last resort when all other attempts have failed (Staff Handbook, p. 32)
- the data secretary will add the new child's name to the birthday list in the announcement binder and give pertinent data to the B.A.R.S. volunteer and librarian (Staff Handbook, p. 25)
- special care and sensitivity should be taken with students new to the country (Staff Handbook, p. 25)
- every student has a right to learn in a positive, caring environment (Staff Handbook, p. 2)

Cognitive:

- problem solving strategies: think; listen; talk it out; go get help (Staff Handbook, p. 4)

Whole Child Vs. Child As Student: Primary Team

When questioned, all of the Primary Team teachers declared that all areas of students' development were important but that the affective needs such as "self-esteem," "confidence," and a "caring attitude" were of prime importance. Ted, a member of the Primary Team, suggested that today kids seem to be less sensitive to each other's pain and that "within the classroom you really have to foster the 'we', [that] we all came from a common ancestor, and we're brothers and sisters, cousins, uncles and aunts so to speak, and we really need to treat each other properly." However, the manner in which teachers approached this affective development differed. For example, Ted's class appeared more loosely structured than the others. There were several occasions in Ted's classroom where I observed him trying to help students treat each other in a loving way. For example, during story time one morning a young girl lost patience and shouted at another child, whom I later discovered to be autistic, for blocking her view of the pictures. Ted calmly suggested that she just tap him on the shoulder and ask him quietly because "sometimes he forgets" and that he also wanted to see the picture. Ted's subdued and non-preachy tone settled the girl and he proceeded unceremoniously with the story. Ted was relaxed when relating to the students and usually addressed only those behaviours which overtly interfered with the teaching and learning environment. Consequently, often there was some movement on the floor when students sat around to listen to a story. On occasion, some students would fidget with various small objects, like a pencil or an eraser, or other small item, either to toss it into the air, or to draw imaginary figures on the carpet.

Mavis, felt that “the first thing I would focus on is emotional, that they’re comfortable in their setting, that they gain confidence and they have a positive attitude about school.” Mavis’ approach was similar to Ted’s in that during one group activity she reminded a student that he should not shout the answer at the student who had asked it stating, “That wouldn’t make me feel very good if you did that to me.” Although Mavis felt that the students’ emotional development was important, there was a considerable focus on academic and social development in her approach as well. She fostered students’ self-confidence in their academic work by displaying it whereby “they’ll go and search out their own work [and are] very proud of it.” Mavis took great care in calling the roll each morning and greeting each student individually and she was consistent in speaking to children in a considerate manner throughout the day. Nevertheless, during activities where students were seated in a large group situation, such as on the floor during “calendar time” or story time, she was fastidious in attending to academic objectives such as learning to count, learning the days of the week, learning new vocabulary. She also spent time to help develop social skills by insisting that children sit quietly to listen while others were speaking and to raise their hands before speaking themselves.

Gail provided insight into both the need for teachers to attend to student’s emotional development and the difficulty that lies therein. One black male student in her class, she explained, was a “constant problem” because his home life had “completely fallen apart.” She stated that she didn’t know how to help him but felt that he needed “firmness” and “a lot of love.” For her it was “difficult to do both because he is just having a constant problem all day long.” Gail’s struggle to attend to the social, intellectual and

emotional needs of her students was manifested to me one day during class when she was teaching her students the basics of story writing, that is, that each story has a beginning, middle, and an ending. Together they wrote a story on chart paper and then discussed the various parts of the story. However, her concern that the students had not listened well that day prompted her at the close of the day to demand that the class remain sitting quietly for a few minutes before she allowed them to leave. Later, in a tired voice, she explained that “the kids seemed very inattentive today.” Although her patience had worn thin she had maintained a pleasant voice with the children up until the time they had left to go home.

Bernie liked “seeing excitement in students” and looked for “creativity . . . more than being academically strong.” She celebrated the students’ birthdays by having the birthday student burst a balloon and then pick a book from the gift box. She went to great lengths to encourage students and praised them both individually and in groups by telling them “how smart or amazing they are because they can do things.” She stated that she admired one student for his “impulsiveness” and felt that he had “a lot of guts.” Nevertheless, during times when the class was discussing a topic she reinforced listening skills. For example, after the public announcements each morning she would have the students repeat the parts that were pertinent to their class. She also expected students to look at her when she spoke to them in a group and admonished one student by telling him not to “turn his back.” One morning after the announcements had been completed she told the children that she had not heard what the Mr. Butler had said because they had been talking too much.

Whole Child vs. Child As Student: Junior Team

Ester and Louise demonstrated concern for the development of the whole child.

Ester suggested that her students were not academically weak only but were also emotionally and socially immature:

I find socially, emotionally and academically these kids are lower than what they should be and that's partly the cultural background and the ESL background but they are lower. And I guess we have to realize that if they're lower academically then they're probably lower emotionally and socially and, therefore, yes, as children grow they become less self-centred and more, you know, social in realizing that there is an impact to what you do. I don't think they've got there yet.

Why is this the case? Ester explained:

I think it's the culture that their parents bring with them where they come from. It's more physical, like Middle Eastern states, a much more physical environment The boys and girls from Somalia, they haven't had a written language up until about seven or eight years ago, and you're [they're] worried about where you're [they're] gonna find your next meal, you're [they're] nomadic, so it's a very different environment and surely physical needs come into play. And I think a lot of it has to do with the environment they live in now. They don't go outside, they don't play, very few of them are involved in organized sports of any sort. Parents are having to hold down two and three jobs so they don't have the time to take their kids out, it's not that they don't want to. And a lot parents have said to me, actually, I had one in, they had just arrived, working two jobs while father goes to school to get his qualifications in Canadian certificates so he can go to work. These kids are used to having mom at home and taking them to the park. They can't do that any more. It's a big change.

Ester's response may be summarized as three reasons which contributed to the social and emotional immaturity of at Hillside Elementary: i.) the cultural environment which many students come from; ii.) the new cultural environment to which the students have been introduced consisting of apartment dwellings that are not conducive to the socialization of children; and, iii.) the changing family roles of many of the new immigrant families.

To help compensate for what Ester suggests is a lack of development emotionally, socially and academically, Louise and Ester attempted to meet the multi-faceted needs of their students. Interestingly, each teacher had a student of African American heritage who was considered to be a “behavioural” problem. The Junior Team teachers had worked individually on developing a relationship with these two students and from what I observed these students responded favourably to this relationship. In the case of Ester’s student, Michael, he had frequently experienced problems outside of the classroom, that is, on the playground during recess, in the lunchroom and in the school corridor during various times of the day. Ester felt that sometimes he was being unfairly singled out because of his reputation and his outgoing personality which was sometimes misinterpreted as boldness and a show of disrespect. My observations of Michael in the classroom presented me with a picture of an enthusiastic, young boy who, while very approachable, was also sensitive to criticism and required a lot of attention, especially from an authority figure. Ester worked at fostering a good relationship between the two of them by giving Michael responsibilities in the classroom and treating him in a respectful manner without compromising her expectations for the best that he could do. I understood just how much Michael appreciated Ester’s relationship when, on a morning that she arrived late due to poor weather conditions, another teacher supervised the class. The supervising teacher’s preliminary statement included a warning for Michael to behave himself, to which he emotionally and defiantly shot back, “I wish Mrs. Drake was here, now.” He then put his head down on the desk, and blocked out as much of the class as he

could by covering his head with his arms, a gesture which at the time, had roused in me compassion for the young boy's emotional turmoil.

Louise was sensitive to the holistic development of her students as exemplified in her concern for Nathan who was also of African American heritage. Nathan began the school year in a full time special education class. Apparently his behaviour had become "progressively worse and his academic work was slipping." Louise discussed her concerns about Nathan with the principal. She felt that full integration into her class would help "his attitude toward school." Indeed Nathan's attitude had improved, at least in the presence of Louise. I observed the way Nathan worked and behaved in the classroom and his interactions with Louise. He responded to her favourably and seemed, for the most part, content to be a part of the class. He did continue, however, to exhibit problems in interaction with some students and teachers when Louise was not present.

Many students in the Junior Team's class were involved in various groups such as library helpers, crossing guards, student ambassadors, drama club, environment club and others. According to Louise, students were encouraged to participate in these activities on the basis of interest, hard work and merit, not academic achievement.

They don't necessarily have to be the brightest child in the class but maybe a child who has a keen interest who's very keen and works very hard and deserves to be involved in a project that might be really interesting. So I try to choose students that aren't necessarily my top students [academically] or who are students that are involved in everything.

This is not to imply that there was not an emphasis on academic development in the classroom. Actually, although the two teachers seemed to be very conscious of the

need for development of the whole child, during classroom time, primarily, the children were involved in academic activity. The school environment, however, was one which supported the holistic development of the student in that there were many opportunities for development other than academic.

B. Learning Experiences: The Learning Process

The following discussion includes curriculum metaorientation categories that are subcategorized under The Learning Process (see Table 6.1, p. 119).

3. Intrinsic Motivation vs. Extrinsic Motivation

Data that addressed student motivation for learning were examined to determine whether statements centred around a belief that students motivation for learning comes from within the learners or without through rewards and, or, punishment. District documents indicated an emphasis on extrinsic motivation for learning. Data analysis suggested that, from each of the other perspectives, beliefs about student motivation for learning incorporated both aspects. That is, overall teachers felt that some students are intrinsically motivated, some are not. There was a prevailing belief that intrinsic motivation is something which needs to be nurtured in students.

Intrinsic Motivation vs. Extrinsic Motivation: District

It was difficult to determine from the document analysis whether or not learners were considered to be intrinsically motivated. One interpretation of the document

statements is that intrinsic motivation is something which has to be nurtured:

- students develop personal and social skills including self discipline (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

There was a little more clarity about the need to provide *external* reinforcers for student learning indicating a belief that students need to be extrinsically motivated to achieve:

- barriers to learning for students are acknowledged and ways are found to overcome these barriers so that overall student achievement is increased (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

Intrinsic Motivation vs. Extrinsic Motivation: School

Analysis of formal school documents revealed little about whether or not a student's motivation for learning comes from within the learner or without through rewards and punishment. However, there were a few signs that attempts at fostering intrinsically motivated learning were being made. The following were found in the school newspaper:

- Motivate Yourself . . . Whatever you do or dream, begin it. Boldness has genius, power and magic in it. (The Wolf Pack - Vol.2)
- A Way to an "A" . . . Believe in Yourself (The Wolf Pack - Vol.2)

There was more evidence of an extrinsic motivation for student learning as suggested in the following statement:

- positive incentives to achieve excellence through our Four A's program (School Profile '94/95)

Furthermore, the November issue of the school newspaper contained a letter about a recent "Halloween Bash" written by the "Student of the Month." The school paper, "The

Wolf Pack,” which was sent to parents, congratulated a group of students who had made the “Student Achievement List.”

Intrinsic Motivation vs. Extrinsic Motivation: Primary Team

When the Primary Team’s four classes were combined for what was described as Activity Time, the students freely chose from a wide variety of activities set up in each of the four rooms. Gail describes this period as follows:

We found that [Activity Time] a very positive one, that the kids are, it's fantastic. It almost runs itself. You set everything up and they go, you don't have, very rarely do you have problems or fights. We set up that you can only go four people at a centre and you never see kids fighting or pushing each other around wanting to go. They just go and take their turn and everybody's fair and everybody gets along really well. And all of us really enjoy that time because, you know, it's a good time to work with a small group or be able to talk to kids one-on-one and not worry what everyone else is doing.

Gail’s description of Activity Time is congruent with the scene I had observed on several occasions during my visit at Hillside. Approximately eighty students manifested what appeared to be an intrinsic response to learning as they enthusiastically interacted with a rich learning environment.

Although all students during this period seemed to be engaged in their chosen activity, the teachers on the Primary Team did not profess an unqualified belief that *all* students were intrinsically motivated. Ted, for example, believed that he would needed to *foster* an environment in “which the kids took as much responsibility for their learning as they could possibly do.” Whereas Bernie did not speak of responsibility for learning, she did discuss motivation in terms of children’s energy, enthusiasm and creativity. She felt

that children “very much come in with it or . . . don’t.” She did not believe students to be born that way but did state, “I’ve had students in the past who it really didn’t matter what I did, it didn’t come, and I’ve had students who came in with it the minute they walked in the door.”

Mavis felt that the class she was working with required her to be more directive than facilitative because they needed more guidance, implying that intrinsic or extrinsic motivation depends on the students. Gail also demonstrated a belief in the relativity of motivation for learning when it came to certain students. She described one student who would not pay attention to anything which was not “really fun for him.” She attributed this lack of motivation to his poor social skills. For the most part, however, she felt that rewards were not necessary for getting most children to read because this was something they loved to do.

Intrinsic Motivation vs. Extrinsic Motivation: Junior Team

Neither Ester nor Louise spoke directly about whether they believed motivation for learning comes from within the students themselves or externally through rewards or punishments. Much of what I observed in the classrooms suggested that they believed their students needed some sort of rewards, whether in the form of praise, or the more concrete form of being promised to participate in an enjoyable activity if they performed a particular task well. Upon passing back a math test where some of her students obtained a low score, Ester reminded them that during math lessons they needed to be “better listeners.”

4. Personal Knowledge vs. Public Knowledge

Here data were coded according to that which demonstrated either an emphasis on knowledge rooted in deep personal meaning or an emphasis on knowledge as traditional subject matter. There was consistency across perspectives in terms of document, interview and observational data which suggested a belief that learning should be personally meaningful while at that same time, if a student is indifferent to learning certain forms of knowledge, then it is the responsibility of the teacher to ensure that it is learned anyway.

Personal Knowledge vs. Public Knowledge: District

Many district document statements strongly emphasised that knowledge is rooted in deep personal meaning:

- selects learning materials that represent the racial, religious, ethnocultural, and gender diversity of the community and are free from negative bias and stereotyping, consistent with board policy
- provides opportunities for students to experience (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 13)
- ensures that classroom displays are relevant, representative, attractively arranged and current (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 4)

There were also document statements which suggested that knowledge is public:

- we provide a strong regular program (Mapping Students' Success)
- literacy and mathematics are emphasized as the foundation for all areas of the curriculum including: personal and social studies; math, science and technology; languages; arts (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

Personal Knowledge vs. Public Knowledge: School

Principal Butler contemplated the challenge of offering a curriculum that was personally meaningful for all the culturally diverse students at Hillside:

Yes, it's a real issue, and it's an issue with the board and it's an issue with most of the staff, in that we want the curriculum to be inclusive of the students who we represent. It isn't always easy, it's improving because some of the publishers are putting out better material. But much of the material that existed a few years ago that had come from other cultures, was not the standard that we would accept in this culture, in terms of the quality of the writing but also in terms of the content in that much of the material was junior or higher oriented and when you were looking for something to introduce a topic in the primary, it wasn't there. There weren't the picture books that you have now. So that's coming. We try to watch that and Margaret, as she purchases for the library, is very conscious of that. And also she encourages all the teachers to let her know if they see a good book so that she can purchase it. But it's also necessary to represent it in terms of the art that goes up on the walls, the work that goes up on the wall. You see some of it represented in the festival today. It varies from time to time but it's coming. That existed before I came and is being well developed in this school.

Nevertheless, considerable effort was made to help students “experience” learning.

That experiential learning was valued is evident in the following document statements:

- field trips are encouraged as valid and positive educational experiences (Staff Handbook, p. 16)
- we stress the use of manipulatives to visualize and understand concepts (School Profile '94/95)
- much of your child's learning has come from experiences provided by you and your family. The school curriculum builds on this learning and provided for your child to extend and systematically develop further knowledge, skills, attitudes and values (Primary Report Card)

These written statements were actualized in various ways. A look at the school newsletters and school papers sent to parents revealed that students were indeed involved in many experiences:

- Money was raised to help pay for a trip to the CN Tower (School Newsletter - Dec.)
- the grade fives are learning about nature in danger and doing science experiments. They are going to the ROM and the Planetarium to learn about spiders. (The Wolf Pack - Vol.2)

- the grade fours have the public health nurse visiting and will visit the public library and the computer lab at the local Junior High School, City Hall and the Board of Education. (School Newsletter - Nov.)
- our staff frequently take their classes into the community to give the children more meaningful first-hand group experiences. (School Newsletter-Sept.)

During my visit at Hillside, I observed many activities which actively involved students in their learning. The staffroom was frequently used for cooking up “festive” dishes such as Latkes during Hanukkah, and Christmas cookies in December. As one grade two teacher put it, “That’s how we learn, through having fun.” Also, I attended a multicultural festival celebration, a concert where students were involved in a variety of cultural events which represented the diversity of the student population.

Although there was considerable effort on part of administration and staff at Hillside Elementary to provide a “meaningful” curriculum which would be inclusive of all cultures, there were also signs that knowledge was “public” in the traditional subject-matter sense. According to school documents, curriculum was developed from ministry and board prescriptions:

- curriculum for each grade is stipulated and outlined in board documents; the required course must be covered (Staff Handbook, p. 14)
- the Benchmark data have helped us develop the following strategies: direct instruction in phonics, spelling, grammar, punctuation; daily reading in class and encouragement to read daily at home; encouraging the enjoyment of reading through Reading Buddies and literacy activities in the Library Resource Centre and Booster Reading Program; expansion of our Reading Recovery program with an additional teacher; computer instruction to facilitate its usage as a tool in the development and improvement of writing skills; \$7000 spent on literacy materials; tutoring in the student’s first language to assist in orientation to Canadian schooling (School Profile '94/95)

What these statements suggest is that curriculum was prescribed through a process which took place outside the school environment and that strategies for teaching and learning

were developed by interpreting board-initiated standardized test results. The underlying assumption here would be that knowledge is indeed public, measurable and objective. However, it would be unfair to surmise from this that the *emphasis* was on the public realm of knowledge as opposed to the *personal* realm, especially in light of the document statement regarding tutoring in the student's first language. The implications of these document statements are addressed further in the later discussion of evaluation.

Personal Knowledge vs. Public Knowledge: Primary Team

Many of the activities that the Primary Team teachers developed for their students encouraged interaction between the learner and the material. For example, during reading period Gail included storybooks which had been written and published by the students themselves. One child quite proudly read to me her "Fish Alive" book that she had completed during the underwater theme. On another occasion, I observed Bernie presenting a story written and narrated by Itah Sadu, a writer of children's stories who "draws on the activities of Toronto's West Indian community and on storytelling traditions of Barbados, Trinidad, and Jamaica" (1993, cover of *Christopher, Please Clean Up Your Room* by Itah Sadu). When questioned as to why she had chosen this particular story, Bernie informed me that she wanted to get a book that one of her West Indian students who was a "reluctant reader" could relate to, because, she stated, "I think it makes a big difference when you've got black women on the back of the book and you're a black kid . . . I think keying into things like experiences and realistic concepts is really important."

Mavis also read stories that were culturally inclusive and justified her choices in the same manner.

Although there was considerable effort on the part of the teachers to make the material personally relevant, there were occasions when public knowledge took precedence. All teachers engaged in teaching “public” knowledge such as writing skills, counting, adding that may not have been personally meaningful to all students at all times as I did observe occasions where the emphasis seemed to be on learning the material. Ted explained the reason for this and suggested that although he believed “natural” learning involved learning what was “interesting” and personally relevant, students sometimes needed to be pushed or dragged because:

If the kid doesn't want to study mathematics we can't let him say, 'no'. If a kid says, 'I don't like adding,' well . . . we try to make it fun, we try to make it much more interesting for the child and get him to say, 'yes.' Eventually if he's not saying, 'yes,' you still have to teach him. You still have to get him to do certain things.

Personal Knowledge vs. Public Knowledge: Junior Team

Making teaching and learning personally relevant was important to the Junior Team teachers. Ester, for example, spent considerable time during one social studies lesson discussing with her students how they were to keep a journal during a project which would have them working in small groups to “plan” for a trip to another planet. The journal writing would involve not only a description of what they were doing but of what they were feeling as well, that is, their worries, concerns, aspirations, joys and fears.

Louise helped students “get in touch with different areas that they don’t always think about” through the arts - music, visual arts, drama and dance. She wanted her students to enjoy what they were doing and understand that there was a “reason why we do what we do.” Louise explained her rationale for utilizing the arts as a means to help her students *experience* learning:

Like when we were doing the activity the other day of walking through the snow and getting them to really think about the snow up to your knees or your hips [and asking yourself] how would you walk through it? And if they've never experienced that, you know, it's something that they really need to stop and think about and so it's a different way of experiencing it than if I just read them a book and said to them, 'think about how difficult it is' without letting them do it. It's trying to bring sort of the more experiential part of education into the classroom, [for example] asking them to tell you about different shades of colours without letting them mix those colours together themselves to discover them. To me, it's a real hands-on and bringing things to life for them, letting them listen to a piece of Rivaldi when they thought in September that classical music was only for older people and they would never, ever listen to it. And letting them listen to it and talking to them about it and the music brings it to life and what I'm hoping for is they'll expand the vocabulary that we use with the arts and sort of get in touch with a different side of themselves they haven't really come in touch with before. Kind of a move away from the traditional way of learning.

One activity which I observed in Louise’s classroom had her students work in groups of four or five students and use various musical instruments, such as bells, tambourines, xylophones, and triangles to create a five minute piece of music that would convey the characteristics of winter. I noted not only how enthusiastic the students were to perform their pieces, but also how pleasant the pieces sounded and how easily I could identify the sounds of snow crunching, wind howling and ice cracking.

Nevertheless, I also observed times in both Ester's and Louise's classroom where the teaching and learning seemed to focus on the more traditional realm of knowledge. This seemed to be particularly the case in the teaching of mathematics where the emphasis was on the *concept* being taught as opposed to the personal relevance of it. That is not to say that both teachers did not try to integrate personal relevance into the teaching of these concepts through references to ideas with which students could identify. They did make considerable effort to draw in the students experiences when problem solving. However, on these occasions the goal seemed to be more mastery of the concept than that of personal relevance.

5. Knowledge as Process vs. Knowledge as Content

Data pertaining to the learning experience was also coded as that which connoted an emphasis on knowledge as a process of thinking as opposed to that which suggested an emphasis on knowledge as organized bodies of knowledge. There was evidence of an emphasis across perspectives on knowledge as a process which involves critical thinking, hypothesizing and problem solving.

Knowledge As Process vs. Knowledge As Content: District

Several statements supported the position that knowledge is a process of thinking, reasoning, and testing propositions:

- provides opportunities for students to experience, analyse, reflect, communicate, hypothesize and self-evaluate (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 13)
- provides opportunities for students to learn by doing, sensing, observing, listening, evaluating and problem solving (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 4)

Nevertheless, the following statement demonstrates that knowledge was also thought of in the traditional way as organized bodies of knowledge or subjects:

- literacy and mathematics are emphasized as the foundation for all areas of the curriculum including: personal and social studies; math, science and technology; languages; arts (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

Knowledge As Process vs. Knowledge As Content: School

There were both formal and informal written statements to suggest that educators at Hillside Elementary viewed knowledge as a process of thinking, reasoning and propositioning.

- we believe that students should have the opportunity to develop skills, knowledge, attitudes and values as part of a *lifelong learning process* (Staff Handbook, p. 1)
- we train inquisitive minds in Science and the Arts (School Newsletter-Sept.)

There were tangible manifestations to demonstrate that the *process* of learning was indeed valued at Hillside Elementary, particularly in relation to social behavioural learning which will be discussed in greater detail in the section on the role of the teacher. Suffice it to say, for now, that an overall goal shared by many in the school was to help students *process their behaviour* at detention time. This, many at the school believes, would help students understand more fully the nature of their problems and to resolve future conflicts.

With regard to developing processing skills to make them “lifelong learners,” there was evidence of some school-wide activities which were conducive to achieving this goal. For example, the library resource specialist coordinated a student volunteer system which provided students with the opportunity to learn library skills including the computer processing of outgoing and incoming books. In addition to this, during my stay I observed

a student - run book exchange whereby all students in the school were invited to bring books from home that they would like to exchange for other books. The value of each book was determined and coded by a group of students and the actual exchange which took place was also handled by the students. This activity spanned several days, was seemingly supported by administration and staff and was conducted *during* regular class time, perhaps the latter being the greatest authentication of the value that Hillside educators bestowed upon the learning process.

Inasmuch as knowledge as content may be associated with “bodies” of knowledge which are knowable regardless of understanding the process of arriving at the knowledge itself, then the following statement suggests a knowledge as content orientation:

- we encourage the memorization of basic number facts (School Profile '94/95)
- The basic assumption here appears to be that, although the process of learning is more important in the aggregate, there are times when it is necessary to retain certain concepts in memory.

Knowledge As Process vs. Knowledge As Content: Primary Team

Many of the activities provided for the Primary Team students invited active processing of information and testing propositions. For example, during storytime all the teachers were apt to probe students to think about concepts and to verbalize their developing ideas. In reading a story about a black girl who auditioned for the role of Peter Pan, Ted guided students in a discussion about race and gender stereotyping. Similarly, through reading and discussion, Mavis engaged students in exploring their personal views

about ecology and pollution. The focus of these activities was to explore and discover rather than to promote memorization of facts or bodies of knowledge. Also, this value orientation towards knowledge as process was evident in Bernie's science centre where students were presented with the opportunity to discover through active participation which objects either floated or didn't float, were magnetic or were not magnetic, rolled or didn't roll. Furthermore, Activity Time was a time when the Primary Team teachers placed the most emphasis on this type of discovery learning. Emphasis on process notwithstanding, the relatively fixed nature of knowledge was an underlying assumption in the teaching practices of these teachers also, as described in previous section.

Knowledge As Process vs. Knowledge As Content: Junior Team

Knowledge as process seemed to have been a high priority for the two members of the Junior Team as well. I was present for a number of activities in the Junior Team's classes which invited students to process information and to use their reasoning skills to complete tasks. In the duration of my two-week period visit with them, the students were involved in a project which took them out of the classroom and into the library to conduct research. I saw many students work independently to conduct a computer search to locate a book on a particular topic. Others worked in pairs or groups of three or four to complete their assignment. Another activity had the students involved in a science experiment where they predicted the reaction of different solids with vinegar and then performed the task to test their predictions. The students' effervescent response paralleled the volatile reaction of the baking soda and vinegar mixture, a reaction which none had

predicted. Undoubtedly, focusing on the process of predicting, hypothesising and testing was a more intense learning experience for these students than would have been the experience of simply reading about the varying chemical reactions of combined substances.

I observed an attempt on the part of the Junior Team teachers to attend to processes in the area of mathematics as well. Strategies such as working backwards and guess and check were explored to help develop students' problem solving skills. When evaluating work on an exam, Ester informed her students that she not only looked at whether or not the answer was correct, but also at the process, that is *how* they arrived at the final response as this was important as well.

On the other hand, I observed times in the classrooms of both teachers on the Junior Team when the learning of content was considered to be an important aspect of learning. For example, regular quizzes testing students' knowledge of spelling vocabulary, languages skills and mathematics skills were given. Overall, however, it seemed that students' understanding of the process of learning these skills was priority.

6. Holistic Learning vs. Molecular Learning

Data which suggested an emphasis on the interconnectiveness and interdependency of learning were coded as holistic learning while data which suggested an emphasis on the accumulation of discrete parts of knowledge were coded as molecular learning. Overall, there was an emphasis on holistic learning from each organizational perspective, particularly from the School, and with both the Primary and Junior Teams. This pattern emerged primarily through the analysis of interview and observational data in the school.

Holistic Learning vs. Molecular Learning: District

References to concepts such as “integration” and “global perspective” suggest that knowledge was viewed as holistic:

- integrates a global perspective (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 10)
- integrates cross-curricular components, e.g., anti-racist and ethnocultural education, career education, life skills and technology (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 11)

Other references focused on knowledge as molecular:

- chooses strategies to achieve identified outcomes (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 13)
- a comprehensive, student-centred, outcome-based curriculum (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 10)
- student programs are balanced with opportunities for specialization (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

Holistic Learning vs. Molecular Learning: School

According to the staff handbook, one rationale for the team teaching approach was to provide an environment for students and teachers that would “lead to true integration of curriculum” (p. 14). In actual fact, there was evidence of a combination of both the holistic and molecular concepts of learning. This was particularly illustrated in the way the computer lab was set up in that on the one hand the nature of the lab was such that computer skills were taught in isolation:

Well, the idea is that these outcomes have to be met whether you're in a lab or in a classroom. The outcomes are designed for the computer program in this district. So what I've done is, because I'm running a lab, I've been addressing almost specifically skills that I can teach the students, demonstrate it and have them repeat for me.

However, there was an attempt to have students integrate these skills in a holistic manner:

When it comes to activities where they have to be more creative and it's a longer term assignment we rely on the classroom teachers. So our setup in this school is we've got a lab of 15 computers and then we've got at least one, almost two computers, to every classroom, some even more so that I'm showing the kids how to use a specific piece of software and they go back to the class and then we rely on the teacher's ability to design activities that will support or reinforce the skills that I'm showing them and teaching them.

I observed other ways in which specialist teachers worked “in tandem” with the classroom teacher to integrate skills and knowledge. For example, the music teacher seemed to work well with classroom teachers to incorporate themes and concepts that had been introduced in the classroom with the music lesson. Also, there was an effort on the part of the music teacher to integrate language development, dance, music, and an appreciation for Canadian music as well as music from other cultures.

Holistic Learning vs. Molecular Learning: Primary Team

During my two-week visit with the Primary Team, the students were involved in a variety of activities which centred around a “water” theme. Three of the four classroom windows depicted an underwater scene inhabited by brightly coloured fishes. Other samples of the children’s artwork dangled from the ceiling. There was much evidence of subject integration in the four classrooms, particularly in the areas of language, science, art, and math, and social studies. Students engaged in counting, sorting, reading, writing and drawing in one activity which had them creating stories about fish. Bernie and Gail had their two groups involved in a science research project whereby they learned about water animals and land animals. Mavis’ and Ted’s students read about recycling and discussed the importance of water conservation.

I realized the extent of Bernie's commitment to holistic learning when I sat in with a group of her students busily listening to a tape at the listening centre. I noticed they would listen for awhile and then pick up their pencils and write or draw, depending on the ability of the student, on a piece of paper. When I listened to the tape I heard Bernie's voice guiding them through a series of water sounds (e.g., rain, tap water, washing machine, brook). To record the various sounds and do the narration would have taken considerable time and effort on Bernie's part.

Whereas there was emphasis on holistic learning in the Primary Team classes, there were signs of some molecular learning. The evidence of this type of learning was in the way these teachers tended to focus on certain concepts such as counting objects and chanting the days of the week and the months of the year.

Holistic Learning vs. Molecular Learning: Junior Team

While I was with the Junior Team classes they were involved in a winter theme which presented many opportunities to integrate the visual arts, music and language arts. Along with the "winter" musical compositions the students had created, both classes learned how to replicate snow flakes using white paper. In addition to this, they wrote cinquains about winter. To prepare them for their poetry writing, Louise had read them poems from a book called, *Seasons*. The book contained a selection of poems from around the world - England, USA, Spain, Wales, Germany, China, Egypt, Japan, Australia, Argentina, Ethiopia, Taiwan, Finland, Canada and France. Illustrations in the book depicted children of various races and ethnicities. Louise believed that poetry was a

vehicle through which her culturally diverse students would come to understand their connectedness.

Molecular learning was seen in the way that the Junior Team teachers spent time on teaching language and math skills as well.

C. Learning Experiences: The Learning Environment

The following discussion includes one curriculum metaorientation category which is subcategorized under The Learning Environment (see Table 6.1).

7. Social Learning Environment vs. Individual Learning Environment

Data which showed an emphasis on student interaction among the learners was coded under the social learning environment category while that which demonstrated a focus on the privacy of the learner was coded under the individual learning environment category. The primary emphasis from the perspective of the School was on the social aspect of learning inasmuch as all teachers were strongly encouraged to team teach. Nevertheless, teachers were at various stages of moving in this direction. There were differences in beliefs about the value of team teaching for both teachers and students.

Social Learning Environment vs. Individual Learning Environment: District

Many statements focused on fostering an environment which encouraged the interaction among learners:

- encourages and assists students in developing positive relationships with others within and beyond the classroom (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 14)

- promotes cooperative learning (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 13)
- teaches cooperative and social skills as part of the program (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 6)

Reference to the privacy of the learner with the material was made indirectly in the following statement:

- provides classroom space for individual, small group and large group learning (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 5)

Social Learning Environment vs. Individual Learning Environment: School

Those are all things [the morning announcement ritual which, along with new business, including the joke or groaner for the day, the thought for the week, the classical music and the singing of O Canada] that I have introduced in the school. I find it's a contact that I have with all kids during the day, and it's also a fast way for them to get to know me. And also, to set the tone for the school and the day.

In starting each day in this manner, Principal Butler attempted to set a tone which would foster a familial social environment, one which focused on interaction among all school members where the interaction was characterized by respect, kindness, honesty, openness, good humour and cooperation. Cooperation was a key to equity in student learning:

- When teachers, parents and students work together cooperatively all students have an equal opportunity to learn to their full potential (Staff Handbook, p. 2)

Daily there were manifestations of this emphasis on interaction among the learners at Hillside Elementary. The principal was quite clear about his view on the benefits of team teaching and the open classroom concept. Most grade levels were involved in team teaching to some degree, from partial integration of classes whereby students were brought together for part of the day, to full integration whereby three to four classes

resided in a large open area classroom for most of the day. As noted earlier, the staffroom was frequently used for the purpose of working with smaller groups which had been pulled from the larger classroom group. The staffroom provided added space for the interaction of students, teachers and, in some instances, parents to engage in learning activities outside the regular classroom. On one occasion, the staffroom was a beehive of activity as in one part of the room teachers and students were excitedly preparing for a special staff lunch while in another part of the room a teacher worked with the “behavioural” group to help them rehearse a poem for an upcoming concert.

There were other indications of the school’s orientation to interactive learning. While I was at Hillside Elementary a new bulletin board display was introduced whereby photographs with captions demonstrated kids of different ethnic backgrounds, along with parents and teachers, enjoying various after-school activities which had been organized by the Family Reading Club. All those who had participated seemed to have enjoyed the activities - kids reading to parents, parents reading to kids and teachers role - playing a story. The atmosphere conveyed was open and inviting.

Indeed, the openness of the school was such that it was difficult at times to locate even a quiet nook. This became clear one day when I noted that the small closet area leading into the staffroom, which had a door on either end, had both doors closed with a sign indicating, “Testing - please do not interrupt.” Undoubtedly, quiet space conducive to one - on - one, teacher and student interaction, or individual privacy in the learning process was limited in this school.

Social Learning Environment vs. Individual Learning Environment: Primary Team

The Primary Team teachers organized students in the following types of groups: four classes combined; two classes combined; individual whole classes; and, several small groups within individual classes. Student interaction varied according to the type of learning activity. When the four classes were combined to participate in Activity Time, students were free to interact with fellow students who had chosen the same activity centre (e.g., painting, drawing, puppet making, sand table, blocks, computer, reading, writing). Teacher-student interaction was minimal at these times. When two classes were combined for Calendar Time then students were expected to sit relatively quietly on the floor and interact with the teacher or students under the guidance of the teacher. Similarly, whole class grouping, where students were sitting and perhaps involved in a mathematics lesson, such as one I observed which centred around learning about geometric shapes, student - student interaction was discouraged. However, when students were asked to work at their desks in small groups, then usually there was opportunity for them to interact with one another. Sometimes when students were not on task the teacher would intervene. This was the case in one instance when Mavis initiated a journal writing lesson. During the whole-class discussion, students sat on the carpet in a loosely arranged semi-circle. Mavis sat at centre front and guided students in a discussion of their recent experiences. Students were asked to raise their hands before sharing an experience. If students began talking to one another instead of addressing the whole class at teacher-appointed times, then they were asked to stop. Afterwards they went to their tables and began to write. Here they were more loosely interactive with each other and were

encouraged to help each other spell words, talk about their stories and read their written experiences to each other.

When asked why the Primary Team classes were combined in the manner in which they were, Gail replied:

When we were hired to come here we were hired as a team and we're supposed to be team teaching and one thing that all the other teams do is that they do a lot of things with their classes together and most of them are three classes together. So we kind of started from that premise. If everyone else is doing three groups then it must work and it must be a good thing to do it.

However, they were to discover problems they had not anticipated which resulted in a reorganization of their original structure:

Well we started out with three groups together, Mavis' class, Bernie's class and my class. We had so many kids. There's no way they're attending, that they're paying attention, the pictures in the books, we realized there's no way they can see so we went to the two groups. But even two groups, I'm not quite sure, because even when you have your own class by itself there's still a few kids who aren't attending. . . . It's hard to capture 44 kids' attention.

Despite the problems the Primary Team teachers encountered with combining the classes and their eventual move away from this approach, they continued to group the four classes for Activity Time. Gail explains the reason for this:

Right now we've really kind of moved into three separate areas except for Activity Time which works really well. We found that to be the best time. People think we're crazy, they come and all four rooms are open and now you have 88 kids. But it's not the same because you don't have to track them.

The Primary Team teachers, it seemed, understood the value of this type of activity which encouraged social interaction among the learners and student freedom to choose activities

and working partners. They admitted that it was during this time that students were the least demanding both in terms of needing individual help to complete an activity and in terms of aberrant behaviour.

Whereas this type of social learning environment was valued, it was not deemed to be the only type of environment conducive to teaching and learning. Bernie, for example, felt that there was also a need for the teacher to impose structure on the grouping. There was a need to mix the groups so that girls and boys would interact and students of varying abilities would work together. Also, Gail found that her students' ability to work in a large group fluctuated and therefore she had to be flexible in terms of whether or not she would have the students work freely in a whole group or at their desks in small groups. She described it this way:

For example, Tuesday, they were fine on the carpet and they came to their seats and it was a mess. They couldn't do it. They didn't know what they were supposed to do. They were getting silly. So I thought, okay, Wednesday I'm gonna have them work on the carpet in a big circle and we'll share with each other and watch what each other's doing and that worked out really well. And then today, it was funny, it was the opposite. They were having a hard time on the carpet and you would predict that they wouldn't work very well in groups [at their seats] but they did a great job. So I'm finding it really hard. They're not consistent at all. . . .so you almost have to have to plans, Plan A and Plan B and be really flexible.

Social Learning Environment vs. Individual Learning Environment: Junior Team

The Junior Team teachers combined approaches where students were given opportunities to work in groups of varying size. In Ester's class there were two students whom she felt were not ready to work with others in a small group situation. The seating arrangement in her class was such that there were five clusters of four or five students'

desks with the exception of two desks which were located separate from each other and from the rest of the of class. Ester explained the reason for this as follows:

The students who are on the fringe are there because they are unable to cope in a small group setting and it's usually the same ones who can't cope in a large group setting who are unable to work independently. And I don't tend to do that for the whole year. That's why one has gone back [with the group]. I've given him the opportunity to show me, is he able to handle it? Because he has to be able to handle it. So I don't tend to leave them out of the group for that long but just for enough time so that they get the idea that I'm serious.

Louise believed in the value of student interaction for learning but suggested that there were problems inherent with students working in groups. The type of problem she described was related to the compatibility of certain students.

I've never had a class where I haven't had, where all the children like everybody all the time and never have any sort of difficulties. Now, I try to point out to the other students that person's strengths, and when the child does something well I try to point it out to the rest of the class to let them know that this student has some very good characteristics. It is a very sad feeling to not be part of the group and to know that when you're chosen as someone's partner they make a face.

Another challenge in encouraging social interaction among her students for the purpose of learning was that of helping the students work in a “mixed” group in terms of gender and language. When one boy asked her if they could choose their one group one day, she replied that they could if they could be trusted to “form mixed groups, girls and boys.” They agreed that they would do that. Louise also suggested that students sometime associated with others who were culturally similar because of language rather than for reasons related to race or ethnicity. When new students entered the school and were not fluent in English, they tended to stay close to those who spoke the same language as they

did for translation purposes. Frequently, this type of relationship forged a bond between the new student and the experienced one.

Both Ester and Louise were happy with the physical arrangement of their two classes. They were connected by a double door which could be opened or closed depending on the type of activity they were doing. They saw the benefits of the open classroom for large group and social interaction between the two classes while at the same time felt that there were times when certain teaching and learning activities required more privacy.

D. Role of the Teacher

The following discussion includes curriculum metaorientation categories that are subcategorized under Role of the Teacher (see Table 6.1).

8. Child-directed Learning vs. Teacher-directed Learning

Statements which focused on role of the teacher in terms of either being facilitative in that the teacher allowed students to regulate their own learning or directive in that the teacher took responsibility for regulating the students learning were coded accordingly. Overall, I observed both kinds of teaching, directive and facilitative, at Hillside Elementary. From the District perspective document statements implied that both were necessary forms of teaching. However the emphasis appeared to be on the directive aspect. In terms of the School and the Teams, document, interview and observational data suggested an orientation to both forms of teaching and learning as well. One teacher on

the Primary Team emphasised child-directed learning in her espoused position.

Nevertheless, this emphasis in orientation was not observed in the classroom.

Child-directed Learning vs. Teacher-directed Learning: District

One statement made a direct reference to learning being regulated by the student:

- students accept responsibility for their learning (Strategic Directional Statements, 95-98)

By comparison, it was clearly stated as an indicator of effective teaching that the teacher was responsible for directing and regulating the students' learning:

- organizes furniture and materials efficiently for successful learning (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 5)
- organizes classroom seating for the physical comfort of students (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 5)
- organizes classroom space to promote safety, efficiency and learning effectiveness (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 6)
- practices and encourages effective use of time (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 4)

Child-directed Learning vs. Teacher-directed Learning: School

I think you can learn a lot from colleagues but you can also learn a lot from kids. And I think sometimes you miss something that a colleague picks up because you're sharing the student and you're sharing the development of that kind.

This idea, as expressed by one grade four teacher, seemed to be accepted by many teachers at Hillside Elementary as one of the benefits of team teaching - the promotion of knowledge of the learner. Being sensitive and responsive to the needs of the learner is, to a degree, to foster student-directed learning rather than to deliver a curriculum which is directed and regulated by teacher-imposed external criteria. As for active involvement of

the student in regulating the learning, it is difficult to state categorically whether or not the school, as a whole, valued student-directed learning solely. Rather, there was evidence of both kinds of learning in the classrooms and throughout the school. However, helping students move toward taking control of their learning appeared to be a more pressing concern by the time they reached grade three:

- all students, Grades three to six, are expected to purchase a student planner for \$2.00. This book will be used to keep track of assignments, homework, special days and tests. Please check your child's planner daily (School Newsletter-Sept.)

Child-directed Learning vs. Teacher-directed Learning: Primary Team

Gail and Mavis felt that the ideal teacher role was that of facilitator but both agreed that they were unable to realize this role to the extent they desired. As Mavis put it,

I'd love to see myself purely as a facilitator but I don't see myself that way. I see myself having to direct them, to guide them, to build on the ideas they've come up with. They're very needy in just setting routines . . . if you start opening it up too much for them they're lost.

Ted believed that teachers had to be both facilitative and directive. Teachers had to try "to move kids to be accountable themselves for most of their learning." All of the Primary Team teachers combined both roles in that they exhibited variations of both depending on the kind of teaching and learning situation that was set up and on how the students had been grouped. Frequently, in large group situations such as calendar time, or story time, each teacher directed the activity by controlling the questioning and answering. When students worked in smaller groups there was less overt direction from the teacher. Nevertheless, most activities had been predetermined and prearranged for the students by the teacher. Within these centres there was usually some degree of choice available for

students. For example, one day while in Bernie's class I worked with a small group of students at a painting centre. Students were required to select paper of their choice and trace the precut fish which had been made available to them by the teacher. Then the students were to colour and decorate the fish with sparkles. These fish were then hung from the ceiling. On another occasion, in Gail's class I observed two students painting paper fish which had already been cut and placed in the painting centre. Gail requested that I oversee these students and to "make sure they paint right to the edges." Another time Gail's class was involved in writing thank-you cards to parents who had accompanied them on a field trip the previous week. Children followed a thank-you card pattern which had been designed by the teacher. There was considerable teacher direction in helping the students spell the words correctly and print neatly and legibly.

In all classrooms, there were times when materials were dispensed by the teacher and times when students obtained the materials independently. Materials such as pencils, erasers, crayons, scissors, etc. were usually available to students as they needed them and they were free to choose what they needed when they were involved in small group activities. Conversely, when the activity was primarily teacher-directed, such as the Calendar Activity, then the teacher would either dispense the necessary materials or designate a student to do so.

Child-directed Learning vs. Teacher-directed Learning: Junior Team

The learning activities in the Junior Team's classes ranged from the traditional, didactic type of teacher-directed learning to that where learning was largely regulated by

the students themselves. For example, in preparing for the science experiment involving the combining of solids and liquids, Ester was very much in control of the learning environment. The following is my recorded observations of that lesson:

- All sit on the carpet while Ester sits in the rocking chair. Ester gives instruction in a very matter of fact style stating: 'By grade 6 you should be able to do this on your own, but I know you can't so I'll explain it to you.' She then gives instructions on how to conduct the experiment adding, 'You don't taste and you don't smell.' She tells of the time she had coffee and the sugar dish had salt in it. Wouldn't have been funny had it been cleaning solvent.

In spite of the direction that Ester gave the students, the actual process of conducting the experiment was left to the groups of students and Ester played more of a facilitative role. Groups proceeded at varying rates and the responsibility for recording the findings and discussing the implications was left to the students.

Ester's mathematics lessons were conducted in similar fashion in that teacher instruction generally began with students sitting in a semi-circle on the carpet, followed by discussion where students raised their hands to ask or answer questions and then followed by either individual work or group work at the students' seats.

The French lessons I observed in Louise's class were largely teacher-directed. The following are my written observations of one such lesson:

- Kids sitting on floor while Louise sits in rocking chair. Door to Ester's class open. Louise reviews verbs in French. Asks students questions. Children for the most part sit quietly. Some are fidgety with books. Occasionally Louise asks a student to pay attention. One male student is asked to put his book down. Students raise hands to answer questions. Then students read a story in French. They raise their hands to be picked for speaking parts. Kids read parts. Then Louise asks questions. Students raise hands to answer questions in full sentences speaking French. If a student answers incorrectly, Louise guides him/her through the answer. Emphasis is on the correctness of grammar perhaps more than on meaningful answers. A student reminds teacher that it is time for music. Louise

says she is well aware of the time. She then asks students to put their books away and line up for music.

It is interesting to note that at least one student had her mind on music for it was during the integrated language arts and music lesson where Louise played a largely facilitative role while students were enthusiastically and actively involved in creating their winter composition.

Both Ester and Louise took responsibility for gathering and dispensing student planners and writing homework on the board for students to copy. The intention was to help students learn how to organize and plan and to move them towards accepting responsibility for their learning.

9. Internally-controlled Social Behaviour vs. Externally-controlled Social Behaviour

Data that addressed control of student social behaviour were examined to determine whether statements centred around a belief in an internal locus of control or a belief in an external locus of control. Document data from the perspective of the School suggested a belief that students need external reinforcers to control behaviour. There were variations in beliefs about students' locus of control among teachers on both the Primary and Junior Teams. In two cases teachers articulated a belief primarily in an external locus and one teacher espoused a belief in an internal locus of control. However, my observations in the classroom suggested that frequently these teachers' actions were relative to the situation in terms of where the emphasis lay.

Internally-controlled Social Behaviour vs. Externally-controlled Social Behaviour:***District***

As was the case with the analysis of document statements pertaining to students' intrinsic motivation for learning, the underlying assumption in these document statements appears to be that self-control of behaviour is not a given in students but rather needs to be fostered:

- assists students to articulate classroom rules and understand why they are necessary (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 6)
- encourages students to accept responsibility for their own behaviour (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 14)
- provides opportunities for students to share in decision-making (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 14)

Similarly, as was found in document statements related to extrinsic motivation, there was more clarity about the need for teachers to control student behaviour:

- our code of behaviour helps students to be mindful of their conduct, roles and responsibilities (Mapping Students' Success)
- schools is this board will not tolerate: behaviour that disrespects or harms others; profane language; racial, ethnic or sexual harassment; drug or alcohol abuse; or trespassing (Mapping Students' Success)
- we believe that prevention, intervention, and clear statements about the consequences of unacceptable behaviour - including the possibility of suspension and expulsion - help students become responsible, self disciplined people (Mapping Students' Success)

Internally-controlled Social Behaviour vs. Externally-controlled Social Behaviour:***School***

The Staff Handbook (pp. 34-36) for Hillside Elementary School provided a six-page behavioural outline entitled, *Procedures related to the Code of Behaviour* detailing both the expectations for student behaviour and the implications of these expectations for

teachers and principal under the following headings: *Student Entry and Dismissal; Lunch time Expectations; Boundaries; Playscape; Expectations for Student Behaviour in the School, in the School yard and in the Classroom; Suggestions for Introduction and Positive Reinforcement of Code of Behaviour; and Detention Room.* Expectations for behaviour were specific. For example, students were not to wear caps inside, chew gum, use profane language, use loud voices, litter the playground, play outside of designated boundaries, playfight, tease, name-call, bully, or infringe on another's rights. Attendance was to be "monitored and recorded scrupulously" (Staff Handbook, p. 10) as these records were considered to be "important legal documents." Teachers were also expected to supervise students, establish routines and report "offenders." Positive reinforcement of behaviour would include, among others, "random acts of kindness stickers" (Staff Handbook, p. 39), recognition of "positive behaviour" on the P. A., a "Part of the Pac" student recognition in each class and "in-class lessons on the components of the Code of Behaviour."

Despite the very explicit detail describing student behavioural expectations, the school did not implement a traditional custodial approach to discipline. Vice-principal Brown's position suggests that mutual respect between students and teachers was valued as a means to behavioural self-control, for both the teacher *and* the student.

And I guess the big part is there being respect between teacher and student, and between student and student, and treating other people the way that you'd like to be treated. I mean, in the best of all possible worlds, I'd like to see students speaking appropriately to teachers and teachers responding appropriately and not getting, you know, short fuses - I guess is something for everybody. But I think, at least from the adult side of the perspective, you should never, it should never come to that because we're

the models for the children and we should never say, 'I don't want to see your face peeking around that corner. Where did I ask you to be?' I think that's really important and I think it's really hard to do all the time, particularly under stress with a lot of intensity, but I think it's really important for the adults to persistently model what they expect from the children.

Indeed, helping students control their behaviour was a high priority at Hillside Elementary. At the beginning of the 1995-96 school year, a new position - Child and Youth Worker (CYW) - had been created to "work in the area of social skills and counselling" (SP94/95) because, as stated by the CYW herself, "There was a great need to get extra help, preferably somebody who knew how to deal with the [mis]behaviours." The CYW also embraced the idea that respect was key to self-control. Learning about the importance of respect comprised one week of a four-week Conflict Resolution Strategies program she had implemented which aimed to help the behavioural problem students.

In actuality, the degree to which students as a whole exercised self-control fluctuated. For example, at bell time, the school doors were opened and assigned teachers watched as students entered the school, sometimes in single file and other times in threes and fours. Frequently, in the morning, students quietly mingled in the hallways, shedding outdoor clothing and exchanging ideas. During these times teachers were usually in their classrooms and once in a while would take a peek in the hallway to ensure that all was going well. However, as the day went on, entry and dismissal at recess and lunch demanded more teacher supervision as students entered the school in a more exuberant manner, sometimes shouting and being physically aggressive. Then teachers were usually

visible in the hallways and more commands to “hurry and get in the classroom” were issued.

The student safety patrol system had students monitoring other students’ behaviour. Four or five teams of five students would take turns patrolling the playground. Part of their duties was to resolve conflicts that occurred. As one girl said, “That’s hard, especially with some of the boys.” They also guided young kids across the street and held up signs to remind drivers to stop for students to cross the street. As a reward the patrol students drank hot chocolate prior to going to class.

As outlined under implications in the Behaviour Code procedures, deterrents to behaviour ranged from issuing admonitions on the P.A.:

Lots of snowballs being thrown but not many at the targets. You make the decision. If you can't use the targets, we'll have to ban snowballs.

or praise,

Congratulations to Mr. Thompson's, Ms. Foster's and Ms. Cantwell's classes. They had only one child this month to come to the office. Congratulations to Mr. Barton's class. No one in his class was sent to the office this month so his class is the pizza winner. No one in the elementary grades wins.

to, rendering detentions if the “Administration team or designate” (Staff Handbook, p. 40) deemed it necessary, and to contacting parents “if three or more detentions” (Staff Handbook, p. 40) were assigned to a student.

Internally-controlled Social Behaviour vs. Externally-controlled Social Behaviour:

Primary Team

There was an abundance of data pertaining to students' social behaviour for both the Primary Team and Junior Team. Consequently, four subcategories emerged in the examination of this data and are used as a structure to organize the discussion. These subcategories are: conceptions of discipline; teacher/student relationships; establishing rules and norms; and, teacher's role.

i. conceptions of discipline

In discussions of behavioural control, Ted expressed the following view:

Well, I like to think of discipline as something that really should be internal. We do things because we think they're right. We act in certain ways because we know they're right. We don't go around hitting other people because we know it's wrong to hit people. We may feel like doing that but we know that it's wrong to do it and that's self-discipline.

While Bernie stated:

When I first think about the word [discipline] I think a lot more about self-discipline, like self control and like being able to push yourself to go to aerobics at the end of the day or with the children having self control, for instance, to be in the gym and not go running crazily across the room and climb up the climber. And I think . . . it's got a lot to do with getting the kids to be disciplined themselves and focusing themselves on their work and many of them walk in like that.

Both Bernie and Ted spoke of discipline in terms of self-discipline, that is students internally controlling their own behaviour. They believed that the potential for self-discipline, that is the internal motivation for controlling one's behaviour was inherent in the majority of students. While both Ted and Bernie shared views on self-discipline, they

offered different explanations for what characterized this internal locus of control. Ted seemed to associate internal motivation with a moral understanding of what is right behaviour - we do things because they're *right*. He viewed "90% of the kids, 95%, as internally really nice individuals as inherently good children." However, as a teacher, he had to help "instill" in children that they must "limit themselves," and then they would "learn to take that discipline on [themselves]." Bernie, on the other hand, seemed to associate self-discipline with a personal desire to impose control on one's life. One goes to an aerobics class after a long day at work because, for whatever reason, it is one of the goals that one has imposed on oneself. Similarly, students maintain control of their behaviour in the gym because self-control is a necessary part of learning and school life. Self-control, Bernie implied, is desirable in and of itself and is not necessarily associated with moral behaviour.

Whereas Bernie did not directly associate goodness or morality with self-control, she was very concerned with the moral behaviour of her students and suggested that oftentimes teachers were able to make predictions about latent socially deviant behaviour:

I think many teachers will tell you, for instance, I have a friend who teaches behavioural [students who frequently exhibit inappropriate behaviours] and she'll tell you that one's gonna be a murderer and that one's gonna become a rapist and the children are 7 years old but there are already things that they're doing that you know what's coming. I have children in my class right now that I can tell you will probably be pregnant when they're 16 or will get someone pregnant when they're 15 or will knife someone in a back alley. It doesn't, I don't think that in an overt way it makes me teach them any differently and sometimes it may make me compensate the other way, not ask for more but give more because I'm so scared of what may happen to them.

Ted's position was similar. Regarding the inherent goodness of most kids, he stated that there were a few kids that he did not feel that way about. Of them he said:

I'm scared of them, because . . . they're almost amoral in a way It's like they have no feeling for anyone else, no empathy at all, almost incapable of feeling empathy and those kids, well, they scare me, they literally scare me What causes a kid to be that way? I have no idea. I've never seen a child change to be that way so it's almost like they're born that way, like there's some biological reason for them to be that way.

Mavis, on the other hand, discussed discipline in terms of an antidote to misbehaviour. She said, "When I think of discipline I think of finding a way for the children to realize what they've done isn't appropriate and dealing with it right at the time." This is indicative of a belief that discipline is associated with misbehaviour and when students act in inappropriate ways then they must be *disciplined*. This implies an external locus of control.

Gail's suggestion that she *establishes* discipline also implies an external locus of control, however, not in the sense of a teacher exerting power over students but through the fostering of a mutual relationship of respect whereby students are then internally motivated to behave appropriately:

The way I establish discipline is through respect and that's what I try to do and to build a relationship with the studentsI think the absolute best, no matter what kinds of kids you're working with, whether it's the affluent kids we had last year or the kids that are very low and come from difficult home situations, number one is respect I don't think that the authoritarian teacher is [the answer]. It's fine in the classroom and they're gonna have a quiet classroom and kids are gonna sit there and behave [until] that person leaves that room. All the power is in that person.

What Gail is suggesting is that in the social setting of the classroom, relationships built on respect predisposes students to behave in socially appropriate ways - even in the absence of the teacher. Thus teachers do not control students through the power invested in them by their authoritative positions. Furthermore, self-control is motivated, not by the innate student's desire to control one's behaviour per se, nor by the student's moral understanding of "right" behaviour, but by the development of a social environment which is based on mutual respect.

ii. teacher/student relationships

Although Gail was the only Primary Team teacher to directly relate behavioural control with establishing mutually respectful relationships, all of these teachers recognized that aspect of interaction between student and teacher as important. As Mavis put it, "I don't want them to be my friends, I want them to like me, but I want them to respect me and know that I respect them." Bernie acknowledged the need for students to "respect each other's space" and stated that "the key to any relationship between two people . . . [has] got to do with respect and trust." She stressed the importance of, not only them trusting her, but of her to trust them, enough so that she could "get really silly with them and not think that at the end I'm gonna ruin the day because they're gonna lose control."

Although it was important for the relationship to be equal in terms of respect, Bernie felt that "you also have to have a tiny little bit of a power imbalance." As students, "they don't always have a say on everything. There are things that I'm gonna say that this is the way it is. And when I say mutual respect, it isn't so much that they think I'm their

friend as that they respect that I'm a human being, that I'm their teacher and I respect that they're human beings." Bernie's position is further clarified in light of her "respect for strict disciplinarians" whom she defined as teachers who are consistent with their students and held high expectations for them as opposed to a teacher who was "unreasonable" or just being a "bitch."

Related to Bernie's view of the necessity for a *little* power imbalance, Mavis expressed some ambivalence about the eroding hierarchical structure in schools today:

I see it [hierarchical structure] non-existent sometimes where I know it does exist because they still see you as a teacher, because they should see you as a teacher, but it's not like when I was a kid . . . I do think it's important to respect certain people, not to fear, but to respect that they have a certain role . . . I mean they're [the students] very comfortable with the principal. He's wonderful in terms of what I would want in a principal. But there's not that feeling that they [the students] need to do what we expect. And I guess that indicates an area that needs work on.

This is suggestive of a belief that the power structure associated with a hierarchical school arrangement is conducive to encouraging students to conform to behavioural expectations. However, Mavis is ambivalent about this as she sees on one hand the benefit of students feeling comfortable with authority figures such as teachers and students and on the other hand the disadvantage of this type of invisible hierarchical structure.

iii. establishing rules and social norms

All of the Primary Teachers believed in the necessity of having rules. According to Gail, at the beginning of the school year the teachers discussed three categories of rules based on the following:

- i. Unacceptable Behaviours - "things that absolutely drive you crazy and you will not accept;"
- ii. Bothersome Behaviours - "things that bother you but you'll accept them and you might just talk to the kids about them;" and
- iii. Disruptive Behaviours - "things that kids do and they're disruptive but they don't really bother you and you might have a look, or just say, 'stop' or say their name."

Upon arriving at these categories of behaviours, the teachers then decided how they were going to address them so that "everybody's doing the same kinds of things and that we are consistent so when the kids went from room to room there were consistent consequences." In addition to this, Mavis stated that she sat down with her class and "discussed the rules and they told me what would be great rules." Primarily they were "good rules" but some of them were "hard to follow" and therefore needed to be "adjusted."

Interestingly, Bernie also talked about three "classifications" of rules; however, her categories differed from Mavis':

- i. The Laws - "Those are my laws and we don't discuss them and they're usually much more related to pet peeves than anything else. Like I can't stand it when children lie down on the carpet in my classroom because I can't teach to people who are lying down and sleeping;"
- ii. School Rules - "Rules that belong to the school and you can't modify them either. Like you can't chew gum in school, you can't run in the hall, everyone has to have footwear on their feet;" and
- iii. Classroom (Social) Norms - "But there are also the rules that are in your classroom that are more like norms, what you expect, how you expect people to behave in order to make it happy and comfortable for you."

Bernie stated that she would usually get the kids to brainstorm all the rules. Sometimes there would be as many as 150 and some of them "silly" and therefore, over the weeks they would cross off the ones they didn't need. Some years "I've boiled it down to one rule, you know, the 'Do Unto Others' kind of rule. Other years we'll keep twenty." Given

the fact that the first two types of rules were non-negotiable, it would have been the classroom rules in which students would have had input.

In comparing the two categories of rules, it would seem that Bernie's "laws" and Mavis' "unacceptable behaviour" correspond. Mavis did not delineate between "school rules" and classroom rules as did Bernie. However, "bothersome behaviours" and "disruptive behaviours" could be discussed within the context of both the school and the classroom.

iv. teacher's role

According to Mavis, the teacher played "many roles" in relation to behavioural control depending on what she and her students were doing. When they were on the carpet, she felt her role was to keep everybody listening and focused. This required her to act as mediator, not to solve problems, but to guide students to resolving their own behavioural problems and in participating in the decisions about consequences. This process was time consuming and Mavis felt that she could not do this to the detriment of "wasting the other kids time dealing with other children." Another role was one which she described simply as that of "issuing consequences" to students who exhibited behaviours that were totally inappropriate and inexcusable.

All the teachers described feelings of frustration when trying to deal with behavioural problems at carpet time. Gail suggested that sometimes one student had to be sacrificed for the good of the group. If it is a student who is a continual behaviour problem

then that child might be asked to leave the group. When asked why she had removed one particular student from the group during one carpet activity I witnessed, Gail replied:

I think very few teachers are able to just look at the behaviour and not the child. And the way I decide for kids like Glen is number one, are they learning anything by sitting there. And Glen, you tell him one thing and you turn around and he's touching something else [so] you kind of think in your mind, is there any point in him sitting there? Today I just thought no, there's not and he's interrupting my whole group and the other kids weren't too bad. But then when you have to keep stopping and interrupting the lesson then you lose the rest of them.

Bernie also described a feeling of frustration when dealing with one student when they were on the carpet:

I felt frustrated this morning. I felt like I was losing control more than usual. They were a little more antsy on the carpet and I think that's also part of it. I felt that hot feeling that comes up where you want a scapegoat. I don't mean that he [the student] didn't deserve to be punished because he did, but it also made me get back under control to be able to remove him.

Ted's frustration was with himself for losing his patience. He felt that he had to be a role model for the students "inside the classroom and throughout the school and show some care and be considerate. If you ask the kids to be considerate of others you have to be considerate of them." The ethic of care emerged continually when Ted spoke of his role. He saw losing his patience with his students as a flaw in his character and felt "very uncomfortable when it [did] happen." When asked what he did at those times he replied, "You do what you ask of them, you apologize."

My observations of the four Primary Team teachers support the perceptions they had of their roles. Carpet time was definitely the time when the teachers took the greatest responsibility for the students' behaviour. It was also the time when more students

exhibited behaviours which were not in keeping with the activities which usually required them to listen, sit quietly and in one spot, raise their hands before they spoke, respect each other's space and control their responses so that they did not speak together. Because of the many restrictions placed on the students' behaviour, teachers spent more time trying to control them and frequently would become frustrated with one or two students who were not conforming. The teacher's response was usually to speak to the child first, ask the child to relocate to another spot in the group secondly, and lastly to ask the student to leave the group. All teachers showed concern for how the students treated each other and encouraged them to be respectful towards one another. For Ted, this concern seemed to take priority over concerns about "laws" or "bothersome" behaviours.

All of the Primary Team teachers had some misgivings about the value of school detention. In discussing his concern about kids who were constantly late, Ted questioned the effectiveness of issuing detentions: "I had one kid in here who had a detention last week, well, he was late again this morning." Mavis believed the detention room for young primary students was "absolutely pointless" in that "they're terrified of it, but they've forgotten why they have detention." Her point was that the consequence should follow immediately, or very soon after, the inappropriate behaviour. This was not the case when school detention was administered.

Internally-controlled Social Behaviour vs. Externally-controlled Social Behaviour:

Junior Team

This discussion includes the same four subcategories as did the previous discussion of the Primary Team perspective.

i. conceptions of discipline

Ester suggested that student behaviour needed to be modified and that students required help to realize that “certain behaviours are not acceptable.” Louise offered a similar view:

Discipline means to me, being able to control perhaps one's behaviour. If you're disciplining a child it's usually because of some behaviour that has been, may have been a negative behaviour that you don't want to see and don't want to happen again. So I guess it's just a matter of teaching the children about how to control their behaviour.

Louise's triadic concept of discipline may be summarized as follows: i. controlling one's behaviour; ii. having “negative” behaviour controlled; and, iii. “teaching” self-control of behaviour. As continuing discussion will show, these three assumptions about discipline were played out in the Junior Team classes.

ii. teacher/student relationships

The two Junior Team teachers were in agreement about the necessity of establishing a relationship with their students based on respect. Louise saw a connection between respect and discipline and suggested that her belief about how the two are related was influenced by her father:

My father was a real disciplinarian, I guess you'd call him. I mean he was not horrible or anything but he demanded respect of us and showed respect and demanded that we respect our mother. And so I think that sense of respect comes from there, at home and when the respect was not shown there were consequences for it.

Daily, Ester and Louise's interactions with students in their classes were indicative of the assumption that respect and discipline go hand in hand. They spoke politely to students and were mindful to add words like please and thank you. They also laughed with their students and on occasion teased them about certain things that occurred. Nevertheless, there were times when these two teachers spoke sternly to the students. One example of this is the time Ester returned from outdoor recess duty in a highly agitated state, gathered her class together and addressed them emotionally as follows:

How can we expect the grade ones to act properly if they see you behave that way? You push people down and then laugh at them! We can see you through the window even if we're not out there. If you can't be trusted outside on the playground, you'll lose the privileges of going swimming. That is a privilege [voice grows louder]. If you can't be trusted on the playground, then how can we trust you at swimming? If an accident happens there someone could be killed. That's a tough consequence. If you can't make the right choice then we'll have to choose for you. We'll give you back your dollar for swimming. We won't go.

Later, in reference to her agitation in addressing the students, Ester stated that she understood that kids are very physical, that they need space, and that at that age there is really no such thing as "personal space." What had aroused her emotional response to the playground behaviour, however, was that there were kids getting hurt because of the rambunctious behaviour of some. Worst of all, in her mind, was that they didn't seem to care about the pain they were inflicting on their peers and actually found it amusing. It was

the *insensitivity* to other's pain that seemed to have provoked Ester's perturbed reaction more than the aggressive behaviour itself.

iii. establishing rules and social norms

Ester's threat to punish her students for improper playground behaviour by taking away the "privilege" of swimming was a way of issuing a consequence for "inappropriate" behaviour. Consequences for behaviour emerged as important for establishing social norms more than reference to rules. Louise described how, in the beginning of the year, "we established some consequences" for "negative behaviour." Consequences usually took the form of reminders, discussions about the behaviour and, finally, detention. In cases where a student behaved inappropriately but Louise was unable to determine who initiated the behaviour, then the whole class would be held responsible. One incident of this was the time someone in Louise's class had banged on the music teacher's classroom door while they had been returning from the library. Louise was unable to determine which student had committed the act; consequently, the entire class lost a privilege. She felt that this was both necessary and appropriate as long as she explained to the class as follows:

Look, I don't know who did this but if we can't stop it as a group then we have to suffer the consequences as a group. So let's everybody try and work together to stop this from happening so that the whole group doesn't end up suffering for something that's happened.

This was a case where the group was made responsible for the act of an individual on the grounds that this would be a deterrent to individuals who deviated from group norms

because even if they did not get caught, they would incur punishment. Undoubtedly, this would also discourage the group from protecting the individual offender.

iv. teacher's role

Ester and Louise demonstrated flexibility in terms of the degree in which they played a direct role in controlling the social behaviour of their students. Depending on the activity, certain behaviours were or were not permitted or encouraged. For example, one day while Ester's students were busy at their desks working on a mathematics activity, one group of students began singing. Ester looked around the room and saw some students smiling. She did not stop the group from singing but reminded them that she expected them to have their work completed at the end of the period. They continued to sing and work.

Nevertheless, there were other times, especially during carpet time, when Ester or Louise would ask that students stop certain behaviours. If that did not work then the students would be asked to sit in separate areas on the carpet. Finally, there were occasions when students were asked to go back to their seats to be away from the whole group. This was more frequent in the teacher-directed activities.

Louise did not like to be confrontational in her role. Rather she preferred to "gauge the seriousness of the misbehaviour with the knowledge she had of the child." Both teachers issued class detentions to deal with "incorrect" behaviours in the classroom. With regard to school detention, they agreed that the purpose was to modify behaviour, but questioned whether or not it was achieving that goal. Louise stated that it was not

working because the consequence of spending recess inside on a cold winter's day was not effective in that "we've given them exactly what they want."

Ester provided insight into the development of school detention and her role in the school's adoption of this method of dealing with misbehaviour. Three years earlier she and her teaching partner had had a group of students with a lot of behavioural problems. So they approached the school principal at the time and organized the detention room. It was supposed to have been a "work-in-progress" but hadn't changed since. Ester doubted that it served the purpose of modifying behaviour, as she explained:

You want to modify the behaviour, you want them to realize that certain behaviours are not acceptable, but there tends to be, and from what the statistics have looked like, there's a certain core group of kids that are here that are repeat offenders, that are obviously not getting it. Like, this is not changing their behaviour. A few kids that have come in here once or twice, I think if you just talk to them you'd never have a problem with them again. So it's a tough call. You want the other kids to see, the ones who are causing the problems are getting punishment, but if it's not serving any purpose for the ones getting the punishment then is it working?

E. Evaluation

The following discussion includes one curriculum metaorientation category pertaining to informal and formal evaluation (see Table 6.1).

10. Informal Evaluation and Formal Evaluation

Statements regarding beliefs about evaluation of student achievement were coded according to whether the emphasis was on informal and experimental types of evaluation or on the more formal and traditional methods of evaluation. Even though both forms of

evaluation were valued according to district documents, the District itself relied upon more traditional evaluations for their students. The Primary Team teachers emphasized informal, non-traditional types of evaluation more often than did the Junior Team teachers. Nevertheless, there was evidence of both forms of evaluation on both teams and throughout the school.

Informal Evaluation vs. Formal Evaluation: District

Many statements were found to suggest that evaluation of students should include informal and experimental forms and be sensitive to the diverse needs of students:

- test results are just one way of tracking student progress. Using a wide range of student evaluation methods, teachers in the classroom can offer parents the best indicators of their children's achievement in school (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 1)
- teachers use a variety of techniques to evaluate and monitor student achievement in all subjects: examinations, regular in-class tests and quizzes; portfolios of student work; class presentations; homework assignments; group discussion; student interviews (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 2)
- city-wide test results do not take into account factors in student success such as personal motivation and student support at home (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 4)
- since our goals for students extend beyond the technical skills of reading to the development of life-long positive interest in reading, this board also uses a survey to monitor students' attitudes (enjoyment of reading; appreciation of the value of reading; confidence in reading) toward reading (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 11)
- students who have recently arrived in Canada and who do not speak English will not take an English literacy test until they have had an opportunity to develop their English reading and writing skills and students with severe learning disabilities are exempt from the tests (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 4)

Also, there were many statements to support the idea that traditional achievement testing for skill and subject mastery, that is a formal focus on evaluation, was still a high priority:

- the testing program is focused on mathematics and literacy because these are the key skills important to student achievement in all subjects (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 3)
- school-by-school test results are available from each school or from the Board office (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 1)
- city-wide and province-wide tests offer teachers and parents additional information on student achievement (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 1)
- Literacy Assessment Profiles (LAP) for all students from kindergarten to grade 9 were introduced in 1994 to help students and parents monitor student progress (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 2)
- students in grades 4, 6, 8 and 10 are tested in mathematics while students in grades 3, 5, 7, and all graduating students are tested on reading, writing, spelling and grammar (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 3)
- The Canadian Achievement Test (CAT) in grades 3, 5 and 7 is used to measure students' abilities in reading comprehension, grammar, spelling and language skills (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 4)
- The CAT results indicate if students' literacy skills are below, at or above the national average or "norm" of student achievement in different grades (Profiles of Achievement: 1994-95, p. 4)

Informal Evaluation vs. Formal Evaluation: School

The board increasingly lays down mandates for what we do with very little consultation either with principals and certainly not with staff. While I agree the LAPs [Literacy Assessment Profiles] are something that are good, how it is worked through with the staff will determine how they view it, whether it's more work, or whether it's a tool to help them better diagnose how their students do.

Principal Butler indicated that while he believed that formal evaluation in the form of the district initiated Literacy Assessment Profiles (LAP) was appropriate, he felt that the staff at Hillside Elementary had to consider it to be so if the LAPs were going to help students. There was much evidence of a formal evaluation orientation at the school. Teachers and students were frequently involved in assessment of some sort. One of the benefits of team teaching, it was suggested, was that it provided opportunities for teachers to work with one student or a small group of students for evaluative purposes. Document

statements regarding formal evaluation including standardized testing and comparative grading were abundant, some of which were:

- Be sure to read the explanatory notes on the report cover. An at risk student would be in the first column. The shaded areas are average. The extreme right is above average. The comments will give reasons for the check marks and program ideas to improve "not yet" areas (Staff Handbook, p. 43)
- Try to be specific and indicate if the child is below level and what skills need to be developed to bring the student to the expected level. Use of student outcomes is one way to achieve this (Staff Handbook, p. 43)
- A specific report on Music and Physical Education will be given at the end of the year (Staff Handbook, p. 41)
- In the final term all students, including the Kindergarten will receive a written report. The final report should explain where the student is as he/she completes your class. It may set objectives for the coming year or the summer. Be specific in stating math and Literacy levels, e.g., Ali is reading below the expected level for Grade 3.(Staff Handbook, p. 43)
- Our Benchmarks data have recorded the significant improvement of our students in both grades four and six. We have purchased additional texts and manipulative materials to help our students learn and explore concepts in mathematics (School Profile '94/95)
- We use mathematics portfolios to track progress and determine program (School Profile '94/95)
- Our students in grades 3 and 5 wrote literacy sections of the Canadian Achievement Test in the fall of 1994 and the spring of 1995 (School Profile '94/95)
- Our results in the graphs show how our students ranked in literacy compared to other Canadian students in the same grade (School Profile '94/95)

Whereas the document statements demonstrated considerable emphasis on testing, reporting and comparative analysis of the results, other kinds of less formal evaluation took place as well. Teachers were encouraged to base evaluations on "work samples and observation" (Staff Handbook, p. 41), to provide opportunities for "children to write personal comments on their own involvement and achievement in class" (Staff Handbook, p. 45), and to invite students to be present for at least "part of the interview" with the parent(s) (Staff Handbook, p. 45). Furthermore, parents were advised "not to judge the

school's performance" (School Profile '94/95) on the results of the city-wide or province-wide tests (School Profile '94/95).

Inquiry into the kinds of evaluation teachers used in the classroom confirmed that there was an attempt to utilize an informal approach, along with the more formal type. For example, the Child Youth Worker, as part of her program for students who were frequent behavioural problems, included these questions on a "Respect Quiz" worksheet:

Do you think that this was a good class to be in?
 Did you find it useful?
 Do you think that you learned how to stay out of trouble?
 Give 3 things that you liked about this class.
 Name 3 things that you'd like to change in this class.

Informal Evaluation vs. Formal Evaluation: Primary Team

Evaluation of the students in the Primary Team classes was essentially informal. The teachers took advantage of the team teaching situation to work with individual students to listen to and evaluate their reading and then to record the results anecdotally. Throughout the day, especially when students worked at centres, there were opportunities to sit with students and to observe how they performed certain tasks. In one journal writing activity, Gail wrote comments for parents in the margins of the students' writing such as "Excellent," or, "Dennie looked at another student's work for his ideas." Occasionally stickers were given. Sometimes the teacher deciphered a child's writing by writing the correct form underneath. For example, titiaBas = It is a bus.

There were also opportunities for peer evaluation. For example, in Bernie's class I observed a group of students at the printing centre. Students, after printing one line,

would raise their hands and then a partner would apply a sticker to the work. Mistakes in printing did not go unnoticed as one boy was quick to point out to his partner that she had made a capital N instead of the lowercase n. She promptly erased it, corrected it and then received her sticker.

Informal Evaluation vs. Formal Evaluation: Junior Team

There were informal and formal types of evaluation conducted in the Junior Team classes. Sometimes the teacher and the students participated in informal group evaluation whereby students would share their work for discussion with their peers. Other times students would be encouraged to correct their answers to math problems themselves. Formal evaluation took the form of written math and language quizzes whereby students work would be graded on a percentage basis. Both teachers gave spelling tests where assigned words would be called by the teacher, corrected by the teacher and displayed on the bulletin board. One math test that Ester had given to her class consisted of problems related to the concepts that had been covered over the past couple of weeks. Ester gathered the students on the floor, distributed the tests and then went through each question by asking selected students to share their answer and explain how they solved the problem. I noticed a range of grades from 58% to 97%. There were no written comments on the lower scores that I observed. On the 97% test the work "Excellent" was written. On another occasion when students were gathered on the carpet to review a language test one student asked, "Does spelling count?" Ester simply replied, "Yes, spelling counts." The test had consisted of three parts: i.) multiple choice; ii.) true or false; and iii.)

definitions. The interesting thing about this was that parts one and two allowed no room for interpretation and were either right or wrong. However, part three allowed the teacher some leverage for correcting in that it was not simply a matter of right or wrong. It was part three which, as Ester explained to the class, “Everybody did really well on this part” and that “if you spelled a few words wrong I gave you full marks.” Here the teacher was clearly allowing for the language disparity in her students and, it seemed, was attempting to level the playing field.

Louise provided insight into the purpose of the formal benchmarks testing which was part of their evaluation program and the results of which were used for comparative analysis across schools within the district:

Basically what the benchmarks math test is is they do a pre-test in September or October and it is basically a test which tests the four different areas - the measurement, geometry, number, and problem solving - and there are usually forty and fifty questions. So the first mark tells us sort of what they carried over from the previous grade and some of it is fairly easy carry over. And then again, we do the post test usually in late May and by then we've hopefully covered most of the program and it again looks at how well they have acquired the knowledge that they should have in this grade.

However, Louise doubted the validity of the results:

I don't really think it's a good indication of how well the children have really learned the program because you've taught things way back in September. You try to review them, but to get your program taught by mid-May is quite a struggle and then to try to get review time in there too is quite a struggle too. If we could do the Benchmarks in smaller portions, as opposed to having them sit down for a whole hour, it's a very long time for nine-year olds and eleven-year olds to sit and concentrate for that period of time.

She also discussed her responsibility as a teacher to make sure the each student is competent in each of the four areas at the end of the year. At the same time, however, she also felt that her responsibility included fostering self-esteem in the child, so “that I haven’t made this child feel bad about themselves or put them down.”

Curriculum Metaorientations: Variations and Conflicts Among Underlying Values

The preceding section provides insight into the curriculum metaorientations and variations in orientations manifested from the perspectives of the District, the School, the Teams, and the Individuals. The analysis addressed in this section facilitated the process of discovering and understanding the nature of the value conflicts inherent in the variations in curriculum metaorientations. As was the case for the comparative analysis of beliefs about educational purposes in Chapter 5, the findings showed that there were both subtle and significant differences in curriculum orientations across perspectives. Also, it is again noteworthy that differences in curriculum orientations do not *necessarily* generate intense value conflicts in individuals. However, there were indications that some individuals did experience strong value conflict in some instances where there were variations in orientations across perspectives.

Variations in orientations and value conflicts are the focus of this section. The discussion will cover only the perspectives and curriculum orientations where variations and/or conflicts occurred. This will be done through a comparative analysis of the underlying values which constitute the varied positions on curriculum from the different perspectives (i.e., District, School, Team, Individuals). This analysis includes an

identification and discussion of both the variations in orientations and the nature of the value conflicts which these variations in curriculum orientations fostered in individuals in the school. Table 6. 3 (see p. 196) displays where *variations in value orientations* were evident. Numbers are used for signifying the kind of variations which occurred. An asterisk beside a particular number indicates that an individual, or individuals, articulated experiencing value conflict as a result of a variation in curriculum orientation across perspectives. In other words, the table identifies the occurrence of: i. the variations in curriculum orientations identified through the data analysis; and, ii. the value conflicts teachers experienced as a result of the variation in orientation.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 2*: District and Teams

The first instance of variation in orientation emerged in the data analysis between the District and the Teams. It is discussed here under the category where the variation occurred, uniqueness of learners/similarities of learners.

Variations and Conflict # 2*: District and Teams - Uniqueness of Learners/Similarities of Learners

Whereas the data analysis revealed a consensus across perspectives regarding the uniqueness of the learner pertaining to learning abilities, there was some variation in orientations when it came to actual practice. District documents revealed a major emphasis on the necessity for teachers to respect individual differences in terms of ability,

Table 6.3
Variations in Value Orientations and Value Conflicts Pertaining to Curriculum

| VALUE ORIENTATIONS | DIST | SCH | PRIMARY TEAM | | | | JUNIOR TEAM | |
|--|------|-----|--------------|------|-------|------|-------------|--------|
| | | | Bernie | Gail | Mavis | Ted | Ester | Louise |
| CURRICULUM ORIENTATION | | | | | | | | |
| Uniqueness of Learners Similarities of Learners | 2 | | 2 | 2* | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2* |
| Whole Child Child as Student | | | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | | |
| Intrinsic Motivation Extrinsic Motivation | | | | | | | | |
| Personal Knowledge Public Knowledge | | | | | | | | |
| Knowledge as Process Knowledge as Content | | | | | | | | |
| Holistic Learning Molecular Learning | | | | | | | | |
| Social Learning Environ. Indiv. Learning Environ. | | 5 | 5* | 5* | 5* | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Child-directed Learn. Teacher-directed Learn. | 4 | | | | 4* | | | |
| Internal Control of Soc. Beh. External Control of Soc. Beh. | | 7* | 9,10 | 9,10 | 9,10* | 9,10 | 9 | 9 |
| Informal Evaluation Formal Evaluation | 3 | | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | | |

1=District & School

2=District & Teams

3=District & Team

4=District & Individual

5=School & Teams

6=School & Team

7=Individuals Within a School

8=School & Individual

9=Team & Team

10= Individuals within a Team

11=Team & Individual

12=Individual

*Value Conflict Experienced

race, gender, religion and culture. There were only a few short statements suggesting grouping as an organizational teaching methodology. Perspectives from the School, Team and Individuals were consistent with the District in terms of espoused beliefs about the need to respect individual differences in every possible way. Consequently, in actual practice, both the Primary and Junior Team teachers attempted to respect the uniqueness of the learners in terms of their individual attributes. Nevertheless, in a situation where teachers are responsible for the “wholesale” academic development of students, conflict between valuing the needs of the individual versus valuing the needs of the group is endemic. All teachers on both teams grouped and taught students according to similarities in abilities. Also, there were other kinds of grouping where teachers attempted to mix students based on their varying attributes, particularly related to ability and gender.

Interestingly, given the District’s position regarding the need to respect the multicultural differences of students, it was the varying abilities resulting from the multicultural nature of the student population which gave rise to value conflict related to beliefs about teaching and “desirable” conditions for teaching. Both Gail, on the Primary Team, and Louise, on the Junior Team, described their classroom situations as less than ideal because of the added burden that the multicultural community presented, particularly related to the challenge of teaching students who were not fluent in English, and in Louise’s case, had varied experience with French. According to Gail, this kind of class differed from the “normal” classroom where there were usually three groups, consisting of high, low and average levels, in that there were *more* levels with which to contend. The intensity of this conflict is highlighted in Gail’s belief that:

The ideal classroom would be a very homogeneous group that would kind of learn at the same pace and you could take them along at the same rate and again, the kids would all have self-esteem and all come from good families and not have the kind of problems that people like Glen [a young black student] have to deal with.

Given that the students at Hillside Elementary were so diverse in terms of culture, ability, strengths and needs, and considering Gail's sanctioning of homogenous grouping, it is little wonder that she experienced value conflict. Her belief about an ideal classroom practice and her commitment to meet the needs of the individual learners would be a constant source of conflict. Also worthy of note is the way in which the teachers on both teams seemed to make optimal use of unstructured times, such as recess, pre-class and after-class moments, for meeting students individual needs, which is indicative of their espoused belief that it is important to attend to the needs of the individual. Nevertheless, during structured class time, students as a group received more attention, especially in terms of establishing standards of social behaviour conducive to group instruction and learning.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 3: District and Team

There was one instance of variation between the District and a single Team, in this case the Primary Team.

Variations and Conflict # 3: District and Team - Informal Evaluation/Formal Evaluation

In terms of policy statements the District perspective called for both a formal and

informal orientation to evaluation. However, statements about informal evaluation implied that, with the exception of a district survey to “monitor students’ attitudes toward reading” (Profiles of Achievement, p. 11), the responsibility for this type of evaluation would fall to teachers, not to the district. Therefore, District initiated and sanctioned evaluation that was primarily formal and included city-wide and province-wide testing.

From the perspective of the school, while Principal Butler felt that it was necessary for teachers to participate in decisions about how the Literacy Assessment Profiles (LAP) were implemented, he supported the concept of them. My observations in the school suggested that teachers did indeed spend a considerable amount of time on this kind of formal testing. Consequently, there was consistency across perspectives in terms of the kinds of formal testing the District mandated and in terms of the what teachers were doing in the school. The inconsistency, however, lay in what the District was doing in terms of informal evaluation and what the school was doing, particularly teachers on the Primary Team. These teachers were constantly involved in the types of informal evaluation that, according to School and District documents, were important and necessary.

There was evidence of informal evaluation in the Junior Team classes as well, but not to the extent that I observed in the Primary Team classes. This is not surprising considering the emphasis that the District put on formal evaluation with their standardized testing and the comparative analysis across schools within the district. The implications of this high expectation for the junior students was made clear when Louise, on the Junior Team, had questioned the validity of the District initiated Benchmarks test, yet felt

compelled to spend time on teaching the kinds of skills that would be evaluated on these tests.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 4*: District and Individual

There was one instance where there was variation in orientation between the District and the Individual.

Variations and Conflict # 4*: District and Individual - Child-directed Learning/Teacher-directed Learning

Overall there was consistency across perspectives in terms of what District documents stated about the role of teacher in regulating learning and what teachers were actually doing in the classroom. District documents stated that an effective teacher was responsible for the organization of the classroom in terms of seating, learning materials, furniture, and the use of space and time. While there was attempt to strike a balance between child-directed activities and teacher-directed activities, teachers on both the Primary Team and Junior Team frequently played directive roles in many of the learning activities which they had organized for their students. Nevertheless, at least one teacher experienced value conflict between what she considered to be right in the sense of the teacher's role and what she considered to be good in terms of what was best for the students at Hillside Elementary. Mavis used this analogy to explain her belief about what is desirable in terms of the teacher's role:

A teacher could be, in a sense, a tour guide, opening up doors and opportunities and showing them around, so that the children are still

having their choices in what they're going to explore, and how they're going to explore it. I think that is an interesting idea – to take their interests and work with it and build on it. And I really like that idea but I don't see myself truly as a facilitator [with this class].

Mavis explained that because of the many needs of the students she had this year, she was unable to be a facilitator to the extent that she would have liked. Rather, these students required her to play a more directive role. In this way, Mavis's value conflict appeared to be the result of her classroom situation, that is the perceived neediness of her class placed her in a position whereby she could not play a more facilitative role. However, she was not aware, or at least did not acknowledge, that District expectations regarding the direct responsibility of the teacher for the organization of classroom learning was in conflict with her personal and professional belief about the ideal role of the teacher. This may have been because, in actuality, her role *was* more directive and, therefore, had conformed to District expectations.

One should not underestimate the responsibility many teachers feel they have for student learning. Consequently, the basic assumption that teachers have about their role as teachers, in terms of their responsibility for student learning, affects how they approach the organization of classroom activities. Perhaps teachers succumb to this responsibility by taking a more direct role. Perhaps the facilitative role is perceived as relinquishing direct responsibility for student learning. It is important to note that the Primary Team teachers Activity Time arrangement seemed to fit Mavis's description of "teacher as tour guide" quite well. Considering that there was consensus among them about the high value of this learning situation for their students raises questions about whether or not they fully

accepted that the facilitative role was the ideal teacher role. Indeed, Ted had stated that teachers should play both a facilitative role and a directive role. My observations of the Primary Team teachers in the classroom provided insight into the way in which these teachers used both approaches, which as earlier discussed, was contrary to what Mavis and Gail believed to be the desirable role. It is quite possible that the adoption of both roles in the classroom is indicative of the responsibility these teachers feel they have in terms of developing students' academic skills.

Not only do teachers feel responsibility for the development of academic skills, but for their social and moral development as well. This has implications for just who chooses the learning material -- the teacher or the student. One teacher at Hillside presented the problem this way:

I can use Internet but I won't because the security system is not in place for my kids. I have no security over what they can go and access, what they're gonna be downloading, what they're gonna be observing. I don't have the one-on-one to sit with them to make sure that they're not accessing things that they shouldn't be.

Increasing access to information through advances in computer technology generates fresh concerns regarding the role of the teacher, and is already raising questions about not only *should* teachers be directive but whether or not they *can* be directive in terms choosing the content of the curriculum.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 5*: School and Teams

There was one occurrence of variation in orientation between a team's orientation and the school orientation.

Variation and Conflict # 5: School and Teams - Social Learning*

Environment/Individual Learning Environment

Out of all of the perspectives, the school's was the one which most strongly emphasized the collective interaction of learners through the promotion of a familial social environment whereby social interactions would be characterized by mutual respect, care and cooperation. This kind of environment was encouraged by the administrators, particularly Principal Butler who made every effort to "set the tone" for the school. There was an openness modelled by the principal and vice principal in that their office door was rarely closed. The physical arrangement of the school was also such that most classrooms had double doors connecting them to adjacent classrooms. These doors were often left open, creating a sense of spaciousness, a kind of public commune conducive to social interaction and sharing.

The teachers on the Primary Team began their school year believing in the importance of this type of social interaction for student learning. However, belief and practice were not compatible in this case, as Bernie relates:

This year we had a really hard start because we were teaming. We came thinking that we could team in the proper way, like have all the rooms open, the kids could go wherever they wanted anytime. And we got a major shock because the kids sat down in front of us and we all went, 'That's too many people!'

Gail added further insight into why this was so:

I just think at the beginning we were just, I mean, the kids were going everywhere all the time and it was so confusing for us and for them. It was just a big cafuffle all the time and it was stressful. I don't think for the kids as much, but definitely for us. We found it very stressful. September's always stressful but we found it that much more stressful and we kept thinking, 'here we are, we've been hired to work in a team because it's

gonna be, we can support each other, it's gonna be a better environment ' and it turned out to be more stressful because you 're always thinking, 'Okay, what group do I have now and where are my kids supposed to go?'

What is interesting here, as noted earlier, is that the Primary Team teachers did continue with Activity Time which encouraged full social interaction among the students, thereby providing their students with the opportunity to freely choose not only the type of activity they wished to do, but with whom they wished to work. Furthermore, all of the Primary Team teachers deemed this time to be extremely valuable for the students and were both surprised and pleased with how smoothly the over eighty kids interacted and learned during this learning process. The times which presented the most challenge to these teachers, in terms of the students' social interactions, were times when the teachers took the direct responsibility for teaching and learning. It was then when the focus leaned more toward getting students to conform to group standards such as raising hands, sitting quietly and keeping inside the limits of one's personal space.

Another problem that these teachers described in relation to the full integration of students in the large open-area classroom was related to a belief about the occasional need for individual privacy of the learner with the material. Bernie elaborated on that dilemma in this way:

What's good for one child is not good for another. The disadvantage in this school is that everybody's teaming which means the student who cannot function in the classroom with twenty people is now functioning in a classroom with sixty and is expected to do that and I think that's terrible I've worked with students who, any noise at all, stresses them to the point that, like they'll get overstimulated, they can't learn and it would be so ridiculous for me to think that that was because my room was perfect and everything was great and they were a problem, when you removed them and put them in a quiet space and they're suddenly wonderful,

vibrant people and I even think of different times in my own life as a child, I knew the different spaces and different times.

For this reason, and also because they felt that too much time was spent on attending to social behaviours, on keeping track of students work, and on planning and organizing lessons and activities, the Primary Team teachers, particularly Mavis, Bernie and Gail, were adamant that full integration was not conducive to achieving their educational goals. In other words, it placed too many demands upon them and upon their students, and consequently served to impede the educational process rather than to foster it. Considering the amount of time that these teachers dedicated to their work, sometimes starting their mornings at school at 7:00 a.m. and staying well into the evening, these concerns should not be treated lightly. In spite of these long hours, or perhaps because of them, these teachers felt that they could not implement the open-classroom concept the way they had intended or to the extent that the school endorsed.

The Junior Team teachers had worked out an arrangement that was satisfactory to both teachers. Throughout the day there was evidence of a range of learning environments, whereby the two classes were grouped together, separated in two groups or several small groups, and at times, where the students worked individually with the material at their desks. Depending on the type of learning environment, Ester and Louise either worked together as a team, or worked independently of each other. This was not different from how the Primary Team teachers conducted their classes, however there was a difference between the amount of stress reported by the teachers on the Primary Team

than that reported by the Junior Team teachers. In other words, the Junior Team teachers did not report experiencing a value conflict with the School's orientation.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 7*: Individuals Within the School

There was evidence of at least one school practice, that of issuing school detention, which suggested a variation in many individual orientations within the school pertaining to student behaviour.

Variation and Conflict # 7*: Individuals Within the School - Internal Control of Behaviour/External Control of Behaviour

Several of the Primary Team teachers did not believe school detention to be an effective consequence for changing the behaviour of their students. Whereas they did issue consequences for behaviour in the classroom, the consequence was usually immediate (e.g., stern reprimands, reminders of rules, being removed from the group). School detentions, whereby misbehaving students were required to sit with a supervisory teacher during recess period, did not immediately follow the consequence. Therefore these teachers questioned the appropriateness of this type of consequence, especially for young children. Ester and Louise of the Junior Team were more ambivalent about school detention. Whereas they considered it to have some potential for modifying behaviour, they did question whether or not it was really changing the behaviours of "repeat offenders."

In actual fact, the idea of school detention was a contentious issue for many teachers in the school and they freely expressed their misgivings about it. One classroom teacher described his feelings about it in this manner:

I hate the word detention . . . I don't really like detention rooms as detention rooms. They're like military camps. [But] there are times you have to come up with something. The only time I really follow the detention room is when somebody does something hazardous to other kids out on the playground. Now there, to me, is a logical solution. If you can't play, if you go out there and injure somebody, then you shouldn't be out with them. That's the way I would use the detention room. It's the only thing that I really think it should be for, in my mind.

Another Hillside Elementary teacher had even stronger misgivings:

The sense I get is that treating them, ostracizing them from the group, putting them in isolation is counter productive to getting them on track in the same way that people don't think that going from a five year Young Offenders Act to a ten year Young Offenders Act is gonna do anything except be counterproductive. They feel the same way that a detention room is just an antiquated punishment system and the kids aren't getting anything out of it and given that it's an opportunity for kids to escape the things that they would rather not do like go outside in the cold weather.

The teacher further explained his feelings of doubt about effectiveness of the detention room for changing behaviour:

We have a lot of kids in the detention room in the cold weather, so are they using it or are they abusing it or are we getting anything out of it? And then on the other hand when it's exactly the same kids in the detention room day after day then they're not getting anything out of it either. They don't see it as any kind of punishment. So I'm kind of torn because I think that you have to give them some sort of consequence.

He also explained the difficulty of arriving at shared values in a school for something as controversial as the detention room:

We've had all sorts of suggestions over the years -- leave the kids outside but just line them up against the wall kind of thing, have them do work

around the school, cleaning up leaves or raking leaves or stuff like that -- but I don't think we've come to any kind of consensus and I think we have to be very careful of the laws today and be aware of what we are allowed to do and what is reasonable. I think that there are always levels of reasonableness that are different between people so it's hard for people to decide.

The Child and Youth Worker also was doubtful about the effectiveness of school detention, however, in terms of a substitute for it, she added:

I couldn't, off the top of my head, say, 'well, instead of detentions we should be doing this.' And you can't always deal with things immediately, and that's where the detention comes in, where you can deal with it at detention time. And it gives everybody some time to process what's going on.

Indeed, it was an ongoing issue and one which the Child and Youth Worker, the administrators and the teachers at Hillside Elementary were in the process of changing.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 9: Team and Team

There was one variation in orientation noted which related to student behavioural control between the Primary Team and the Junior Team.

Variation and Conflict # 9: Team and Team - Internal Control of Behaviour/External Control of Behaviour

Data analysis revealed that teachers on both Teams used a variety of teaching practices in their classrooms whereby control of students' behaviour varied in terms of where the control lay, that is mostly with the teacher or mostly with the student. However, where these two Teams differed significantly with respect to behavioural control was *how* they attempted to control behaviors. For example, when discussing how they established

norms in the classroom, the Primary Team teachers seemed to emphasize developing rules with their students in terms of helping students behave appropriately. The Junior Team, on the other hand, emphasized the development of consequences with their students to help them understand what was appropriate classroom and school behaviour. The major distinction between the two strategies is that the former is preventive while the latter is reactive approach. In other words, from the beginning of the year, the Junior Team teachers seemed to operate on the assumption that students would behave inappropriately and therefore they needed to know the consequences. Conversely, in developing rules instead of consequences with their students, the Primary Team teachers conveyed the message that they needed to set parameters for student behaviour which indicates an assumption that students will behave. There is a subtle but essential difference between the two approaches. This difference in where the emphasis for controlling behaviour lay begs questions about teachers underlying assumptions regarding student behaviour, about whether these assumptions change as students move into the junior grades, and about the message that students receive from teachers regarding expectations for their behaviour.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 10*: Individuals Within a Team

There were two instances of variations in orientations related to Individuals Within a Team. They are discussed under the categories in which these variations were noted.

Variation and Conflict # 10: Individuals Within A Team - Whole child/Child as Student

Data analysis revealed that all perspectives espoused a belief in the development of the whole child. District documents contained clear statements about the necessity for teachers to be sensitive to the emotional, social, personal, and intellectual needs of students and the importance of nurturing a caring environment. This position was consistent with the school orientation in terms of espoused beliefs and actual practice, particularly in the way the administrators and most teachers worked towards creating a family atmosphere characterized by an ethic of care, and the way in which administrators and staff worked to provide many extra-curricular activities to aid in the holistic development of the students. Both the Primary Team and the Junior Teams were also consistent in this orientation in terms of espoused beliefs about the holistic development of students. Nevertheless, there was a slight variation in orientation pertaining to the holistic development of students on the Primary Team with regards to which aspect of a student's development was emphasized. Ted's commitment was to developing an ethic of care in his students and this was evident in the manner in which he attended to the emotional needs of students more than to having them conform to standards of classroom behaviour. Mavis, Gail and Bernie were also sensitive to the emotional needs of their students, and were concerned about their students' home lives and their self-esteem. However, during class time the emphasis seemed to be on developing social and academic skills in their students.

What is worthy of note here is the way in which teachers on both the Primary Team and the Junior Team teachers involved students in activities which emphasized the

social, intellectual and academic aspects of student development in the classroom. At the same time, however, each of these teachers were actively involved in extra-curricular activities which catered to the development of more personal and affective needs. It is difficult to isolate the various needs of students and certainly invalid to suggest that teachers did so in terms of meeting these needs in the classroom. Nevertheless, during class time, most of the teachers on the two teams did focus on the development of academic, intellectual and social skills (i.e., listening, raising hands, etc.), while other activities outside of regular instructional time were aimed at personal and affective development. It would be fair to say, however, that the emotional development of students was at the forefront of teachers minds in their daily interactions with their students and helped them in their understandings of, and expectations for, each student. No teachers on either team articulated any position which I could interpret as an orientation to the child strictly in the role of student.

Variation and Conflict # 10: Individuals Within A Team Internal Control of Social Behaviour/External Control of Social Behaviour*

There was consistency across perspectives in terms of the belief that an internal locus of behavioural control was something which needed to be fostered in students. In particular, the school and the teams were consistent in the articulation of the need to develop a relationship built on respect between students and teachers and between students and students. Nevertheless, there was some variation in orientation among individuals on the Primary Team pertaining to the nature of the respect between students

and teacher. Gail was the only Primary Team teacher to make reference to a correlation between the development of a student/teacher relationship based on mutual respect and the development of an internal locus of control in students. She was emphatic about the ineffectiveness of the authoritarian teacher for the achievement of self-control. According to Gail, once this type of teacher was out of sight, students would have no reason to continue to behave appropriately. Conversely, Bernie believed that a “ little” power imbalance was necessary for behavioural control. And Mavis was uncertain about the benefits of, what she perceived to be, an eroding hierarchical structure in today’s schools. Bernie and Mavis’s views were somewhat compatible in that the power of the teacher was seen as necessary for controlling behaviour, implying a belief in students having an external locus of control.

Summary

There were seven types of variations in curriculum orientation addressed in the preceding discussion:

- i. Variation and Conflict # 2*: District and Teams
- ii. Variation # 3: District and Team
- iii. Variation and Conflict # 4*: District and Individual
- iv. Variation and Conflict # 5*: School and Teams
- v. Variation and Conflict # 7*: Individuals Within the School
- vi. Variation # 9: Team and Team
- vii. Variation and Conflict # 10*: Individuals Within a Team

Three types of variations were revealed whereby no individuals described value conflicts associated with the variations: Individuals within a Team pertaining to the development of

the whole child; Team and Team pertaining to control of students' social behaviour; and, District and Team pertaining to formal and informal evaluation.

Furthermore, teachers described value conflicts associated with four other variations in orientations: District and Teams pertaining to the uniqueness and similarities of learners; School and Team pertaining to social and individual learning environments; Individuals Within a Team pertaining to control of students' social behaviour; and, Individuals Within the School pertaining to students' social behaviour.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Professional and Leadership Cultures and Their Underlying Value Orientations: A Multi-perspective Comparative Analysis

This chapter addresses the underlying value orientations which manifested themselves in the professional and leadership cultures of Hillside Elementary School. Following the pattern of the preceding chapters, which examined beliefs about educational purpose and orientations to curriculum, this chapter presents a comparative analysis across several organizational perspectives (i.e., District, School, Teams, Individuals). The particular focus is the underlying value orientations reflected by the professional and leadership cultures of the school. From the perspective of the District, an analysis of district documents revealed the value orientations of the district in terms of what are desirable school cultures. The document analysis also provided insights into variations in orientations between the articulated District “ideal” and the manifested School “reality.” Furthermore the comparative analysis across several perspectives within the school underscores the challenge inherent in attempts to uncover and describe essentially abstract conceptions of school culture. Lastly, the analysis across perspectives also focused attention on the dynamic interplay of underlying value orientations of particular individuals and groups within an organization as they go about their daily activity.

As addressed in previous chapters, the culture of Hillside Elementary School was identified through an emergent process which began with an examination of orientations pertaining to: I. Educational Purpose; and, II. Curriculum. During this process, two additional major categories emerged as an outcome of the examination of document, interview and participant observation data and are labelled: III. Educator Professionalism; and, IV. Leadership. The key elements of the data characterizing each of these two categories and their subcategories are presented in Table 7.1 (see p. 216). It is important to acknowledge that, in presenting these categories and their subcategories, I do not suggest that this is an exhaustive or comprehensive list of professional and leadership characteristics. However, it is a list of those elements of professionalism and leadership that emerged through the data analysis. The data analysis is presented under these categories for each perspective in the following order: District; School; Primary Team; and Junior Team. Table 7.2 (see p. 217) displays the professional and leadership culture orientations emerging from the data and reflecting the perspectives of the District, the School, the Primary Team and the Junior Team. As was the case with Table 5.3, *Educational Purposes Across Perspectives* (see Chapter 5) and Table 6.2, *Curriculum Orientations Across Perspectives* (see Chapter 6), this table displays the data sources for arriving at these orientations: Document data are coded as D, interview data are coded as I and Observational data are coded as O. Where the data analysis provided information to suggest that there was an emphasis in orientation, then the data source is presented in bold lettering and underlined (e.g., Document data is coded as **D**).

Table 7.1

Professionalism And Leadership Cultures: Underlying Value Orientations**III. EDUCATOR PROFESSIONALISM****A. Collaboration**

- ▶ Collaboration (e.g., promotes collaborative cultures, developmental track - teachers collaborate to develop measurements for professional growth)
- ▶ Working together to achieve shared goals

B. Collegiality

- ▶ Collegiality (e.g., teachers engage in professional dialogue where their environment honours sharing, trust, risk taking, and respect)

C. Professional Growth

- ▶ Inservicing
- ▶ Peer Coaching (e.g., Developmental Track - teachers work with their coach to develop their Professional Growth Plan, structured professional dialogue)
- ▶ Mentoring (e.g., Developmental Track - involves mentors in collegial relationships)
- ▶ Formal Courses
- ▶ Action Research (teachers learn by becoming involved in their own inquiries)
- ▶ Planned Professional Growth (Indicators of Effective Teaching useful for developing a growth plan)
- ▶ Critical Reflection (Indicators of Effective Teaching useful for critical reflection)

IV. LEADERSHIP**A. Principal as Facilitator**

- ▶ encourages growth in teachers and students
- ▶ believes in shared decision making
- ▶ invites collaboration with staff
- ▶ shares power

B. Teacher Empowerment

- ▶ accepts responsibility for professional decisions and encourages others to share in decision-making process
- ▶ shares willingly in decision-making process
- ▶ values principal as facilitator
- ▶ works toward school improvement and takes part in developing school vision

C. Community as Partner

- ▶ Enriches Learning Environment (e.g., guests, parents, volunteers)
- ▶ School/Community Partnership (e.g., school councils, business partnerships, police services, libraries)

Table 7.2
 Professional and Leadership Cultures Across Perspectives

| VALUE ORIENTATIONS | DIST | SCH | PRIMARY TEAM | | | | JUNIOR TEAM | |
|---|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|------|-------|-----|-------------|--------|
| | | | Bernie | Gail | Mavis | Ted | Ester | Louise |
| PROFESSIONAL & LEADERSHIP CULTURES | | | | | | | | |
| <i>III. Educator Professionalism</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Collaboration | <u>D</u> | <u>D I O</u> | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O |
| Collegiality | <u>D</u> | <u>D I O</u> | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O |
| Professional Growth | <u>D</u> | <u>D I O</u> | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O |
| <i>IV. Leadership</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Principal as Facilitator | D | <u>D I O</u> | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O | I O |
| Teacher Empowerment | D | D I O | I O | O | O | O | I O | I O |
| Community as Partner | D | <u>D I O</u> | I | I | I | I | I O | I O |

D=Documents

I=Interviews

O=Observations

Bold Underlined Letter Indicates Strong Orientation (i.e., **D**; **I**; **O**)

III. Educator Professionalism

Three subcategories emerged from this data which may be described as relating to educator or teacher professionalism:

- A. Collaboration
- B. Collegiality
- C. Professional Growth

A. Educator Professionalism: Collaboration

Data which suggested the importance of teachers working together, sharing knowledge, contributing ideas and developing plans for the purpose of achieving educational and organizational goals (Cavanagh & Dellar, 1996) were interpreted as valuing a collaborative culture.

Educator Professionalism: Collaboration - District

The District documents examined contained the following references to collaboration, indicating that collaboration was valued as a means to foster teacher development:

- a collaborative culture affects teacher growth (AT&DT, p. 26)
- teachers participate in program and instructional planning with colleagues (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 9)

Educator Professionalism: Collaboration - School

Collaboration took various forms at Hillside Elementary School. However the two most notable forms were centred around team teaching and the committee structure.

i. Team Teaching

Principal Butler was a firm believer in team teaching for many reasons, one of which was because he saw it as a means to enrich the educational program through teachers sharing their ideas and pooling their strengths. As he put it, "If you're good at

mathematics and I'm good at music, I don't think I should necessarily do your music, but I should certainly help you."

The staff handbook provided a clear outline of what why teaming was important:

- often a sense of loneliness prevails in self-contained classroom when a teacher lacks stimulating contact with another teacher; team teaching breaks down the walls of instructional isolation and invites the capabilities and efforts of several teachers to focus on common instructional concerns (Staff Handbook, p. 15)
- teaming is not a curriculum but a process to present curriculum which demands co-operation

Team teaching was not something that just happened when teachers were put together but required commitment and planning:

- teams are expected to hold weekly planning meetings and share a common budget (Staff Handbook, p. 14)
- an effective team member: puts forth vigorous effort and encourages others to join in; gets group back track when they wander; clarifies problems or issues when members are unclear; confronts ideas and individuals (e.g., "I don't agree with you - here's why."); summarizes from time to time "Here is where we are now."

Principal Butler felt that the teaching teams varied in terms of how well they were collaborating:

I see very few [teachers] who don't have the best interests of the children at heart [but] right now I don't see a lot of teams functioning too well. Probably the grade --s have the strongest team situation. Grade --s do some of it but not a lot. They had come in gung ho this year. They did so much planning ahead of time before they had the children, and when the children came they said, "This isn't going to work." And that is a struggle that they are trying to skirt around rather than deal with.

The principal was quite right in his estimation that team teaching was not functioning uniformly throughout the school. In my discussions with various teachers in the school there were varied opinions as to the benefits of teaming. One teacher who was a member of a four-teacher junior team demonstrated mixed feelings about it:

Oh, don't talk to me about team teaching. Decision making gets centralized. You lose your autonomy to a certain extent. However, you also get to share your ideas, so the program becomes enriched.

Another teacher who was also a member of a junior team explained why some teachers have a difficulty with the collaboration required in team teaching:

For them, some have to sit, explain and listen. It can be boring and time consuming. The decision making process is complex. You have to be sure that people are happy with the decision. As long as people buy into the system they are willing to make the time commitment and concessions. I wanted to be a part of a team. However, some people were already here and were forced to be on a team. Therefore, they may not be happy with giving the amount of time and effort that team teaching requires – having to check with other people, the ramifications of their decisions for other people, and so on.

There seemed to be at least three responses by individuals in the school to team teaching: i. One response was enthusiasm, nourished by a firm belief that this was the best instructional process, a belief which was also borne out in terms of the overall personal and professional benefits; ii. Another response was a belief that there are advantages and disadvantages to team teaching, and an appreciation that it places added demands on teachers; and iii. Finally, some individuals manifested an ambivalence toward the benefits of team teaching for students and teachers.

ii. Committee Structure

The second form of collaboration manifested itself through the committee structure. According to the school handbook, the following committees were in place: Literacy; Math; Technology; Arts; Sports; Life Skills; Environmental Studies; Social; and,

School. Vice-principal Brown explained how the committee structure allowed teachers to collaboratively manage, plan and share the workload for a more efficient school:

The committees are a structure for the teacher and they sort of run the full range from academic to social. What it does is it's really helpful to manage all the stuff that comes in the school that needs to be managed or planned for, and so professional development for teachers can be planned out of that. And it really distributes the workload. And actually it's wonderful to have a school where you have enough people to do that kind of thing because all of that comes into a smaller school but you don't have the opportunities to manage it as efficiently.

One teacher stated that the previous year a few teachers were doing “all the work” and so the conveners approached the principal and vice principal to suggest setting up committees. The teacher added, “Now, everyone has to be on two committees.” Teachers were permitted to choose the two committees on which they wanted to serve.

Many teachers had mixed feelings about the effectiveness of the committee structure. Several teachers expressed dismay about the workload and others were frustrated with the rigidity of the committee structure. There was no room for the kind of spontaneity and creativity which usually comes out of teachers doing things purely out of interest throughout the year.

Educator Professionalism: Collaboration - Primary Team

Collaboration was also apparent within the Primary Team through team teaching and the committee structure.

i. Team Teaching

Whereas the Primary Team teachers felt that team teaching had benefits for teachers and students, they felt that the amount of collaboration required put considerable demands on teachers, particularly when the team was comprised of more than two teachers. As Gail stated:

I think it's the absolutely best way to teach but we've all agreed that three is too many and four is not workable. The only way you could do it is if there were two and two and then you brought together the two pairs into a foursome.

Mavis expressed a similar position when she stated that team teaching was “great in a lot of ways but when there are four teachers there are just too many.” She added that when she had team taught before she and the teacher had been “in sync,” whereas now there were so many of them that the “coordination takes over your life.”

Bernie added further insight into how the planning and coordinating that went into team teaching could become a lengthy process:

Down side, you have to spend too much time planning and someone like me who talks and thinks everything so much, I drive them crazy, you know, meetings have to go too long. And for me, the opposite drives me crazy. I find it really hard to make a flip decision.

ii. Committee Structure

Gail had strong misgivings about the effectiveness of the committees in terms of helping teachers become more collaborative as a staff:

I don't like it at all. I don't think what Mark wanted to address, he's not addressing, which is people that never do anything. And so he's trying to force everybody, trying to mandate committee work and I just find that

you end up, the end result is exactly the same as every school everyone's worked in. Even though they're on a committee, that doesn't mean that when a job comes up they're going to be the ones to do it. And I find that the committees are so big - I mean there are 43 people on staff so every committee has about 8 or 9 people. So it's still pretty big. You can still be anonymous and still shirk all your responsibility and I find that there's always a small group of people that are go-getters that do everything and I don't find that any different here.

Gail felt, instead of having organized committees as such whereby the same couple of people would be doing the work even though there were a larger number of people on the committee, that the principal should be able to step in and say, "You know, I want to see different people running this project." But I don't think that will happen because it's a committee and they'll have to decide together.

Educator Professionalism: Collaboration - Junior Team

Collaboration was also apparent within the Junior Team through Team Teaching and their work in the Committee Structure.

i. Team Teaching

Ester felt very comfortable with the way she and Louise collaborated. She suggested that one of the reasons they worked so well together was because there was only two of them. Technically there were four teachers on the team, however the other two members were not in close proximity to Ester and Louise. Therefore they did not collaborate as a foursome on a daily basis. She explained why she felt it would have been more difficult had they been functioning as a team of four:

I've been in a group of four on a daily basis and it's just tough getting all, I mean, you spend ninety percent of the time just making sure everybody knows what's going on and at times somebody forgets to tell somebody something and it gets confusing. I think a team of two or three works better.

Ester went on to say that when you get a couple of people that work really well together “they can almost read each other’s thoughts.

Louise concurred with Ester’s views on why they collaborated so well as a team:

I think because Ester and I are basically in here and the two others are out in the portables, if it's a matter of classroom expectations or behaviour, we're not directly affected [in terms of the four teachers]. Ester and I do have to agree on things and we really do. . . . Sometimes we overreact and sometimes we under react. But I think on the whole we're pretty good about keeping on an even keel with one another, and I think it's working pretty well.

Overall, Ester felt that teaming was worth it but she was not blind to the amount of collaboration that it required to work well, even with just two teachers on a team:

When you're working with 50 kids as opposed to 25 that's 50 parents that you need to communicate with so we both have to sit in on the interviews and be there at report card and interview time. Sometimes there's a lot more organization and it's a little more difficult to coordinate it all, so that can be another area of frustration. But I find that for the most part that it's very rewarding.

ii. Committee Structure

Louise was aware that there were variations in attitudes towards the committee structure and that some teachers were “grumbling” because they were busier this year with running meetings. However, she explained that it was the first year for trying it and she

felt that as they worked through it they would come to realize that it was only certain times of the year that certain committees would be busy. She explained it this way:

For example, the school committee, its busy time is in June when they have to make all the decisions for the following year, when all the dates will be and how many kids will be in each classroom and which teachers will teach those classes. But I'm on the Arts committee right now and it's kept me very busy, especially right now with this upcoming concert. I'm trying to change art work and all the rest of it, and again, I'm doing auditions for next year's performance. But, you know, it'll quiet down after the performance is over and then we'll get back into it and when it's time for the spring concert again, it'll be busy.

Louise felt that it was a very equitable way of getting teachers to work collaboratively. She believed that just going through the experience this year would help them learn and perhaps next year there might be some changes made.

I think what we need to look at is what committees are the very busy committees and what committees are not and try and get everybody on one committee that's not as hectic and one committee that does have a lot of work to sort of even it out.

B. Educator Professionalism: Collegiality

Collegiality in a school has been described as interaction between individuals where the interrelationships are characterized by honesty, trust, rapport and respect, a willingness to participate in group activities and a collegial bonding (Cavanagh & Dellar, 1996; Lieberman, 1988; Hargreaves, 1994).

Educator Professionalism: Collegiality - District

The following statements are representative of the District's perspective on the importance of teacher collegiality:

- Teachers Interact Positively with Staff and contribute to colleagues (Indicators of Effective Teaching, pp. 9-15):
 - shares time and expertise with colleagues
 - welcomes and helps colleagues new to the school or department
 - supports school-wide activities
 - cooperates with and assists the principal
 - participates in professional development activities and shares information
- Teachers engage in professional dialogue when their environment honours sharing, trust, and risk taking (DT&T, p. 41)
- celebrate and share your growth with staff, students and parents (Development Track and Administrative Track, p. 51)

Hence, a collegial culture is one whereby administration and staff cooperate, participate and share in an atmosphere of trust and support.

Educator Professionalism: Collegiality - School

Principal Butler drew attention to the interrelatedness of collegiality and collaboration in that he felt that a team had to be based on a strong interpersonal relationship of “honesty and trust.” Vice-principal Brown added that collegial relationships were fostered in a team when the members of the team shared a “philosophy about children and how you teach children and how you discipline.” There needed to be “compatibility because they can be very destructive if somebody is really heavy handed and somebody else wants to know what caused that, [and wanted] to look at it in the larger scheme of what to do with something like that.” As Vice-principal Brown put it, “There’s nothing worse than a dysfunctional team relationship where everybody’s at odds all the time.” She felt that since collegiality, that is a relationship built on honesty and trust, was fostered by shared beliefs about teaching, then it was important to match team members in terms of these shared beliefs. The matching, according to the vice principal,

allowed the team to be stronger because “when you’ve matched and you’ve chosen and you’re solid then it’s another level of team, like, it’s really a meshed team in terms of thinking and beliefs and how you operate.”

During my visit at Hillside Elementary School, teachers were requested to complete a Team Development survey. Items on this survey, such as the following, suggested the importance of collegial relationships for the development of strong team:

- to what extent do I feel a real part of the team
- how safe is it in this team to be at ease, relaxed, and myself
- to what extent do I have private thoughts, unspoken reservations, or unexpressed feelings and opinions that I have not felt comfortable bringing out in the open?

Also, the staff handbook suggested that team partners grew professionally while being mutually supportive.

Collegial relationships in the school were emphasized in terms of teaming relationships. However, there was an effort by some in the school to foster collegial relations in the staff as a whole. Whereas there were plenty of informal opportunities outside of organized, formal meetings in the daily *classroom* situation for Hillside staff to socialize as teams, there appeared to be fewer occasions whereby the *staff* met informally as a group. The staff room, as already addressed, was frequently used during the day for educational activities by teachers and students. However, outside of the group of teachers who used it for a lunchroom each day, the staff room was underutilized as an informal gathering spot. To encourage socialization among the teachers, the school’s social committee initiated a Friday treat day whereby each week a different group of selected teachers would bring food to share with the entire staff at recess time. An announcement

would be made each Friday inviting teachers to gather in the staff room. This was considered to be an opportunity which would foster the interpersonal relationships of teachers at Hillside. On a more informal basis, on Friday of each week fifteen to twenty teachers would gather at a nearby mall for lunch. I observed teachers use this time to share both personal and professional stories.

Educator Professionalism: Collegiality - Primary Team

Ted felt that collegial relations, particularly within a team, required a relationship among the teachers built on trust and honesty. As he explained it:

You have to have people that are comfortable coming up and saying, 'you know what, you made a heck of a lot of noise today. Is there any way we can work that out?' and realize that they're not knocking you for making noise because that's what you had to do - but work it out. That's part of the comfort level.

Indeed trust, or lack of it, among team members seemed to be what one of the Primary

Team teachers was talking about here when she described this problem:

And now where there's four of us it also means that social relationships happen. So if one teacher and I talk about something, another one feels left out. If two others do something, I feel left out. One teacher and I often get into conflicts and the others are in the middle and that's awful. So that's also hard, when you have a team, you have social relationships, and that can be really difficulty to mix personalities.

According to another teacher on the Primary Team, fostering collegial relationships among teachers in the school was problematic because of the teaming structure. She felt that Principal Butler, in promoting the teams, contributed to the “downfall of the rest of the school.” She felt that the staff was a good one, but that emphasis on the teaming

aspect created “pockets.” She described the isolating effect that that had on their team at the beginning of the school year.

The first month and a half we didn't talk to anyone else except the four of us. Like we never went out of the room and we ate lunch at our desks and we'd do everything in here. And even the principal and vice principal, I've never had so little contact with them and again, with it being such a big school. The teams seem to be so self-sufficient that it doesn't lend itself to the bigger picture. If there's a problem on your team you need to go somewhere else for support. If you haven't built any relationships with anybody else, it's very difficult.

Educator Professionalism: Collegiality - Junior Team

Ester also spoke about the importance of trust for collegial relations within a teaching team. As she explained, “There’s a lot of communication that has to happen and trust that the person is communicating what they say they’re communicating.” Both Ester and Louise felt that they could be honest with each other. However they also felt that since they had similar expectations for their students in terms of behaviour and academic outcomes, then this made it easier for them to be trustworthy and honest with each other. As Louise pointed out, “You need to find someone you can click with.” She described an earlier teaming experience whereby she worked with individuals with whom she had not been happy to be working. Not that they were “bad” teachers, but because their expectations and views were very different from her own.

With regard to collegiality among teachers on a staff -wide basis, Ester provided several insights. She believed that staff collegiality had deteriorated since she had first come to the school. There was a time when at “8:30 every morning you’d go down to the staff room and have coffee around the table.” And at recess time “you would not miss

going in there because there were so many jokesters.” She was quick to point out that this was not a negative reflection on the group of people that were there presently, because many of them still liked to joke around and were professional in their interactions with each other. But teachers did not voluntarily go to the staff room anymore. Ester was not sure why this was so, but believed that it might have been due to the increase in student and teacher population. She felt that with the larger group there were fewer opportunities for contact. In addition to the increased number of teachers, the workload had increased:

Even recess time, I mean, most of the teachers that I have been with are doing things at recess time. Like it's not the teaching part that's gotten any harder but it's all the documentation, the paper work, the requirements of things that have to be done and the things that the principal wants us to do, it's just growing and growing and growing so what do you cut, you cut your recess. You don't get a break in the day. For three months Louise and I had one day where we've been able to sit down and have coffee together so we could sit and plan. Well we don't do that, we plan on the fly and it's a good thing that we think alike and have sort of the same ideas because you'd never get it to work.

Ester agreed that the teams may have contributed to the apparent weakening of staff collegiality in that some teams were self-sufficient. Louise had a similar position:

I think that there are some teams that have become very close and have sort of included a few members of the staff so that there's almost like a little clique and it's almost a little group of students, teachers that have become like their own little clique. And when you teach on a staff this large people are going to form different friendships with different groups so you're going to see those differences. I think we have a long way to go on this staff to become a staff that, not only do we work in teams, but that you [belong to a larger] group.

Ester believed that the committee structure contributed to school wide collegiality in that it provided a way to penetrate strong, self-sufficient teams. In other words, teachers were not stuck in their own little group because “you had to go out and interact with other

segments and everybody has to be on two committees and you're responsible for reporting back."

C. Educator Professionalism: Professional Growth

Professional growth is said to be fostered when there is a commitment to professional learning which involves a willingness to engage in self reflection and critically examine current practices, a desire to pursue opportunities to develop new understandings about curriculum and instruction, and a belief in the need to improve (Cavanagh & Dellar, 1996). The data analysis demonstrated that there was commitment to professional growth from all perspectives, but there were differences across perspectives in what aspect of professional growth was emphasized.

Educator Professionalism: Professional Growth - District

The following categories emerged as what the district considered to be important to professional growth:

i. Professional Growth Plan

Planned professional growth was a high priority with the District. According to the documents examined, teachers were expected to use a variety of sources, especially the district prepared "Indicators of Effective Teaching," to help them develop their plan. Goals, objectives, and indicators were to help teachers "focus their thinking on improving their professional practice" (Development Track and Administrative Track, p. 18).

ii. Peer Coaching & Mentoring

Another means to developing teacher professionalism included peer coaching because “professional dialogue groups don’t just happen; they must be structured” (DT&T, p. 42). Coaching relationships were considered to be a vital part of improving teaching performance, and consequently, student achievement (AT&DT, p. 59). Peer coaching was conducive to helping teachers develop, implement and review their Professional Growth Plan (DT&T, p. 23).

Apart from structured dialogue in the form of peer coaching, mentoring was also viewed as a means to achieve professional goals (AT, DT, p. 2).

iii. Critical Reflection

Critical reflection was considered a necessary part of the professional growth process, but first of all teachers needed “an awareness and an understanding of appropriate programming and teaching strategies” (AT&DT) to aid critical reflective thinking. Teachers were encouraged to use “Indicators of Effective Teaching as a guide for reflection on professional practice” (AT&DT).

iv. Action Research

Teachers were encouraged to participate in “action research” and become involved “in their own inquiries in their classrooms and schools” (Development Track and Administrative Track, p. 36).

Educator Professionalism: Professional Growth - School

The following categories emerged from the perspective of the School as what was considered important to professional growth.

i. Peer Coaching & Mentoring

Principal Butler believed in the value of peer coaching and saw teaming as being one means to fostering this kind of professional development. The vice principal offered further support for team teaching along these lines in that she felt that teaming provided a built-in support system whereby teachers would have someone they could “run things by” and get immediate “feedback and input from somebody else [when dealing] with difficult students.” Interestingly the team that the principal saw as being the one that was functioning “best” in the school had described how they had learned from each other through their team teaching. One them stated:

I found a real benefit in that this is my first year in a classroom and I felt like a first year teacher coming into the classroom. I was really not sure exactly how grade Xs learn. I've never been full-time in the classroom and I found I learned so much and I don't think I could do that going into a classroom and being in a closed room. I don't think I would learn nearly as much.

A beginning teacher had similar views on the value of peer coaching in a teaming situation. She felt, “seeing experienced teachers in action helps you know that you are on track.”

ii. Critical Reflection

According to the staff handbook (p. 15), “teaming affords teachers the opportunities to reflect on, to reassess, and to expand professional practices.” One

teacher described how a team of teachers with a good professional relationship would practice critical reflection in the process of teaming. Critical reflection would come from “bouncing stuff off each other and the change of ideas.”

There was evidence of critical reflective thinking in informal gatherings as well. For example, the teachers who did gather for lunch either in the staff room or on Fridays at the mall were frequently engaged in professional discussions which led them to question their practices. On one such occasion during the week of parent/teacher interviews, one teacher reported a parent confessing that she was “disappointed in the Canadian school system.” This prompted an airing of teacher views on the advantages and disadvantages of team teaching.

iii. Inservicing

Principal Butler felt that team building was important; however, it did not just “happen.” Whereas Hillside staff had been involved in a team building program at the end of the previous year, he wasn’t sure that it had been “carried through.” The problem in that was that they had had “few professional development days” and he “wrestle[d] with how you provide the professional development.” He was aware that some of his colleagues in other schools held regular professional development after school. While Hillside Elementary teachers were involved in after school literacy professional development, the principal was reluctant to impose more professional development of this type as many teachers were already working at the school late into the evening.

Educator Professionalism: Professional Growth - Primary Team

The following categories emerged from the perspective of the Primary Team as significant to professional growth.

i. Critical Reflection

All teachers on the Primary Team demonstrated critical reflective thinking in discussions about their teaching. Gail described how she often changed her ideas about discipline from year to year. As she explained it, “Through experience you can see what’s working and what’s not.” Ted supported this view that teaching practices should change through thinking about what works and what doesn’t work. As he suggested, “We know very little about what we’re doing.” Consequently, “to resist change is to say that we have a utopia. Well we don’t have a utopia and we’ve got a lot of learning still that has to be done.” Bernie suggested that critical thinking is not something that adults learn very easily:

I think critical thinking is very hard to teach when you’re an adult. I think I’m a critical thinker because my parents taught me to be a critical thinker and I think I was kind of born that way.

Furthermore, her experience informed her that critical thinking needed to be modeled in a school. She explained her reasoning as follows:

The only time I’ve ever seen change in colleagues to do critical thinking is when you’re constantly modeling critical thinking, not because you’re trying to change them but just because you are [a critical thinker], and you’re going out on a limb because they’re maybe gonna hate you.

What Bernie was referring to here was her experience with changing racist attitudes in teachers by constantly questioning common teaching practices.

ii. Formal Courses

Mavis was completing a masters program and attended evening classes once a week. The course work involved a lot of reading and writing assignments which demanded a considerable amount of her time each week.

Educator Professionalism: Professional Growth - Junior Team

Three categories emerged from the perspective of the Junior Team which were related to the professional growth of teachers.

i. Professional Growth Plan

Louise drew attention to the need for *planned* professional growth. She believed, like others did, that although teaming was essentially a good thing, the promotion of team “spirit” was at the expense of developing a collegial and collaborative staff. Part of the reason for this was because with such a large staff it was inevitable that there would be different expectations:

I don't think we've really sat down and decided that. We have sat down and decided that this is what we want as a school but I don't think we've all got into it yet. We sat down and tried to come up with areas that we as a school wanted to work on, improve, develop, but again people didn't really agree where we were headed. There are a lot of people that are frustrated and, you know, it's a new process.

Inasmuch as Ester felt that planned professional growth to be important, she realized the magnitude of the task of fostering a collegiality and collaborativeness in a staff that was constantly changing:

Well I think if Mark [the principal] could get a staff that would stick together - now, you're always going to lose a few teachers here and there - and sort of develop a little more collegiality between the teams, that we are a staff. But then again, you have teachers that are coming and going because of parental leaves and leaves of absence and sick leaves and so it's very large and I'm not sure how it will ever work.

ii. Peer Coaching and Mentoring

Both Ester and Louise saw the value of team teaching for learning from their peers. Ester's first teaching experience was in a team arrangement and she described the "big, open area" where there were "four or five of them, and I could see the different styles that they used and the different things that they tried." Ester stated that she had done a lot of observation and remembered how she learned how to deal with various classroom situations:

I wasn't overwhelmed with having my own class at the time which I think is tough for a new teacher to come in and get thrown into a new class and I had that whole year to see how teachers deal with certain types of kids, certain situations, the whole gambit, and I sort of felt confident that I could do it myself using some of the techniques that they did.

Louise described how teaming with Ester provided them with opportunities to learn from each other:

Well, with my teaching partner and I, she has strengths in areas, for example, in the science area, that I don't have. That's not the stronger point of my program. My strength is in the arts and the drama, that side of it. It's almost like a professional development, I see the things that she's doing, she sees the things that I'm doing and then, if we're not teaching together next year, I'll remember when she did that. And so that's very nice.

iii. Action Research/Formal Courses

Louise explained how she incorporated research with the students in her classroom in a research project for a university course she was doing “to see the effect of drama/music on writing.” She was planning to examine the process and the results. Louise was also enrolled in a masters program and was currently completing the last course and contemplating what kind of research she would do for the thesis.

IV. Leadership

Three subcategories emerged from the data analysis which may be described as pertaining to leadership:

- A. Principal as Facilitator
- B. Teacher Empowerment
- C. Community as Partner

A. Leadership: Principal as Facilitator

School principals who encourage the professional growth of colleagues, support the ideas of shared planning and decision making, and attempt to share power by encouraging teachers to exercise their professional judgement and accept responsibility for the educational and organizational goals of the school, are considered to be facilitators in the educational process (Cavanagh & Dellar, 1996).

Leadership: Principal as Facilitator - District

According to District documents examined, the principal's role in the school should be that of facilitator:

- administrators facilitate project success (Development Track and Administrative Track, p. 26)
- administrators facilitate teachers working together (Development Track and Administrative Track, p. 26)
- facilitate collegial relationships, support involvement in professional activities (Development Track and Administrative Track, p. 12)

Leadership: Principal as Facilitator - School

Principal Butler felt that he facilitated children's learning at Hillside Elementary School through facilitating teachers' growth:

I want to see growth in everyone. And sometimes I find that people are satisfied with where they are and that's where they want to stay. I really try to work with those people to show them there are areas they have to look at in order to grow. My feeling is if I do a good job at my level then that filters down to the children.

The principal felt that it was a challenge to be a facilitative leader in that staff members had different expectations for the principal's role. With regards to the frustrations some teachers were having with the committee structure, and considering how some teachers felt compelled to be on the committees and participate in the clubs, he tried to make it clear to them that the committee structure was something that had been initiated by staff. It was incumbent upon teachers themselves to make decisions about whether or not they had time to serve on committees:

And that's the struggle that I have with administration in that you have power simply by the position that you are in. And this staff still, I find it usually takes about three or four years before the staff learns to trust you enough so they can come and say, 'This is stupid. Why are we doing this?' Some of them are at that stage and some have worked with me before so they have no problems coming to me. But others think they've got to do it [serve on committees] because, and yet it [committee structure] wasn't a decision I made, it was a decision staff made. But that's the struggle that we go through.

Principal Butler was correct in that teachers differed in their interpretation of his role as facilitator. For example, one teacher believed that shared decision-making was considered important by the principal:

Now with Mark, his approach is much more team based, much more team building going on. When I started I suggested we have a [particular] committee and no one had even thought of a committee. They never had committees before. Now we have committees for just about everything. So hopefully that sort of spreads the decision-making amongst everybody and it also makes sure that everybody has an opportunity to be part of the decision-making in some capacity.

Another teacher, however, quipped the following in response to my question about where the treats came from during recess one Friday: "They come from us. There's a list. It's very structured. Everything's structured around here." The nature and tone of the response suggested that this teacher felt that there was no choice about participating in this activity.

It seemed that teachers may have been getting mixed messages with regards to serving on committees. There may not have been overt pressure from the administrators in the school regarding committee responsibilities. However, it was clear in the staff handbook what the expectation was:

- it is expected that all staff will share in extra curricular clubs, groups and curriculum responsibilities. Ideally each staff should be on two committees with a major (chair) and minor (committee member) responsibility (Staff Handbook, p. 7)

The committee structure, therefore, was initiated by the staff and endorsed by the administrators. However, what is not clear is just how many teachers shared a belief in the effectiveness of this type of arrangement.

Leadership: Principal as Facilitator - Primary Team

The Primary Team teachers were unanimous in their belief that Principal Butler was approachable and open to staff input. One example of this was when, at the beginning of the year, Mark would vary the public announcements routine. The Primary Team teachers felt that this confused their students, whom they believed needed regular routines to help them adjust to school life. They met with the principal, discussed their concerns and the morning announcements were routinized to their satisfaction. With regard to the Primary Team teachers' concerns about the younger children serving detention, they opted not to discuss it with Mark. They did not raise this concern with him because they felt that it was better to have consistency rather than different consequences for the primary students and the junior students. Nevertheless, they felt that if they had met with the principal, then he would have been understanding and perhaps a change would have been made.

However, similar to other teachers' views at Hillside, one of the Primary Team teachers felt that Mark should have been a little more directive in encouraging all teachers to collaborate and share the workload. With regards to the getting teachers to participate

in the clubs, she felt that the sign-up sheet method that they were presently using was fine. However, the names of those teachers who were already on committees that were very demanding should not be put on the list, or at the very least, the names of those teachers who were not busy should be put on the top of the list. As she put it:

So I think that would be a perfect way, if Mark's wanting to get people out and do more, have more supervision from the staff, especially from the people that don't do anything, that would be the perfect opportunity to look at the staff list, see how many people you have and then start crossing off, 'Okay, Victoria's doing music, so and so does this, Margie's doing checkers. So the ones that are left are divided up. These are the ones that are expected to do the extra things.

This Primary Team teacher realized, however, that these activities were extra-curricular, required voluntary help and, therefore, could not be mandated. Still, she felt that it was something that the principal needed to explore with the staff.

Leadership: Principal as Facilitator - Junior Team

Louise and Ester felt that Hillside Elementary's principal sought staff input and valued shared decision making. Louise described it this way:

I think for the most part Mark goes to the staff, asks their opinion, listens to the feedback from the conveners who are often sent out to find out how the staff feels. The conveners bring it back to him and then he sort of will make a decision. If we haven't been able to come to a decision ourselves often he has to make the decision. I think he very much wants it to be staff decisions, things that we have agreed to and, again, it's difficult to get 100% agreement on anything.

Whereas Ester agreed with Louise that the principal believed in cultivating a collaborative relationship with staff and was committed to shared decision making, she felt that he should be more directive in the decision-making process. Ester felt the lengthy process

that was involved in getting staff input on all decision making was time-consuming and non-productive and, therefore, should be the responsibility of the principal:

Some of those little things, that's why Mark's here, make those decisions, inform me, that's fine. Other things, yes, maybe then I do want to have input. But that's a tough call. What I think I want input on, maybe somebody else doesn't care about. But there has to be, you have to draw that line and say, 'I'm the principal. I'll make a decision on this one.' Because otherwise you end up with way, way too much input. You can't get forty people to agree.

As Ester put it, "They've been given the training and the job, so make the decision personally." The principal should be guided by the question, "Is this something you [I] need staff input on or is this something that I'll make the decision and inform them?"

B. Leadership: Teacher Empowerment

Teacher empowerment occurs when teachers willingly accept invitations to share in the planning, organizing and implementing processes that go into achieving educational and organizational goals (Cavanagh & Dellar, 1996). Teachers who feel empowered have some sense of sharing control over what takes place in the classroom and school.

Leadership: Teacher Empowerment - District

The following statement suggests that leadership in the school rests primarily with the principal:

- the teacher cooperates with and assists the principal (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 9)

Nevertheless, it was a District expectation that teachers share accountability in "achieving system goals and objectives" (Strategic Directional Statements, 1995-98). Also, teachers

were expected to participate in program and instructional planning with colleagues and support school-wide activities. Administrators were encouraged to facilitate teacher collaboration and collegiality.

Leadership: Teacher Empowerment - School

One teacher explained the process of decision making, and the extent to which the teachers were involved in the process at Hillside Elementary:

Well, I think we arrive at a consensus the way any group of thirty would, with a lot of difficulty and a lot of discussion. There will always be some people who go away disappointed at the outcome but we have to go on a democratic system. We like to, we get all the ideas out, sort of an open forum, just to say what you feel and we tend to tabulate those and then they're brought to maybe a smaller committee to make the final decision. Those decisions are made, implemented, the school committee makes a decision, then they bring it back to staff for confirmation and if there's any concerns that are brought up at that point then we can modify the staff decision as a whole.

Several teachers in the school acknowledged that they were part of the decision making process. They expressed satisfaction in that they had participated in the decisions about the composition of their teaching teams. The principal felt that teachers should be empowered to make decisions, and that they should be accountable for these decisions.

Team teaching was one way in which teachers could be held accountable:

Some of them [teachers] have never had to be accountable to anybody else for what they do. I think that they should be accountable because I'm not going to be in there all the time. Parents are not going to be in there all the time. . . .A plus that comes out of teaming is that those who tend to sit back aren't allowed to do that.

It would seem that the principal's belief was that the more involved teachers became involved with each other, the more collaboration that went on, and the more teachers

shared in the decision making process, whether on a classroom team, or on a school committee, then the more likely teacher accountability for students' learning would be to each other and not to administration or some other external source.

One teacher held a similar view regarding the accountability aspect that was inherent in the structure of the committees at Hillside. That is, by its very nature, committees imposed accountability on teachers. This was considered to be important for those teachers who did not voluntarily accept the full responsibility that went with being a teacher:

It's more structured here each year that I've been here. I'm a firm believer in that, because there's a great variation of commitment from next to zero to what do you want me to do next? Some people say they love their job and other people, it is a job and that's it. We have people on staff that are not here after the kids are allowed to leave and a couple of those do not even come in early in the morning but that's all, only a few. I think they need the recognition and I do think they need the structure.

However, this teacher felt also that administrators should take a more directive role in the decision-making process:

I think there has to be a certain amount of very specific direction because many people want it and there's a few that need it. . . .I think a lot of it should be structured. There should be specific directions. I fully expect them [administrators] to take some initiative and some direction or force direction. Those people are making \$100,000. They are responsible for us. They are responsible for students. The only thing is with administration, I'd like the option of having some input and if it comes down to a bottom line and I still have to do this, that's fine, but you know where I stand on it.

There were indications of other teachers in the school who felt that the principal should be more directive in the school, especially when teachers were experiencing problems in

making decisions. One example of this was when the teachers at Hillside had to develop their own preparation time schedule. One teacher described the scene:

They [school committee] put up this big chart paper and 40 teachers went in with stickies and put up what they wanted or whatever and if you had a really strong team, not even team, team member, individuals who wouldn't budge and they wouldn't listen to you. . . . It was very difficult and it was the end of last year and people were shutting down mentally and then this came up. It was really tooth and nail and it was difficult. We didn't get what we wanted [preparation periods] in the first place so we made some changes within ourselves.

When questioned about this process, another teacher replied, "I think the administration should actually block times, like, the grade 1s should be here, the grade 2s, 3s, 4s, 5s should be there, etc." In other words, this teacher felt that the administrators at Hillside should have taken a more directive role in the planning of the preparation period schedule. Still another teacher agreed, stating, "I would have liked it if the administration got more involved." However, she understood that "they were trying to let us do the decision making which is excellent, but the frustration level was high on the staff."

Leadership: Teacher Empowerment - Primary Team

As stated, according to the principal, one of the benefits of teaming was that it placed accountability in the hands of the teachers themselves. Instead of only being accountable in an external sense, accountability would be part and parcel of the everyday teaching experience in that teachers would hold each other responsible for teaching and learning. As earlier addressed, Ted suggested, as did others at Hillside Elementary, that a workable team teaching relationship was possible only if the teaming arrangement was built on honesty and trust. However, for teachers who set high expectations for

themselves, and for those who wanted others to think of them highly, exposing themselves on a daily basis was stressful. When describing feelings associated with an incident whereby she became frustrated with a student one day and shouted at him, Bernie raised issues of control, trust and honesty associated with the dynamics of teachers working together and being accountable to one another:

For me I want control over that image [of herself as a teacher]. It's not that I don't want anyone to know, but I want control over it in the sense that I want Mark [the principal] to know that I lose control. I want him to know that I do it and that it's not okay and I want to laugh about it with him because I want him to know me as a person and I want to build my trust with him and I know that you have to disclose these things. But I don't want him to catch me. Do you know what I mean? I want me to decide when I'm going to tell him. I want to know when I tell it I control that it's funny. I control who heard it.

Not only was Bernie reticent about displaying her perceived imperfections as a teacher to the principal, but she had misgivings about presenting them to her team members as well.

And Mavis and I are more competitive with each other than either of us are with Gail, because both of us are similar in the sense that we have very high expectations of ourselves. So, for instance, I don't want Mavis to know those things about me. I don't want her to know I yelled at Ronnie and I probably wouldn't tell those stories very often in front of her. And if I did I would probably be even more hilarious about it. Or stressing more how I know how bad it is - that's my little flaw.

Considering that Bernie worked on a daily basis in a teaming relationship with three other teachers, this type of stress would have been frequent in light of her admission that she wanted to control her image, was competitive with at least one team member and held extremely high expectations for herself as a teacher. Without a team relationship built solidly on honesty and trust, this teacher was not comfortable with being accountable to her peers.

Leadership: Teacher Empowerment - Junior Team

When asked how much input the staff had in decision making, Ester replied:

Well, in some respects too much and in some too little. I feel there are too many meetings and too many discussions about the same thing. It's getting better this year, but last year the first seven staff and division meetings, one topic was repeated seven times. It was repeated because it hadn't been resolved or something changed or this group had said this and this group had said that.

In her opinion, it wasn't necessary or efficient to spend so much time on matters that might remotely affect the teaching and learning process. However, there were issues in which she did want to have input so that she would have some sense of control over how things were done:

Staffing for sure, where I'll be teaching, anything that has to do with the daily runnings of my classroom. But things to do with the buses or, who covers for caretaking, or how much photocopy paper needs to be ordered, the mundane things, I don't want to be involved with. Anything that has to do with my teaching the kids, the kids themselves, or the organization of the school then I do think I want to be involved in that.

Louise felt that the teachers at Hillside varied in attitudes in terms of their reactions to new ideas and new suggestions:

I think some teachers are very open to trying new things and doing new things and working with new people and I think some teachers are not so open to it. I think sometimes it has to do with the number of years the teacher has been teaching. Some teachers have tried many, many different ways and they've, they're sort of comfortable doing what they're doing right now. Asking people to change is a difficult thing sometimes. So, you know, some of us are very open to it, some of us are, well 'iffy' on it and some people are happy with change.

However, according to Louise, sharing in the decision-making presented "the opportunity for people. . .to voice their opinions and their thoughts." This process was an empowering

one whereby teachers were able to take part in what went on at Hillside Elementary School.

C. Leadership: Community as Partner

Data which suggested that the community members were valued not only as a resource in terms of enriching the curriculum, but as partners in terms of sharing in the decision-making processes involved in pursuing educational goals were coded as community as partner.

Leadership: Community as Partner and Resource - District

According to the documents examined, the community was viewed as a *resource*:

- [the teacher] appreciates and acknowledges the contributions of parent and community volunteers (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 8)
- [the teacher] provides a variety of experiences in the community and brings outside resources into the classroom (Indicators of Effective Teaching, p. 13)

Though references were made to the community as *partner*, the statements centred around open communication, assisting parents in helping their children succeed, and developing business partnerships:

- all schools have at least one formal community/labour business partnership as well as other informal arrangements (Strategic Directional Statments, 1995-98)
- all schools work with community partners such as parents, Parks and Recreation, community centres, local libraries, service agencies, police services, public health, child care, service groups, key contracts in the community and Saturday programs such as International Languages, Continuing Education, tutoring and cultural groups, to establish strong local connections (Strategic Directional Statments, 1995-98)
- Constant communication between teachers, students and parents keeps our programs vital and our students challenged and productive (Mapping Students' Success)

Leadership: Community as Partner and Resource - School

There were many indications of the importance of the community as a resource for Hillside Elementary School. The following statements came from the school news letter:

- we are always happy to welcome seniors with their special gifts and sense of history (School Newsletter - Sept.)
- we really appreciate [student's name] father's contribution of three boxes of hardcover books to our library (School Newsletter - Dec.)
- Mrs. (Teacher's name) is looking for cushions or stuffed toys for the library (School Newsletter - Dec.)
- we are always seeking and encouraging parent and community volunteers to help regularly and occasionally in the school assisting in the classroom, library or office (School Newsletter - Sept.)

There were several volunteer-run programs functioning in the school, one of which had been initiated by a retired teacher in the community. It was a literacy program whereby the retired teacher had organized community members, through the assistance of the Family Resource Centre co-ordinator, to visit the school on a regular basis and listen to the students read. In addition to these kinds of programs, I observed regular volunteers in several classrooms whereby they would be involved in assisting teachers in various ways.

Whereas the value of the community as a resource was certainly accepted by the administrators and many of the teachers at Hillside, the degree to which the community was functioning as partner was wanting. According to Principal Butler, this was largely because of the cultural diversity of the community population:

Expectations of the school vary as well because in some of the cultures they have been in the school takes care of everything and we just encourage and support them. And to get parental involvement in the school and in decision making is very difficult. So it's not their expectation but it is an expectation of the Ministry of Education and I've just said, 'Whatever you're comfortable with.' They come with questions, concerns. But there is no organized concern because parents here are not organized themselves.

There was considerable effort on the part of the school to keep parents informed through meetings and school news letters. A large sign had been placed near the front entrance of Hillside, whereby upcoming events and their dates would be posted on a regular basis. The following statements demonstrate what was being communicated to the parents:

- we are developing an active, School Council concerned about education and assisting the school to provide the best learning environment for all children. Please come and share your ideas. This is not a fundraising group. (School Newsletter - Sept.)
- the success of your child's education, in part, depends on how well we work together (School Newsletter - Sept.)

The problem that Hillside was having in terms of getting the community involved in decision-making is evident in this statement:

- Unable to elect a School Council as turnout was not as large as the first time at the Oct. 16 Parent Council meeting. There was a good discussion, however, and several suggestions were made as to how to generate a greater understanding of the different roles on the Council. Prior to next meeting, we will send home job descriptions and the time commitment involved for each of the roles on the Council. (School Newsletter - Nov.)

The reluctance of parents to get involved in the formal decision-making process did not abate over the following month:

- We met for the third time on Nov. 27 and we discussed the idea of a formal Parent Council, the roles within it and the time commitment involved for the members. The consensus of the parents who attended was that they were interested in coming out to meetings, asking questions and getting more information about what was going on in the school but they did not want a formal council. Therefore, Parent Council meetings will consist of topics of interest to the community. The next meeting will be Jan. 29 at 7:00 p.m. At that time we will talk about School Profiles. (School Newsletter - Dec.)

The Family Resource Centre coordinator explained how the Family Resource Centre helped bridge the gap between the school and the community:

The role of the Family Resource Centre is to liaison between the school administration and the parents, to facilitate the communication, to fill the gap of understanding, to provide the parents with the information about the school system and the teachers and also to update the school staff about the different cultural backgrounds and the expectations of the different cultures.

As the coordinator explained it, the mission statement of the Centre was “to empower the parents to become partners in their child’s education,” by giving the information about the “differences in the system” and the “differences in their expectations.” The cultural diversity of the community made the task of getting parents involved in formal decision making a challenge:

It took me a year to convince the parents that we could go through the staff room after school to go to the kitchen and get a cup of coffee but they were afraid. So that’s the fear that they have of all these institutions.

However, things had improved over the years. Though parents were still reluctant to sit on school councils, there were more of them volunteering to help in the school:

Now we have so many volunteers that they want to come and we have a lineup for the volunteers that we don’t know where to put them. But there was once when there were no volunteers at the school, so it shows how they feel confident with this school, how they feel comfortable with the school. It’s just because we have provided them with all this information that school is not a place for you to be afraid, or intimidated.

One teacher at Hillside Elementary felt that the school went “out of its way to make sure people are acknowledged, the various cultural groups.” The students themselves played a role in helping link the school and the community in that student ambassadors would act as translators at times when adults who did not speak English would visit the school. The Family Resource Centre and her assistant also served as translators as they were both fluent in several languages.

Leadership: Community as Partner and Resource - Primary Team

The Primary Team teachers believed in the importance of parental involvement for enhanced student development. However, they had concerns about the level of interest that parents in the community demonstrated in terms of becoming involved in their children's education. They realized that there were barriers to overcome, not the least of which was language, as many of the parents could not speak English. This made it extremely difficult for the teachers to communicate important information to the parents and to get much needed feedback from the parents. There was a physical barrier to this communication as well. Because of the narrowness of the hallways in the school, the parents of these young students were asked not to congregate near the classroom doors during times of entry and dismissal. Instead the parents were invited to wait elsewhere in the school. This limited the daily face-to-face contact that teachers and parents might have had if the hallway were able to accommodate larger numbers. Furthermore, the Primary Team teachers understood that many of these parents were recent immigrants, just getting used to a new country and had come from cultures whereby they were not expected to play an active role in their children's education. As Ted described it:

The few parents that I have dealt with have been very supportive. I think they're very supportive parents. Now we don't seem to have a very strong Home and School Association or Parents Association from that standpoint, so they may be a little hesitant. But probably this is a cultural thing too. Schools are sanctuaries. They're held in great esteem and they don't counteract or say, 'There's a problem with you guys.' [Instead they say], 'You're up there and you know what you're doing, and we don't know anything so we'll let you carry on and do what you're doing because it's got to be right.'

There was evidence of parent volunteers in a couple of the Primary Team teachers' classrooms on a sporadic basis, but for the most part these teachers were not satisfied with the level of parental involvement. However, given that each of these teachers was new to Hillside Elementary, it is conceivable that they would develop this relationship with the parents and the community over time.

Leadership: Community as Partner- Junior Team

Louise felt that the community was a valuable resource for teachers and students for a number of reasons. One important reason was related to the disequilibrium between teachers and students at Hillside in terms of the former being primarily a homogeneous group while the latter was so culturally diverse:

If we go out into the community, I think we can find role models for the kids and bring people in. And find those role models in the community or sports people that these kids sort of model themselves after, and try to show them this is the route that you need to take if that's where you want to be.

However, it was necessary to have the support of parents as well because "for all the work we do here in the classroom, if it's not also being supported at home, it's very difficult."

According to Louise, teachers' greatest challenge in terms of fostering students' academic or behavioural development was lack of support from home because "there is that check to make sure it's being done at home." There needed to be community support for school rules and if that doesn't happen, if parents and teachers and adults in the community don't provide role models, then what can we expect from the children?"

Ester suggested that most parents were “very concerned with their kids” education” but many just didn’t seem to want to get involved. Louise admitted that there were a number of parents who were already involved. However, there were some parents in the community who believed the school to be separate from the home and that there should be no partnership between the two. Both she and Ester agreed that this was a culturally induced phenomenon. As Louise put it:

Because of the cultures they come from, the school was looked after at school. You weren't expected as a parent to make sure your child did their homework. That was the school's job, and that was the consequence. And there are some parents in this neighbourhood, I mean, it's almost like they send their children here because it's a place they have to go during the day and they come home at night and they really don't feel any connection to it.

Ester added further insight stating that these parents might not feel that they knew enough about the Canadian school system to contribute. Others were very interested in “helping out [but] were somewhat leery to speak to the teachers.” She conjectured that this might be out of reverence or respect. According to Louise, this challenge of reaching out to the community and increasing parental involvement was beginning to be met at Hillside Elementary.

We have at the beginning of the year a parent/teacher night where the parents are invited into the school and that's the evening when we originally tell the parents the expectations we have for the child this year, in this classroom and in the school. So it's a kind of constant reminder of what the expectations of the school are. There's a school handbook that teachers have and I believe it's sent out to students. I believe that one is given to them when they start here at the school so that the parents have an idea of what is expected. So I think we're moving towards that. I think we have to get better at it and we have to get more involved. But it's starting so hopefully it will continue.

While I visited with Ester and Louise I observed the difficulties they had in terms of trying to schedule meetings with parents for the parent/teacher interviews that were being conducted. Meetings needed to be scheduled whereby a convenient time for all teachers involved with the student could be arranged. Given the other duties teachers had related to committee meetings and club activities, this was a challenge. Trying to arrange for a translator at the designated meeting time added to the challenge. There was also the complaint that because of culturally related variations in orientations to time, then some parents were not punctual and might even not show at all.

Professional and Leadership Cultures: Variations and Conflicts Among Underlying Values

Though there was much consistency in beliefs about leadership and teacher professionalism across perspectives, the findings showed that there were some variations in these beliefs in terms of where the emphasis lay. There were not only variations in which aspects of leadership and educator professionalism were valued, but there was considerable conflict experienced where some variations occurred. Nevertheless, as was the case for differences in beliefs about educational purposes and curriculum, differences in beliefs about educator professionalism and leadership did not *necessarily* generate feelings of intense value conflicts within individuals.

These concepts -- variations in beliefs about educator professionalism and leadership, and value conflicts -- are the focus of the remainder of this chapter. A comparative analysis of the underlying values which constitute the varied positions, leadership and educator professionalism from the different perspectives (i.e., District, School, Team, Individuals), is made. This analysis includes an identification and discussion of both the variations in orientations and the nature of the value conflicts which these variations in beliefs fostered in individuals in the school.

Table 7.3 (see p. 258) displays where the *variations in value orientations* occurred. An asterisk beside particular numbers indicates that an individual, or individuals, articulated experiencing value conflict as a result of a variation in beliefs across perspectives. Therefore, the table identifies the occurrence of: a.) the variations in beliefs about teacher professionalism and leadership through the data analysis; and, b.) the articulated value conflicts teachers experienced as a result of the variation in orientation. Both the variations in orientations and the value conflicts are addressed in the ensuing discussion.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 1: District and School

One instance of variation in orientation between the District and the School emerged in the data analysis. It is discussed under the category where the variation occurred.

Table 7.3
Variations in Value Orientations and Value Conflicts Pertaining to Professional and Leadership Cultures

| VALUE ORIENTATIONS | DIST | SCH | PRIMARY TEAM | | | | JUNIOR TEAM | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|------|-------|-----|-------------|--------|
| | | | Bernie | Gail | Mavis | Ted | Ester | Louise |
| PROFESSIONAL & LEADERSHIP CULTURES | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Educator Professionalism</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Collaboration | | 6,7* | 6* | 6* | 6* | 6 | | |
| Collegiality | | 7* | 10* | 10* | 10* | 10* | | |
| Professional Growth | 1 | 1* | | | | | | |
| <i>Leadership</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Principal as Facilitator | | 7* | | | | | | |
| Teacher Empowerment | | 7*, 8 | 8* | | | | 10 | 10 |
| Community as Partner | | 6 | 6* | 6* | 6* | 6 | | |
| 1=District & School | 5=School & Teams | | 9=Team & Team | | | | | |
| 2=District & Teams | 6=School & Team | | 10=Individuals Within a Team | | | | | |
| 3= District & Team | 7=Individuals Within a School | | 11=Team & Individual | | | | | |
| 4= District & Individual | 8=School & Individual | | 12=Individual | | | | | |
| *Value Conflict Experienced | | | | | | | | |

Variation and Conflict # 1: District and School - Professional Growth*

The data analysis revealed that both the District and the School believed in the importance of teachers' professional growth for student success. From the perspective of the District, providing opportunities for peer coaching and mentoring was an invaluable means for facilitating professional growth. Principal Butler, Vice-principal Brown and

many of the teachers on staff at Hillside Elementary felt that one very important aspect of team teaching was the professional development it provided through peer coaching and mentoring. On this point, both perspectives were consistent. Nevertheless, there was a variation in beliefs about professional growth inasmuch as there was an emphasis on *planned* professional growth from the District perspective. Two documents, "Supervision for Growth: A professional Growth and Performance Appraisal Program in ____ Schools: Indicators of Effective Teaching" and "Supervision for Growth, A Professional Growth and Performance Appraisal Program in ____ Schools, Development Track and Administrative Track" provided a clear picture, through indicators or statements, about what it is to be an "effective" teacher. Teachers were to use these documents to develop professional growth plans. It was recommended that the indicators be used to develop objectives and goals. It was also suggested that the documents be used by the administrators with teachers to clarify understandings of expected practice and to identify areas of focus for classroom observation and teacher improvement.

Though it cannot be stated with certainty that there was no evidence of planned professional growth at Hillside, it can be said that the emphasis did not rest in these areas. The principal did lament the fact that there were areas of professional development that needed attention, particularly pertaining to facilitating the growth of strong, dynamic teams. However, as he had put it, there were few days given to teachers for professional development. And because so many of the teachers were already overworked, he was reluctant to impose professional development inservicing after hours. This was a value conflict that, by his own admission, went unresolved as he "wrestled" with how to solve

the dilemma of providing professional development in a much needed area, team building, without increasing the workload and stress that he felt teachers were already experiencing.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 6: School and Team

Two cases of variation in orientation between School and Team emerged in the data analysis. One variation in orientation was related to collaboration and the other to community as partner.

Variation and Conflict # 6*: School and Team - Collaboration

Document and interview data demonstrated that the principal at Hillside Elementary was fully committed to the collaborative benefits of team teaching. Undoubtedly there were variations in teacher commitment to team teaching at the school, and the Primary Team teachers manifested these variations in commitment. These teachers professed a more or less *conditional* philosophical belief in the advantages of team teaching, both for teachers and students. Whereas each of them had described successful collaborative experiences in teaming relationships in the past, their present experience seemed to have given them second thoughts, particularly Bernie, Gail and Mavis. Some of the misgivings about team teaching they had developed were related to the large number of students in the combined classes, the multiplicity of their students' needs which they attributed to the cultural diversity of a recent immigrant community, and the competitive nature and high self-expectations of some of the team members.

Initially the team had come together with enthusiasm and energy. However, considering that the four of them were new to the school, they were undoubtedly in a state of disequilibrium from the start. Furthermore, these teachers had gotten the impression that everyone at Hillside team taught to full capacity and, consequently, they felt pressure to *make* the team work. When they realized that things were not working out as planned, they withdrew from the teaming relationship to the point where they would collaborate on some aspects of curriculum planning and teaching. However, they seemed to have become somewhat disillusioned with the highly collaborative process that a total commitment to team teaching required.

Variation and Conflict # 6: School and Team - Community as Partner*

While there was much consistency between the School's perspective and the Primary Team's perspective in terms of beliefs about the value of parental involvement, two-way communication between the school and the community, and community input, there was a variation in what was being done to foster the development of a partnership between the school and the community. For example, when one entered Hillside Elementary school prior to classes in the morning and the afternoon, one was struck by the many parents that were coming and going in the hallway, particularly near the Family Resource Centre. As already addressed, it was not unusual to enter the staff room during the day and see a parent or community volunteer working with a student or group of students. Several teachers I spoke with described how they had arranged for a parent volunteer through the Family Resource Centre co-ordinator.

However, these signs of community involvement were less obvious as one moved away from the core of the school, that is the main hallway, the staff room, the administrators' office and the Family Resource Centre. The Primary Team teachers realized there were inherent challenges to cultivating a relationship between Hillside Elementary and a community where many of the people were not fluent in English. This was exacerbated by the fact that these teachers were physically removed from the centre of action and, as addressed already, were unable to participate in the kind of informal communication that goes on when parents are able to drop by before and after class. Parents who lack confidence because they are in a new country or cannot speak the language necessary to communicate are less likely to actively seek out teachers on a formal basis. Once again, these teachers were new to the school and therefore were just beginning to develop relationships with parents and links to the community.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 7: Individuals Within a School

Four cases of variation in orientation among Individuals Within a School emerged in the data analysis. These variations in orientations were related to the following: i.) Collaboration; ii.) Collegiality; iii.) Principal as Facilitator; and, iv.) Teacher Empowerment.

Variation and Conflict # 7*: Individuals Within the School - Collaboration

The principal and the vice principal at Hillside were strong advocates for collaboratively working towards school goals. And many teachers at Hillside believed in

the value of collaboration for achieving these goals. Nevertheless, the committee structure, a staff initiative according to Principal Butler and confirmed by one the school's conveners, was a source of conflict for many teachers. Several teachers expressed feelings of being overwhelmed by the numerous meetings imposed on them by expectations to serve on two committees. The principal, himself, realized that this was the case, but seemed to feel that this was something that they would have to work through in a collaborative fashion in order to resolve their differences. Still other teachers believed that the rigid structure imposed by these committee obligations stifled their creativity and curbed their flexibility. One teacher had indicated that it limited her options because she liked to be involved in everything. Perhaps the most significant point was that the primary purpose of motivating all teachers to share the workload and participate in school planning was not realized. Several teachers felt that teachers who were not "pulling their weight" previous to the implementation of the committees, had continued to reject responsibility for duties outside of their regular classroom duties.

Variation and Conflict # 7: Individuals Within a School - Collegiality*

Inasmuch as collegiality involves teachers interacting with one another in a relationship built on respect, it may be said that Hillside Elementary School had a collegial staff. Even where there were apparent differences of opinions, I observed that teachers treated each other in a respectful manner. This was the case whether teachers were informally together at lunch time or at recess time on Friday's Treat Day, or just meeting each other in the hallways. However, there were reports of strained relationships among

some members of some of the teams and committees. In these situations, where there were high levels of commitment required in order to plan and work toward goals, then teachers appeared to be less willing to trust one another. So where relationships did not require a commitment to collaborative processes, there was greater evidence of collegiality among staff members. By comparison, where interactions between teachers required that they participate in meetings, contribute ideas for debate, share knowledge, discuss strategies, compromise and develop common understandings, then there was less collegiality. That is, it was less likely that teachers trusted the relationship enough to risk being honest with one another.

Variation and Conflict # 7: Individuals Within a School - Principal as Facilitator*

There were variations in teachers' beliefs about the role of the principal at Hillside Elementary School. Principal Butler believed that his role was to facilitate growth in teachers, and by extension, growth in students. Whereas many teachers at Hillside felt that the principal had the best interests of all at heart, some felt that he should be more directive in some ways. In matters where staff could not come to a consensus, then a few teachers suggested that it was the principal who should make the decision. These teachers felt that too much valuable time was wasted on meetings where some issues were repeated unnecessarily. It was also pointed out that this sometimes worked to the advantage of "strong" teams or "strong" individuals, whereby these individuals or groups would impose their values on others. Also, there was the suggestion that teachers need not be involved in school decisions which did not directly affect teaching and learning. In other words, some

teachers expected the principal to exercise more control in the school, particularly because administrators were trained for the job and were getting paid for that job. This seemed in direct contrast to the principal's conception of his role as facilitator and not as one who is vested with power and control by virtue of his position.

Variation and Conflict # 7: Individuals Within a School - Teacher Empowerment*

Closely related to the some teachers' view that the principal should be more directive in his role is the notion that there were teachers also who did not want to participate in all the planning and decision making that went on in the school. This was the case especially in situations riddled with conflict whereby teachers became uncomfortable with bringing about resolution themselves, or in the event of closure on an issue, were unsatisfied with how it had been resolved.

Furthermore, there were certain teachers who stated that they did not want the responsibility that went along with the empowerment associated with shared decision making. On the other hand, there were teachers who were quite willing to accept leadership roles in certain capacities. There was evidence of this on many of the committees. Nevertheless, not all teachers were empowered by the teaming arrangement nor by the committee arrangement. Some actually felt disempowered in that they felt these structures to be an impediment to achieving their goals.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts # 8: School and Individual

There was one case of variation in orientation between the School and the Individual pertaining to teacher empowerment. While there were variations in orientations among Individuals within the School around the issue of teacher empowerment, this particular value conflict was unique to this individual, and therefore is addressed as such.

Variation and Conflict # 8*: School and Individual - Teacher Empowerment

Bernie's poignant disclosure that she felt the need to control the image that she projected of herself as a teacher is related to issues of disempowerment and accountability. Inasmuch as team teaching and the committee structure imposed accountability on teachers for each others' actions, then where teachers' interactions were not built on a relationship of trust and honesty, there were feelings of insecurity associated with this accountability. Feelings of insecurity, of not wanting to expose one's "little flaws," as Bernie described it, to the scrutiny of others unless she "controlled the image" led to feelings of disempowerment. Bernie was the only teacher who articulated this type of conflict. The philosophy at Hillside Elementary School was one which embraced team teaching and professed that through a teaming relationship teachers were better able to meet the needs of their students. In essence Bernie agreed with the benefits of team teaching for teachers and students - in an ideal situation where teachers were compatible and where students were not too numerous. However, the value conflict that Bernie was experiencing in coming to terms with team teaching at Hillside seemed to have more to do with feelings of disempowerment and lack of control experienced in a teaching relationship

where teachers were believed to hold each other accountable for their students' success. Where relationships are based on a solid foundation of honesty and trust, the accountability may not be an issue. However, when teachers' relationships are competitive and perhaps mistrustful in the sense that there is anxiety about how one is being perceived and perhaps judged, then accountability becomes an integral part of these feelings of disempowerment.

Variations in Orientations and Value Conflicts #10: Individuals Within a Team

There were two types of variations in orientation among Individuals Within a Team. These variations in orientations were related to the following: i.) Collegiality; and, ii.) Teacher Empowerment.

Variation and Conflict # 10: Individuals Within a Team - Collegiality*

There were many indications that the teachers on the Primary Team interacted with one another in a highly professional manner in terms of sharing resources, willingly working long hours before and after school, and interacting in a respectful manner with one other. Nevertheless, by their own admission, things did not always run smoothly. They were not "in sync." Bernie, Mavis and Gail, in particular, expressed concern over the difficulty of working with four teachers and planning for four large groups of students. There were also expressions of concern over the underlying dynamics that characterized this kind of social relationship. These teachers described how they felt they had to be careful not to offend others on the team by inadvertently excluding someone from the

conversation. One teacher reported feelings of self-reproach for forgetting to share a teaching idea with another after the teacher observed the idea being carried out. Whether or not these feelings of anxiety over offending others on the team were warranted was not clear. Nevertheless, the teachers still experienced the tension associated with a social relationship whereby individuals had not developed trust.

The problem seemed to have been exacerbated by the fact that, at the beginning of the year, according to one of the Primary Team teachers, there was little contact with others in the school. It was during this time when these teachers were under pressure to “make the team work.” And it was during this time that they had been inundated with concerns about how to manage the numerous students they had, how to deal with behaviour problems of children who were from troubled homes, how to communicate with parents who spoke a different language than they did, and how to come to some understanding of the culture of a new school for them. Unfortunately, the pressure of all of these concerns seemed to have created a stressful situation which contributed to the challenge of building a strong team relationship whereby these teachers could be trusting and honest with each other.

Variation # 10: Individuals Within a Team -Teacher Empowerment

Ester and Louis differed in their views of how much teachers should become involved in the decision-making processes in the school. Whereas Ester felt that it wasn't necessary to participate in decisions that had little to do with teaching and learning, Louise felt that it was empowering for staff to be able to voice their opinions and provide input.

Though these two teachers conceptualized teacher empowerment differently, it did not seem to affect their relationship as a teaching team.

Summary

There were five types of variations in value orientations pertaining to professional and leadership cultures at Hillside Elementary School:

- i. Variations and Conflicts # 1*: District and School
- ii. Variations and Conflict # 6*: School and Team
- iii. Variations and Conflict # 7*: Individuals Within a School
- iv. Variations and Conflict # 8*: School and Individual
- v. Variation # 10: Individuals Within a Team

One type of variation in orientations was revealed whereby there was no strong feeling of value conflicts reported, that of Individuals Within a Team pertaining to teacher empowerment. For the remainder of variations in orientations, teachers did report value conflicts associated with the variations. Discussion about why value conflicts were associated with some variations in value orientations and not others follows in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Discussion of the Findings

The intent of this study was to investigate the culture of Hillside Elementary School for the purpose of gaining insight into the complexities and dynamics involved in understanding school culture. The underlying premise is that understanding a school's culture should inspire new and deeper understandings of what goes on in the school, and by extension, should also promote organizational excellence (Erickson, 1987; Schein, 1984). The process of investigation was guided by research questions which led me to gain insight into the school culture, its subcultures, and how individuals and subgroups contribute to the development of, or resistance to, the prevailing culture of an organization.

Though the investigation process was an emergent one, it was guided by a multi-perspective conceptual framework for examining four major aspects of school culture: I. Educational Purposes; II. Curriculum Metaorientation; III. Educator Professionalism; and, IV. Leadership. In the preceding chapters, presentation of the data and discussion of the findings were also structured around these four major themes.

The investigation was conducted through a participant observational process which allowed me to make observations of cultural artifacts, espoused values and, through

an interactive approach which encouraged participants' self-analysis, enabled me to uncover some of the basic assumptions which lay beneath the tangible manifestations of the school's culture (Schein, 1984; 1990) and which served to guide educators' practices. Some of these basic assumptions were compatible with the cultural manifestations in the school, others were in conflict with it. Examining both the similarities *and* variations in basic assumptions from different perspectives affords greater insight into the development and maintenance of school culture than does investigating the culture as a phenomenon which is characterized by shared values only.

Traditional approaches (e.g., Spradley, 1979; Schein, 1990; Caldwell & Spinks, 1992) to the study of culture have emphasized that which is shared (i.e., basic assumptions, values, and beliefs). However, culture should not only be defined and described in terms of what is shared but also in terms of "the differences, conflicts, and disagreements [which may be] more socially significant for the participants than what they may happen to share" (Hargreaves, 1994). Consequently, an investigation into variations in value orientations between and among various perspectives and the inherent value conflicts *contributes to our understanding of culture as a phenomenon which is characterized by either one or more of the processes of consensus, negotiation, resistance, submission, and subversion.*

Significant issues which arose from the findings in this study are discussed in this chapter under three headings: i.) The School Culture, ii.) Dimensions of School Culture, and iii) Summary Discussion of Value Harmony and Value Disharmony. The reason for organizing the discussion of the issues under these three descriptors is that the first one

allows for a discussion of what *appeared* to be the shared values which were manifested in the culture of Hillside Elementary School. That is, it was what appeared to be the prevailing culture, or consensus of values, that was reflected in many of the espoused values, artifacts, rituals, and behaviours that were observed in the daily activities in the school. The second section demonstrates how, by emphasizing particular perspectives to examine school culture, we are better able to see not only what is shared but what is contested as well. The third section of this chapter is an attempt to refocus these two most salient aspects of culture -- value consensus and value conflict -- to better understand the nature of the processes that characterized the culture of Hillside Elementary School.

Metaphorically, the first part of this discussion of school culture is akin to viewing the "big picture" with a wide angle lens. The second part which discusses the culture from various perspectives is more like zooming in on particular focal points to examine some of the details which contribute to constructing the big picture. These details, or perspectives, already examined in the preceding chapters, will now be inspected for the underlying basic assumptions embedded therein. In other words, this second section is a probing beneath the apparent shared values that were daily manifested at Hillside to uncover the source of these variations in values and value conflicts which also contributed to the culture of the school. The outcome of viewing culture from both a wide-angle *and* a zoom lens, situated at a variety of vantage points, is that educational issues which arise may be discussed in a rich and multi-faceted manner.

The School Culture

Issues related to Hillside Elementary School culture are discussed under these major aspects of culture: i. Educational Purpose, ii. Curriculum Metaorientation; iii. Educator Professionalism; and, Leadership.

The School Culture: Educational Purpose

The tangible manifestations of the prevailing culture at Hillside Elementary suggested that social adaptation was a primary purpose of education in this school. This was borne out in various ways such as in the principal's weekly ritual of announcing the thought for the week, in the numerous bulletin board displays and in the adoption of the Canadian wolf as a mascot, all of which served to preserve and transmit moral and social values such as *respect, trust, truth, honesty, a work ethic, cooperation, participation* and *competition*.

Whereas the culture that was reflected in the tangible manifestations pertaining to educational purpose suggested that the one primary goal of school was to help students socially adapt to the society in which they lived, this social adaptation philosophy included a focus on respecting the cultural differences that they would find in their society. Respect for cultural differences as an espoused value was also evident in such artifacts as bulletin board displays, posters and school activities such as recognizing various cultural festivities through public announcements, through organizing cultural events, and through the festival concert where presentations were inclusive of the various cultures represented in the school.

However, there needs to be a distinction made here between a school's purpose being one that helps students to *recognize and respect* the cultural differences in which they find themselves in the larger society and a school purpose being to *uncover and examine* prejudices related to cultural biases, racism, sexism, and so on. That is not to say that these issues would go unaddressed in the former case. Nor does it suggest an assimilationist ideology where students are expected "to relinquish their own cultural heritages and embrace the dominant Euro-Western ways" (Ryan & Wignall, 1994, p. 1). It does mean that "fixing" the ills of society as related to these issues did not appear to be a primary purpose of this school. The emphasis at Hillside Elementary was more inclined to fostering a respect for cultural differences by learning about, and sharing this knowledge of, the various cultures and by teaching students to love and respect each other and their differences. There was also emphasis on the fact that it is one's moral and social responsibility to participate, cooperate and be productive in the larger society in which one lives, be it multi-cultural or otherwise.

The prevailing school culture of Hillside Elementary also reflected personal development as an educational purpose. The staff handbook stated clearly that developing and maintaining student self-esteem, self-worth, and self-discipline were primary objectives. Both the principal and the vice principal suggested that these were important objectives, particularly because of the special needs of these children in that many were apartment dwellers from single families and/or newly immigrated families. They were also a very transient population. To help these students, the staff at Hillside were involved in many extra-curricular activities which included offering a variety of clubs in which

students could participate. There were other tangible manifestations of the importance of personal development throughout the school in the form of bulletin board displays, student art work and posters. Furthermore, the hiring of the Child Youth Worker for the purpose of helping “behavioural” students deal with their problems was indicative that personal development was an important goal at this school.

According to the Hillside Elementary staff handbook, the school’s educational goals included career development, academic development and cognitive development. With regard to students’ academic success, the principal stated that it was important but, where District expectations were sometimes too high, administration and staff of Hillside needed to modify the expectations to their students. Overall, then, the culture of the school appeared to be one which valued social and personal development as priority over other educational goals.

The School Culture: Curriculum Metaorientation

The prevailing culture of Hillside Elementary was one which reflected both a balance and imbalance in terms of the bipolar curriculum orientation categories (see Table 8.1, p. 276). Each will be discussed under separate headings.

Balanced Curriculum Metaorientations

First of all, beliefs about *the learner* were balanced in terms of the way the school recognized that students are both unique and similar. Students were considered to be unique in terms of their special needs and strengths and the way there were special

programs set up to work with students individually. However, a focus on their similarities was evident in the way in which students were grouped according to strengths and needs.

Table 8.1
School Curriculum Metaorientation: Balance and Imbalance

| CURR. METAORIENT. | BALANCE | IMBALANCE |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Uniqueness of Learners | X | |
| Similarities of Learners | X | |
| Whole Child | | X |
| Child as Student | | O |
| Intrinsic Motivation | X | |
| Extrinsic Motivation | X | |
| Personal Knowledge | X | |
| Public Knowledge | X | |
| Knowledge as Process | | X |
| Knowledge as Content | | x |
| Holistic Learning | | X |
| Molecular Learning | | x |
| Social Learning Environ. | | X |
| Indiv. Learning Environ. | | x |
| Child-directed Learn. | X | |
| Teacher-directed Learning | X | |
| Internal Control of Soc. Beh. | | X |
| External Control of Soc. Beh. | | x |
| Informal Evaluation | X | |
| Formal Evaluation | X | |

X = Strong Orientation

x = Weak Orientation

O = Minimal to Non-existent Orientation

The findings suggest that this balance was due to a difference in what may have been considered to be *desirable* and what was perhaps considered to be *needed*, that is while it may have been desirable to think of students as being unique, it was also an organizational necessity to group them according to the characteristics they shared. In terms of Hodgkinson's (1991) typology of values, this may be described as a way of resolving the conflict between a Type 1 value of principle, where the uniqueness of students may be deemed ideologically "right" and a Type 2a value of consequences where grouping according to the similarities of students may have the desired end of being able to manage a large group of students.

According to certain school documents, there was evidence of a belief in both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in learners as well. There was also a balance in orientations pertaining to beliefs about *the learning process*. Cultural manifestations at Hillside suggested that there was an emphasis both on personal knowledge and public knowledge. Formal and informal school documents and some school activities suggested that helping students *experience* learning was a high priority in the school. Nevertheless, there were also indications that knowledge was thought of along more traditional lines. The influence of district and ministry prescriptions were evident in the way in which knowledge was conceptualized as subjects such as phonics, spelling, grammar, mathematics and so on. This was also reflected in the way that knowledge was both informally and formally evaluated. In terms of *the teacher's role*, there was evidence of both child-directed learning and teacher-directed learning in the classrooms and throughout the school.

These balances in curriculum orientations might be more accurately described as a struggle between conflicting orientations, or what Holmes (1984, p. 4) once described as a “continual pull between education for a living (the basics, vocational and professional education) and education for living (liberation through aesthetic and personal transcendence).” In many ways, the *balance* in curriculum orientations at Hillside or the *pull* between conflicting orientations at the school, whichever way one chooses to couch the phenomenon, may be indicative of the influence of changing or fluctuating educational ideologies.

Imbalanced Curriculum Metaorientations

The findings suggested that other orientations related to beliefs about the learner, the learning process, and the role of the teacher were not so evenly balanced. For example, whereas the school culture reflected both holistic and molecular learning orientations, there was emphasis on the former inasmuch as there appeared to be a concerted effort on the part of administration and teachers to integrate curriculum. This was particularly evident in the way the resource teachers and specialist teachers worked with classroom teachers to ensure a holistic approach to teaching and learning. Similarly, although both orientations were evident, there were more signs of a belief in knowledge as process than in knowledge as content. This was manifested both in the school’s informal and formal school documents and in the emphasis on “processing behaviour,” and “processing skills” for lifelong learning.

With regard to *the teacher's role* pertaining to student control, school documents reflected a *strong* custodial orientation to controlling student behaviour. However, my observations and interviews with administrators and teachers in this school suggested a proclivity toward a humanistic approach. Respect between student and teachers appeared to be a high priority. Nevertheless, the existence of a detention room to deal with "offenders" and the recent hiring of a child youth worker to deal with "behavioural" students was evidence of a belief that the underlying assumption was that at least some of the students were in need of external behavioural controls.

The strongest imbalance was seen in two of the curriculum orientations. First of all, documents, interviews and my observations suggested that from the perspective of the school, there was an underlying assumption that the development of the *whole* child was important. Many aspects of the student's development, in terms of social, moral, personal, academic and cognitive, were part of the ongoing teaching and learning process. Social, moral and personal development were perhaps the highest priorities in terms of the overall school orientation and were deemed necessary prerequisites to academic and cognitive development.

Secondly, there was a very strong orientation to providing a social learning environment whereby students and teachers would interact with and learn from one another. From the perspective of the overall school culture, this kind of learning environment was encouraged almost to the exclusion of individual learning environment opportunities.

The School Culture: Educator Professionalism

The prevailing culture of Hillside Elementary School appeared to be highly collaborative. Tangible manifestations of a collaborative school culture were abundant. Teachers were encouraged to team teach and a committee structure had been put in place that would support collaborative decision making. Similarly, collegiality, particularly in relation to the importance of staff relations built on honesty, trust and a shared educational philosophy, was espoused as highly valued in both documents and interviews data. And there was effort on the part of administrators and many of the teachers to foster this kind of relationship among the staff.

In relation to orientation to professional growth, peer coaching, mentoring, critical reflection and inservicing emerged as valued ways to grow as a teacher. The first two, peer coaching and mentoring were highly valued and strongly supported in the way teams of teachers were encouraged to share ideas and learn from each other.

The School Culture: Leadership

The culture of Hillside Elementary was one which reflected a strong orientation to the principal as facilitator. This was particularly evident in the way the committee structure was set up. The principal espoused the belief that it was necessary for staff to share in the decision making and many teachers suggested that the principal played a primarily facilitative role. In only his second year at the school, the principal understood that it would take time for the staff members to learn to trust that they could openly share different views with him without fear of reprimand. In terms of Sergiovanni's (1990)

stages of leadership, the principal demonstrated “leadership by building” in that he made efforts to facilitate a supportive climate which would encourage teachers to share in decision making, and interact in a collaborative and collegial manner.

From the perspective of the school, there were indications that the community was a valued resource in terms of the many volunteer-run programs that existed at Hillside and the many ways the community was utilized as a curriculum resource. However, the community played a passive role in terms of leadership and decision making, even though community members had been invited to formulate a school council and become a part of the decision-making team. The community’s reluctance to play an active role was attributed to the nature of the community inasmuch as many of them were recent immigrants and consequently preoccupied with learning to live in their new cultural surroundings.

Dimensions of Culture

The preceding description of Hillside Elementary’s culture is based upon what I was able to uncover from the perspective of the school - that is the overall or prevailing culture as I perceived it through an examination of documents, interviews and observations. When school culture is examined from various perspectives, we are better able to grasp its fluidity and multi-dimensionality.

According to Schein (1984) , basic assumptions are “taken for granted,” “invisible,” and “preconscious.” They are also, he suggests, the foundations of

organizational culture. Others might call them “relatively fixed and unnegotiable core values” (Begley, 1996, p. 8). These core values, or basic assumptions, being “preconscious” may not be readily identifiable even to the holder of them. More often than not, it is only upon critical examination that these values are exposed. As difficult as the task may be, it is important to understand one’s own core values and also to interpret the core values of others if we are to get at the heart of the controversy and conflict that is endemic in education today. Therefore, the primary purpose for uncovering basic assumptions is not just to look for the values individuals in an organization share, but for those they contest as well. The basic premise is that understanding how people in organizations deal with unresolved conflicting values is as important as is understanding how they arrive at value consensus. This is especially so in light of the “increasingly pluralistic and metropolitanized society . . . [where] . . . there emerges a lack of consensus regarding the role and purpose of schooling in society” (Bosetti & Brown, 1996, p. 3). This condition of ambivalence and uncertainty, fuelled by the diversity and change that is so ubiquitous in today’s postmodern society (Hargreaves, 1994a), means that “because education inevitably mirrors society, these are not easy times for educators” (Begley, 1996, p. 8). If value conflict is such a prevalent condition in schools today, then trying to understand the culture of a school should help us understand the nature of the process involved in resolving these conflicts. This is particularly important for improving schools and bringing about change. Given current school restructuring trends to devolve authority to local school sites (Murphy, 1992), it is particularly important for those involved in the decision making processes to be able to “recognize the sources and causes of value conflicts” (Begley, 1996, p. 8), and to be able to work towards a school culture that

facilitates conflict resolution. I posit that understanding the dynamics and complexities of school culture should facilitate school improvement and change.

Basic Assumptions: Educational Purpose and Curriculum Metaorientation

For the first part of the discussion pertaining to educational purpose and curriculum orientation, Miller and Seller's (1985) curriculum metaorientation model is used as a conceptual lens to focus on the underlying basic assumptions which are embedded in these orientations. Miller and Seller suggest that there are three major orientations to curriculum: i.) transmission; ii.) transaction; and, iii.) transformation. The basic assumptions which underlie these orientations are outlined in Table 8.2 (see p. **284**) under these headings: i.) educational aims or purpose; ii. conception of the learner; iii.) conception of the learning process; iv.) conception of the learning environment; v.) conception of teachers' role; and, vi.) conception of how learning is evaluated. The ensuing discussion on educational purpose and curriculum orientations will address the *variations* in orientations, as they occurred, from different perspectives in terms of curriculum metaorientations and the basic assumptions, or core values, which are associated with these metaorientations.

Basic Assumptions About the Purpose of Education

As addressed in the preceding section which discussed the prevailing school culture, there was an emphasis on social adaptation in terms of the social and moral development of students at Hillside Elementary. However, teachers were also very much involved in the academic and cognitive development of the students in the classroom and

Table 8.2
Curriculum Metaorientations

| Transmission | Transaction | Transformation |
|--|--|---|
| Educational Aims | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *mastery of school subjects and inculcation of students in social norms * atomistic paradigm, philosophically empiricist, psychologically behaviourist, and politically conservative economic, laissez-faire capitalist, minimal government intervention, work ethic, patriotism *transmit facts, skills, and values necessary to function in society | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *development of rational intelligence in general and complex problem-solving skills *Dewey-interaction between the person and the social environment; Piaget & Kholberg -cognitive developmentalists; • political - small l-liberalism, rational intervention to facilitate social and economic development democratic citizenship *cognitive development within academic disciplines *development of intellectual abilities development of intelligence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *self-actualization, self-transcendence, social involvement *spirituality; social and political change; harmony with environment not control over it; personal fulfilment of the ego and spirit, decentralized economics |
| CONCEPTION OF THE LEARNER: Unique/Similar, Whole/Student | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •shared characteristics mastery of same material *role of student (academic competency and literacy) *mastery of traditional school subjects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *middle position - shared characteristics in terms of mental processes; uniqueness in terms of unique level of development (Piaget) , invented ideas, individual student framework *limited view of child, as student, developing conceptual frameworks and problem-solving skills within a specific discipline *social realm - broader context | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *child as unique but recognition that all individuals share common concerns *whole child -intellectual development cannot be isolated from emotional, social, physical, and moral development - may be different emphasis. *essentially good *part of an interconnected whole |
| CONCEPTION OF THE LEARNING PROCESS: Intrinsic/Extrinsic; Personal/Public; Process/Content; Holistic/Molecular | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •extrinsic motivation external rewards - grades and reinforcers *knowledge as content - fixed, subjects *molecular - learning broken down into small units, atomistic learning textbook learning (subject orientation) *acquisition of basic skills and cultural values and mores *specific instructional strategies (competency - based learning orientation) *rote learning methods *subject-centred | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *intrinsic motivation - individuals to solve problems but concern with providing a supportive environment for problem solving (do not idealize intrinsic motivation) *knowledge viewed as process *emphasis on process of analysis not on holistic vs. molecular learning *dialogue between student and curriculum *reconstruction of knowledge problem solving (cognitive process orientation) *problem-centred - application of problem solving skills within the context of democratic process | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> *intrinsic motivation - related subject matter to student's interests and concerns, make proper connection between external curriculum and inner life of student *knowledge as process-rooted in personal meaning *holistic learning-students should learn to see relationships between themselves and their social environment, and between themselves and all aspects of the curriculum. Connections seen through meditation and acting consciously in the social realm *Learner-centred |

| CONCEPTION OF THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT: Social/Individual | | |
|---|---|---|
| *individual - competency based ed. social - cultural transmission - inculcation of traditional mores of society | *unclear position- Dewey orientation is social; Piaget - individualized approach | *social and individual depending on orientation- humanistic and transpersonal - indiv., social change orientation - social |
| CONCEPTION OF THE TEACHER'S ROLE: Child-directed/Teacher-directed; Internal Locus of Control/External Locus of Control | | |
| *teacher-directed, controls learning and behavioural standards curriculum or teacher determines the standards *external locus of control - teacher or other external agent determines the standards of behaviour one-way movement traditional teaching methods *hierarchical | *teacher and child share control of learning tasks, teacher identifies tasks and student's entry into tasks and standards until students are able to set their own standards *shared control *developmental | *teachers first work on themselves; see life as a process of being and becoming; be in touch with inner life; make links with community to facilitate student contact with the community *shared control *integrative |
| CONCEPTION OF EVALUATION: Informal/Formal | | |
| *formal - traditional achievement tests to determine subject mastery | *focuses on student's acquisition of complex intellectual frameworks and skills and social skills important in a democratic society | *conventional modes that focus on skills and mastery but a strong emphasis on informal and experimental forms of evaluation, self-evaluation, feedback from peers and the teacher; student interaction with teacher in critiquing the curriculum |

much of the evaluation focused on determining progress in literacy and mathematics. So whereas there was an emphasis on the social and personal in terms of the overall goals of school, teachers worked to meet the goals of the district as related to teaching and evaluating academic skills. Consequently, both the School and the District reflected primarily a *transmission* orientation in relation to educational purpose.

However, the emphasis at the District level was on academic development in terms of mastery of school subjects, particularly those related to literacy and mathematics.

Hillside Elementary reflected a combination of District and School aims so that the overall purpose of education became one which was to transmit facts, skills, and values necessary to function in society. The District and School both reflected a transmission orientation in this respect. Their difference was really in which skills were deemed necessary to function in existing society were emphasised.

From the perspective of the individual, Bernie, one member of the Primary Team espoused a social reconstructionist position inasmuch as she believed that discussions on homosexuality should be a part of the curriculum. Mavis, also a member of the Primary Team, was another to articulate a social reconstructionist position inasmuch as she felt that schools often served to perpetuate dominant societal values despite an increasingly diverse Canadian society. Mavis was also the only teacher on the Primary Team to espouse a concern about imposing her values on her students. Conversely, Gail felt that there should be more emphasis on teaching “Canadian” morals and values and developing a country identity.

The underlying basic assumptions which become apparent here are related to two different orientations -- *transmission and transformation*. Bernie reflected a transformation orientation inasmuch as she wanted to include particular non-traditional value discussions (i.e., homosexuality) into the curriculum. She expressed value conflict with the District in terms of this position in that she felt that the District would not support her on this issue. Furthermore, Bernie reflected both a *transmission* orientation and

transformation orientation in that she clearly stated that school's purpose was to preserve society as it was. At the same time, however, she wished to transform society in terms of examining and changing moral values pertaining to homosexuality. On the other hand, Mavis also suggested that the curriculum should be more inclusive of the multicultural values that were reflected in the student population at Hillside.

In any event, there was perhaps a subtle but essential difference between Mavis' position and the School's. At Hillside Elementary, the multicultural diversity of its student population was recognized, respected and celebrated. At the same time, however, students were expected to develop an awareness of, understanding of, and appreciation for Canadian culture and values. Moral and social values such as respect, truth, compassion, punctuality, a work ethic, compliance to rules, cooperation, and sharing were some of the values considered to be important for students to embrace. However, it was difficult to know which values Mavis considered to be characteristic of the dominant society. Indeed she was not sure herself which values she was unconsciously transmitting to her students and which of them might be in conflict with their own values.

In summary, there was more consistency between and among the various perspectives than initially was apparent in that each reflected, in varying degrees and emphasis, a *transmission* orientation to educational purpose whereby the underlying basic assumption is that the purpose of school is to educate students through the inculcation of facts, skills and values necessary to function in society. The only variation in orientation which induced value conflict was in Bernie's leaning toward a transformation position

which she deemed to be in conflict with the District's transmission position pertaining to the teaching of alternative family values.

Basic Assumptions About the Learner

There was a strong emphasis on the uniqueness of the learner from the perspective of the District. Conversely, from the perspective of both the Primary Team and the Junior Team, there was evidence of teaching students based on their similarities as well as their differences. Two teachers described value conflict in terms of the added pressure that the multicultural student population imposed upon them as teachers. The basic assumption in question here is related to conceptions of the learner (see Table 8.2, p. 284). The District orientation reflected a *transaction* orientation in terms of recognizing the uniqueness of the learner's developmental stage, learning style and exceptionalities. Nevertheless, the District reflected a *transmission* orientation in that there were *standards* of expectations and outcomes for all students. It was perhaps because of this variation in orientation that the two teachers on the Primary Team and the Junior Team reported feelings of value conflict related to trying to attend to individual needs in a highly heterogeneous classroom. This conflict seemed to arise from an assumption on the part of both of these teachers that an ideal classroom situation is one which is comprised of a homogenous group. The conflict was further exacerbated in that there were high expectations for students to achieve in literacy and mathematics. These teachers felt conflict associated with trying to teach to the individual needs and strengths of their students while at the same time feeling accountable for high academic standards of success for all of their students. The result

was that, whereas there was an effort to recognize the uniqueness of learners in the classroom, this type of recognition was more frequently given outside of regular classroom instruction such as recess time, before class, and after class. During class time, students were often, though certainly not exclusively, grouped according to their similar needs and strengths. The one very notable learning situation when this was not the case was during the Primary Team's Activity Time when students were free to choose both with whom they wanted to work and what they wanted to do.

Basic Assumptions About the School's Responsibility to the Child

Whereas all teachers on the Primary Team espoused and demonstrated a holistic orientation in their beliefs about the learner, there were variations in which aspects of the learner's development were emphasized. All teachers on the Primary Team reflected a *transformation* position in that they each espoused a belief that intellectual development could not be isolated from emotional, social, physical, and moral development. In practice, however, these teachers did reflect a variation in orientation in terms of which aspect of the child's development was emphasized. Ted leaned strongly towards developing an ethic of care in his students. Mavis, Gail and Bernie, though sensitive to the emotional needs of their students, worked more towards developing their social and academic skills.

Basic Assumptions About the Learning Environment

The variation in curriculum orientation detected here was related to differences in positions regarding the value of a social learning environment and an individual learning

environment. The School perspective strongly reflected a social learning environment orientation and the principal was instrumental in fostering this type of environment. Both the Primary and Junior Teams demonstrated teaching practices which incorporated both types of learning environments. However, it was the Primary Team that seemed to have experienced the most stress in terms of trying to reconcile their reported discovery that full integration of the primary classes was not conducive to optimal student learning and that there were even times when learning was inhibited as a result of an open classroom learning environment.

With regards to conceptions of the learning environment, interestingly the School's orientation appeared to reflect a *transformation* orientation inasmuch as emphasis on the social aspect of learning is compatible with a social change position. However, the question that arises here is whether or not social change was the underlying basic assumption of the School's orientation to a social learning environment. The indication is that it was not. Considering Principal Butler's statement that the purpose of education was to teach the students social and moral values as skills that they needed to get through life, it would seem that social change did not figure into this position. Rather, the emphasis on the social learning environment was more for the purpose of teachers and students learning and helping one another. It was also for the purpose of having a structure in place whereby teachers would be able to hold each other accountable for what they doing in the classroom. In actuality, then, the underlying basic assumption which led to the manifestation of a social learning environment reflected a *transmission* position.

The Primary Team teachers experienced intense value conflict related to variations in orientations to the social learning environment. Initially, these teachers had enthusiastically adopted the open-classroom philosophy that was promoted by the school, especially the principal. However, in due course they began to resist the notion that this was the ideal environment for teaching and learning. In a sense, a process of negotiation took place as these teachers attempted to work out a way to incorporate both types of environments in their classrooms. The Activity Period was a time when the social learning environment philosophy was implemented to its fullest. The Junior Team had already worked out a similar approach inasmuch as they combined their classes for some types of learning activities and separated them for others. There was evidence that both Teams believed that there were times when students needed to interact with the learning material in a private way and needed individual space and quiet to carry out this interaction.

Basic Assumptions About the Teacher's Role

A second variation in the detected value orientation between the District and the Individual was related to differences in curriculum orientation. Mavis, a Primary Team member, espoused a belief that teachers should be facilitators to the learning process while the District described a more directive role for the teacher. However, Mavis did not articulate a value conflict between her view and the District position in terms of the teacher's role. Nonetheless, she did express value conflict between *wanting* to be facilitative and *needing* to be directive. She attributed her directive role as a response to

the multi-faceted needs of her students, which in turn was a result of their diversity in cultural backgrounds.

Mavis' basic assumption that the teacher's role is one which should be facilitative reflects a *transformation* position. However, her frustration in submitting to a directive role was a consequence of what she implied were expectations for all her students to achieve academic excellence. This conflict perhaps stemmed from the District's overall transmission orientation to educational purpose in terms of the emphasis on academic success for all students. Mavis' value conflict was grounded in her underlying basic assumption that the ideal teacher's role was facilitative and her realization that she had to be directive in order to help all of her students who were at various developmental stages and levels of ability to achieve academic success. By her own admission, she acquiesced to the directive role for she felt that the situation was such that she could not be facilitative to the degree that she wished to be.

Basic Assumptions about Locus of Control

This variation in curriculum orientation was related to differences in beliefs about locus of control. Overall the school orientation was one which was humanistic in approach inasmuch as there was an effort to treat students with respect and help them to develop self-esteem. However, there was considerable discord among members of the school on how to deal with students who repeatedly disobeyed school rules. This was particularly evident in the controversy that surrounded the issue of administering detentions to students who did not comply with school rules. Some teachers felt that detentions were

counter-productive, ineffective, and socially unacceptable while others supported the notion of issuing detentions inasmuch as students' behaviour needed to be controlled in some manner.

There was a notable difference in orientation between the Primary Team and the Junior Team pertaining to locus of control as well. In the case of the former, there was an emphasis on rule development to guide behaviour, whereas in the case of the latter, the emphasis was on consequences. Perhaps this is another subtle difference, but it would seem that in dealing with the younger students the Primary Team teachers were optimistic that they could actually influence and shape behaviour by informing students of what was acceptable. Conversely, the Junior Team's approach did not reflect this optimism inasmuch as focusing on consequences suggested that they began with the assumption that students would misbehave. As one might expect, there was no report of value conflict related to the teams' different orientations. Given that these two teams worked in relative isolation from one another, then they may not have even been aware of their different orientations.

Though there was consistency in terms of recognizing the need to develop classroom rules, there were other variations in orientation to locus of control among teachers on the Primary Team. All these teachers believed that a teacher/student relationship based on respect would serve to foster appropriate student social behaviour. However, Gail more strongly felt that this type of relationship was a prerequisite to the development of an internal locus of control in students. Ted's belief was that when students developed an ethic of care, they would also develop an internal locus of control

based on moral responsibility. Mavis and Bernie, on the other hand, shared a belief that while they should work toward developing an internal locus of control in students, in the case of those students who needed external control, the hierarchical arrangement in the school and classroom was conducive to controlling student behaviour by virtue of the power invested in teachers embedded in this arrangement.

The School's orientation pertaining to locus of control in terms of social behaviour reflected all three positions, *transmission*, *transaction*, and *transformation*. School documents clearly reflected a transmission position. Expectations for students' social behaviour was precisely detailed and there was no doubt that teachers were ultimately responsible for monitoring and controlling student behaviour. In terms of other manifestations of a transmission position, the detention room was initially set up as a punishment for misbehaviour.

Nevertheless, in other ways Hillside School reflected a transaction position. For example, the ongoing debate among teaching members at Hillside regarding the utility of the detention room included discussions about how it might be used to help students "process" their behaviour. In this way, teacher and student would share responsibility for understanding and controlling social behaviour. The emphasis would be on the *process*, and solving the problem, a characteristic of the transaction position.

There was also evidence of a transformation position pertaining to locus of control, inasmuch as some individuals in the school felt that external reinforcers such as rewarding classes with pizza lunches, or administering punishment in the form of detention were not conducive to helping students control behaviour. Rather, some

believed that the development of students' self-esteem and emotional well-being were necessary prerequisites to fostering self-discipline and an internal locus of control.

In terms of the Primary and Junior Teams, as previously stated, there was a variation in orientation in that the former appeared to emphasize the development of rules whereas the latter seemed to focus on the consequences of behaviour. However, basic assumptions regarding internal versus external loci of control were no more consistent within the teams than they were within the school. For example, both Mavis and Bernie shared orientations in terms of suggesting that it was necessary for teachers to hold some power over students for the purpose of classroom control. Mavis and Bernie reflected a *transmission* position in terms of their belief that the hierarchical arrangement in the school and the classroom was necessary for controlling student behaviour. Ted, on the other hand expressed that students would become morally responsible for their own behaviour when they developed an ethic of care. Gail suggested that a teacher/student relationship based on mutual respect would induce students to behave in a socially acceptable way in the classroom. Ted and Gail reflected a *transformation* position with respect to the role of the teacher and classroom control. As can be seen in examining Ted's and Gail's positions, even where individuals appear to hold a similar position, the basic assumptions which ground those positions may differ. Ted's basic assumption was that care and compassion for humanity would foster self-discipline while Gail's basic assumption was that respect for humankind was significant in the development of self-discipline. Perhaps it could be said that an ethic of care is grounded in the affect inasmuch as it is related to the emotional aspect of what it is to be human, while an ethic of respect

is grounded in reason in that it implies the rational aspect of humanity. Regardless, this difference in basic assumptions raises questions pertaining to how these basic assumptions are manifested in the culture of the school.

Basic Assumptions about Evaluation

There was one incident of variation in orientation between the District's emphasis on formal evaluation and the Primary's Team's emphasis on informal evaluation. However, although the District focus was on formal evaluation in terms of what was being done, there was also recognition that informal evaluation was highly valued. Consequently, there was no value conflict reported inasmuch as the Primary Team included both the formal types of evaluation (e.g., the Literacy Assessment Profiles) and the informal (e.g., self-evaluation, peer evaluation) in their methods of evaluation.

The District position on evaluation was primarily a *transmission* one in terms of what was actually being done. However, a *transformation* position was espoused in that District document statements suggested that various kinds of evaluation, including feedback from peers and self-evaluation were important for understanding student achievement and development. Inasmuch as the Primary Team teachers were involved in both types of evaluation, they reflected a *transformation* position in that they used both conventional modes of evaluation and non-conventional ones.

Basic Assumptions: Educator Professionalism and Leadership

For this part of the discussion of professional and leadership cultures of Hillside Elementary, I will examine basic assumptions using Schein's (1984, 1990) underlying dimensions of organizational culture (1990, p. 114) framework (see Table 8.3, p. 298)

Basic Assumptions about Collaboration: *The nature of human relationships: Should relationships be cooperative, collateral, or competitive?*

Again the principal played a strong role in promoting collaboration in the form of team teaching in the school. However, the Primary Team, by the teachers' own admission, was not unconditionally committed to a team teaching philosophy, at least not when it came to teaming in groups of four. They had misgivings about the logistics of working with four teachers and, by extension, four classes. And, as they suggested, the fact that these classes were comprised of culturally diverse students made teaming even more difficult. Early in the school year these teachers had been enthusiastic about teaming but as they encountered difficulties they began to experience strong value conflicts in terms of trying to reconcile their changing views on teaming with the prevailing teaming culture of Hillside. Once again a process of negotiation ensued whereby these teachers became involved in trying to work out the problems they were experiencing with teaming. The principal was aware of this ongoing process and knew they were experiencing difficulties collaborating.

Moreover, other teachers in the school did not wholly adopt the team teaching philosophy and resisted conforming to principles of team collaboration. Some teachers at

Table 8.3
Underlying Dimensions of Organizational Culture (Schein, 1990)

- ▶ **Collaboration: The Nature of Human Relationships**
Should relationships be Cooperative? Collateral? Competitive?
 - ▶ **Collegiality: The Nature of Human Nature**
Is human nature basically good, or basically evil, or neutral: that is a mixture of good and evil?
 - ▶ **Professional Growth: The Nature of Human Activity**
Should humans be active, concerned with accomplishments, or contemplative, concerned with self development, or passive, more prepared to let the world unfold as it may?
 - ▶ **Principal as Facilitator: The Nature of Authority**
Does the basis of authority rest upon the traditions and precedents of law, or does it evolve over time through human interactions?
 - ▶ **Teacher Empowerment: The Nature of Human Activity**
Is the "correct" way for humans to behave to be dominant/pro-active, harmonizing, or passive/fatalistic?
 - ▶ **Community as Resource and Partner: The Organization's Relationship to its Environment**
Does the organization perceive itself to be dominant, submissive, harmonizing, searching out a niche?
-

Hillside felt that they had no choice but to serve on committees, and therefore acquiesced to both pressure from the administration and pressure from their colleagues to participate in the planning and decision making that was a part of their respective committees.

However, according to the principal, this was something that individual teachers would have to come to terms with inasmuch as the committee structure was both instigated and implemented by the staff and not by the administration at Hillside.

The many reports of value conflicts associated with variations in orientations pertaining to collaboration may be described as stemming from differences in beliefs about the nature of human relationships. The principal and vice principal placed a high value on collaboration, reflecting the view that relationships in an organization should be based on cooperation among its members. However, some of the teachers at Hillside did not hold the same view, and admitted to preferring to work on an individual level in terms of classroom planning and teaching. Nonetheless, for the most part, there was evidence of varying degrees of team teaching. According to the principal, however, only one team had wholeheartedly adopted and implemented the philosophy.

In the case of the Primary Team, it seemed that while they believed in team teaching, they experienced value conflict because, when they attempted to put the collaborative philosophy into action, the Team members became somewhat competitive with each other. However, other logistical issues related to increased workload, time commitment, and the multifarious student needs also played havoc with their good intentions to be collaborative. On the other hand, it is also possible that if these teachers had been *wholly* committed to a team approach based on cooperation, and that if competitive instincts had not arisen, then they might have experienced fewer value conflicts related to their working relationships, despite logistical concerns.

Also, perhaps these teachers held the (mis)conception that collaborative processes were *supposed* to be characterized by harmony and cooperation, devoid of disagreement. However, as Fullan and Hargreaves (1991, p. 48) point out, whereas collaborative cultures may require general consensus on educational values, “they also tolerate

disagreement.” Consequently, collaborative processes often involve conflict and heated debate. However, the key to fostering *authentic* collaboration is that those involved must be willing to participate in activities “which bring a sense of empowerment, a language of inclusion and a willingness to accommodate differences and disagreement” (Johnston & Hedeman, 1994, p. 196).

Basic Assumptions about Collegiality: *The nature of human nature: Is human nature basically good, or basically evil, or neutral: that is a mixture of good and evil?*

There were variations in orientations to collegiality inasmuch as interaction between teachers at Hillside Elementary varied. There was certainly evidence of pockets of collegiality in that some teams seemed to work toward maintaining and developing inter-personal relationships. On the other hand, some teams were comprised of teachers with conflicting views and consequently collegial relationships were strained. Furthermore, there were attempts by some on the staff to foster collegial relationships by organizing social activities intended to get teachers together on an informal basis in the hopes that bonding and cohesion would result. This was having some effect but there still remained teachers in the school who seemed to prefer to work on a more individual basis and who even felt that attempts to foster collegial relationships were, at the very least contrived, if not forced upon them.

There were variations in orientations pertaining to collegiality among the Primary Team members inasmuch as these teachers’ beliefs differed in terms of the level of trust and honesty each experienced in the teaming relationship. Undoubtedly, the challenges

they had experienced in terms of managing four classes contributed to any feelings of insecurity they may have felt and would have thwarted the bonding process.

The issue of underlying basic assumptions about human nature pertaining to collegiality is really one which encompasses matters of relationships grounded in trust, openness and candidness vs. those based upon mistrust, caution, and privacy. When individuals are in a social situation, their underlying basic assumptions about human nature undoubtedly influences the type of relationship that develops. It would seem that there were variations in collegiality among members of Hillside and in particular, among the Primary Team teachers. The manifestation of “pockets” of collegiality parallels the notion of a “Balkanised” teacher culture where “a culture is made up of separate and sometimes competing groups, jockeying for position and supremacy” (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991, p. 52). The warning implicit here is that whereas teaming according to grade levels can be an effective way to collaborate and promote collegiality, the promotion of staff relationships based on trust, openness and support “is also a matter of creating a community of teachers whose experiences and commitments are not confined exclusively to a single grade” (Fullan & Hargreaves, p. 54).

Inasmuch as Hillside teachers were involved in cross-groupings in the way the committee structure was arranged, the pockets of collegiality reported by some teachers would appear to be an anomaly in that such an environment should have supported collegial relationships. Or it may be an example of how “contrived collegiality” (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991, p. 58), that is a scheme to promote collaborative relationships between teachers, does not work. The inference here is that the connection between collaboration

and collegiality should not be underestimated. If individuals in a social relationship do not trust one another, it is less likely that they will be honest. That is, they will not trust each other to be open and candid in terms of sharing their ideas, suggestions and/or critiques. The Primary Team teachers, and perhaps other individuals in the school who demonstrated a penchant for a degree of privacy in their professional social relationships, perhaps did not trust that such relationships could withstand the kind of candidness that was required for them to be fully collaborative.

In any event, it would seem that the administrative team was aware of the significance of collegiality characterized by trust and honesty for a collaborative relationship to flourish in that teachers were encouraged to choose their teaming partners. Research supports the notion that freedom to choose partners increases the likelihood that teachers will enter into teaming relationships characterized by trust and honesty. One study of teacher collaboration found that teachers involved in teams which were mandated manifested the development of trust more slowly than teachers who were involved in selecting their teams (Costa & Riordan, 1996, p. 8). However, in light of findings related to the Primary Team, choosing one's team does not necessarily mean that trust and honesty will develop in a teaming relationship. Evidently, other variables figure into the development of team trust and collaboration. Not the least of which may be the length of time that the team has worked together. Teachers report finding it easier to take the risks and share controversial ideas after they had collaborated for four of five months (Costa & Riordan, 1996). Considering that the Primary Team had worked together for only three months, they had not had much time to adjust to a collegial and collaborative relationship.

Basic Assumptions about Professional Growth: *The nature of Human Activity: Is the "correct" way for humans to behave to be dominant/pro-active, harmonizing, or passive/fatalistic?*

District emphasis was on planned professional development through the mentoring process and peer coaching. Hillside's emphasis on team teaching and the purported professional growth benefits that were associated with team teaching suggest that there was consensus in this respect. However, the District also placed considerable import on teacher evaluation and accountability in terms of "indicators" of what makes an effective teacher. Consequently, professional growth would come not only from self-reflection and peer coaching and mentoring, but from written evaluations conducted by school administrators. From the perspective of the School, the principal grappled with the issue of professional development in terms of what he felt was the need for more structured professional development and consequently, more professional development days for his staff. He resisted pressure from District office to mandate after-hour sessions as was being done in some other schools because he felt that most of Hillside Elementary teachers were already working long hours.

Both the District and the School reflected a basic assumption which suggested that the nature of human activity should be contemplative and concerned with self-development in that peer coaching and mentoring were highly valued as means to fostering professional growth. However, the District orientation to measure and evaluate teacher effectiveness reflects the view that teachers also should be concerned with accomplishments as a basis for determining growth and improvement. The principal's recognition that teachers needed more opportunities for professional development outside of regular school activity coupled with his reticence to enforce District expectations that

teachers engage in professional growth at the end of their school day, suggests a couple of things. First of all, it implies that professional growth was highly valued from the perspective of the District in terms of peer coaching, mentoring and administrative evaluations. However, in light of the fact that their professional development days were decreasing in number, the District also reflected a passive view to the nature of human activity pertaining to professional growth. Secondly, from the perspective of the School, inasmuch as there was a reluctance to mandate after-hour professional development activities, this suggests a belief that concern with self-development should not be relegated to the end of the day but should be a full-fledged part of teachers' professional experience.

There may be a significant connection between the problems that teachers were experiencing with team teaching and collaboration and the minimal support that they were receiving in terms of developing collaborative relationship skills. For example, Beeson and Matthews' 1993 (Johnston & Hedeman, 1994) study on decentralization and school-based committees addressed barriers to establishing collaborative processes which included a "lack of preparation and support given to teachers, school administrators, parents and students to participate in collaborative processes" (Johnston & Hedeman, 1994, p. 196). Similarly, if teachers at Hillside were not receiving the *full* support they needed to develop collaborative working skills, then that may have been one of the reasons why there was evidence of variations in orientations to collaboration.

Basic Assumptions about the Principal as Facilitator: *The Nature of Authority: Does the basis of authority rest upon the traditions and precedents of law, or does it evolve over time and through human interactions?*

There were variations in orientations among individuals within the school pertaining to the role of the principal as facilitator. Whereas some teachers expressed support for Principal Butler in his facilitative role, others stated they thought he should be more directive, especially on issues which did not directly relate to them as teachers. Several teachers also felt that the principal should have taken a stronger stand on controversial issues, especially where staff consensus was difficult to reach with the more vocal and forceful members of staff trying to impose their ideas on the rest of the group.

The issue of whether a principal should be facilitative or directive or both is related to underlying beliefs about authority and decision making. Hierarchical organizational structures are traditionally associated with leadership and direction from the top. Several teachers at Hillside stated a preference for the principal to be more directive. For example, Ester suggested that they need not be involved in decision making pertaining to school matters that did not affect teachers in the classroom. Moreover, Mavis believed that the erosion of the hierarchical structure in schools today made it more difficult for teachers to control student behaviour. She also felt that respect should be accorded the principal, the vice principal and the teachers by virtue of their positions in the hierarchical organization. Furthermore, others thought that the principal should be more authoritarian when dealing with students and that he should not be leaving his door open for students to drop in unannounced which they believed merely served to undermine the notion of respect for authority.

Also related to directive leadership and top-down authority is one teacher's description of a controversy among staff related to arriving at a decision about timetabling. Apparently the process was characterized by heated debate, cajoling, and lop-sided compromise resulting in an unsatisfactory outcome for some and residual negative feelings for many. This particular teacher felt that the problem could have been resolved more easily had the principal used his position to take control of the situation early into the process by informing teachers of the options they had and leading them more carefully through the process.

Conversely, there were those in the school who believed they had an important role to play in the decision making process and supported the facilitative role that the principal had adopted. These teachers described the principal's facilitative role as being team-based, especially in his emphasis on teaching teams and the committee structure. However, not all teachers saw this as sharing decision making for there were reports that the expectation for committee involvement was imposed upon them. Yet according to the principal it was not imposed upon them by administration but had been a joint decision of staff. Clearly, perceptions of both how the committee structure had developed, and the degree of ownership accepted for its development were different among the various perspectives within the school.

Principal Butler may have gotten at the crux of the matter when he stated that it would take a few years for all teachers to come to know him and trust that they could take risks and make mistakes when sharing in the decision making process. In moving toward a decentralized organization, where the basis of authority does not rest upon tradition, it

would undoubtedly take many teachers not experienced in working in this type of organization time to adjust.

Basic Assumptions about Teacher Empowerment: *i.) The nature of human nature: Is human nature basically good, or basically evil, or neutral: that is a mixture of good and evil?*

ii.) The nature of human activity: Is the "correct" way for humans to act to be dominant/pro-active, harmonizing, or passive/fatalistic?

There is a connection between variations in orientations pertaining to the principal's role as facilitator and variations pertaining to teacher empowerment. Teachers who wanted the principal to be more directive in his role also expressed dissatisfaction with the committee structure. Some did not want the added responsibility that structures which fostered shared decision making imposed upon them.

This variation was not only reflected from the perspective of individuals within the school but also from the perspective of individuals within the Junior Team. As previously addressed, although Ester and Louise conceptualized teacher empowerment differently, these differences did not seem to affect their teaming relationship.

An interesting variation to teacher empowerment was Bernie's admission that she felt the need to control her image. Team teaching and the committee structure imposed, in a sense, accountability on teachers. Bernie experienced feelings of disempowerment when she was not in control of the image that others perceived of her. This again seems to be related to a relationship characterized by competition, judgment and mistrust in place of one characterized by openness, honesty and trust.

As stated, beliefs about teacher empowerment are related to beliefs about the role of the principal. In terms of the variations in orientation among individuals within the school and between Ester and Louise on the Junior Team, these variations are grounded in differing beliefs about the nature of human activity. It would seem that teachers who did not feel empowered by virtue of being on committees, and consequently by having the opportunity to make decisions about how the school organization was run, may not have highly valued a pro-active role in the school. Of course, the complaint by some was that being on committees added extra work and responsibility to their already busy schedule. Nevertheless, this did not deter other members of Hillside staff who seemed to have embraced the opportunity to be pro-active in the decision making process.

With regard to Bernie's feelings of disempowerment related to not having full control of her professional image, this seems to be related to the nature of human nature more so than the nature of human activity. Bernie's apparent lack of confidence and trust in the collegiality relationships of Hillside staff and her team members served to make her unsure about exposing her "flaws" as a teacher. This underscores the relationship between teachers' feelings of self-confidence in their teaching ability and the development of collaboration, collegiality and teacher empowerment. Costa and Riordan (1996), support this concept and state that "the role that teachers' confidence in their teaching abilities plays in the development of trust between colleagues engaging in teacher collaboration" (p. 4) is an important one.

Basic Assumptions about the Community as Partner: *The organization's relationship to its environment: Does the organization perceive itself to be dominant, submissive, harmonizing, searching out a niche?*

The Primary Team had concerns about the level of interest that parents in the community demonstrated in their children's education. They stated that, outside formal arrangements, they had little contact with parents. They attributed this to i.) the language barrier, as many immigrated parents were not fluent in English; ii.) the fact that many of these parents were from cultures where parents did not play an active role in schools; and iii.) the physical layout of the school. In actual fact, however, there were signs that parents were active as volunteers in the school. It seemed that many teachers were aware of a network within the school in the form of the family resource centre and had ready access to parents as volunteers. There appeared to be a strong orientation from the overall perspective of the school to open communication between parents and school. Nonetheless, the Primary Team teachers seemed to have experienced isolation from parents and were not utilizing this resource to its maximum.

With regard to the School perspective, it would seem that the underlying basic assumption which guided the relationship between the school and the community was a harmonizing one. There were many efforts on the part of administrators, teachers and the family resource co-ordinator to reach out to the community and to help parents feel welcome at Hillside. Nonetheless, there were variations in orientations in terms of the amount of effort that individuals demonstrated in utilizing and promoting the school as partner with the community. Furthermore, as suggested by the principal, many parents

were not ready to take an active leadership role in the school. Despite repeated efforts to encourage community parents to become part of a school council, they showed willingness to “help” out where possible but avoided roles where they would be expected to actively take part in decision making. This should not be surprising, as Johnston and Hedeman (1994) point out that “given the complexity of school life and the complexity of the decisions being made, such collaborative processes are not easily established” (p. 195).

Perhaps the Primary Team teachers’ problem with engaging parents in any sort of ongoing communication is an example of the kind of difficulty that is involved in establishing a partnership between school and community. While citing various reasons for the poor communication between these stakeholders in the educational process, the Primary Team teachers did not appear to make a concerted effort to overcome these barriers. However, it would be invalid to assume that these teachers believed that parents should not have an active role in the school. It is more likely, in this case, that considering these four teachers were new to Hillside Elementary and were already experiencing many challenges as it was, their energies were focused on other matters and parents as partners was not a current priority. This is another indication of how teachers, especially those new to a school, need preparation and professional development that will support collaborative growth processes whereby parents and the rest of the community may feel comfortable in participating in school decision making.

Value Harmony and Value Disharmony

This section of the chapter addresses two important aspects for understanding how culture is shaped, developed and changed: shared values and variations in values. The former is discussed under the category of value harmony while the latter is discussed under the category of value disharmony.

Value Harmony

As consistency in basic assumptions and underlying values can inform us about the culture of an organization as well as variations in orientations, a brief discussion of the orientations that members of Hillside Elementary shared is warranted. There appeared to be consistency in curriculum orientation to the learning process (see Table 8.4, p. 312) among all perspectives. That is from all perspectives (i.e., District, School, Primary Team, Junior Team) there was, for the most part, equal emphasis on both internal motivation and external motivation for learning and on personal and public knowledge, a stronger emphasis on knowledge as process, and very strong emphasis on holistic learning. This suggests that at least with regards to these four orientations, there was consensus among teachers, administrators, and district officials regarding these aspects of the learning process.

What this means is that, although there were inconsistencies in orientation pertaining to the purpose of education, pertaining to the learner, pertaining to teacher's role, pertaining to the student evaluation, pertaining to educator professionalism and

pertaining to leadership in the school, all perspectives shared beliefs about the process of learning or how students learn best.

Table 8. 4
Values Consensus: Consistency in Orientations

| CURRICULUM ORIENTATIONS | DIST | SCH | PRIMARY TEAM | | | | JUNIOR TEAM | |
|-----------------------------|------|-----|---------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|---------------|
| | | | <i>Bernie</i> | <i>Gail</i> | <i>Mavis</i> | <i>Ted</i> | <i>Ester</i> | <i>Louise</i> |
| Intrinsic Motivation | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Extrinsic Motivation | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Personal Knowledge | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Public Knowledge | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Knowledge as Process | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Knowledge as Content | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Holistic Learning | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Molecular Learning | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

X = Strong Orientation

x = Weak Orientation

This of course raises questions regarding the relationship between what students learn and how students learn. If there are variations in orientations pertaining to the purpose of school, one might expect that the beliefs about the learning process would also be varied. For example, if one believes that social adaptation is the purpose of school in terms of students learning the facts, skills and values of the society in which they belong, then it would seem that the process of learning might be more traditional in that it would reflect a focus on public knowledge as opposed to personal knowledge, a focus on knowledge as content as opposed to knowledge as process, and a focus on molecular learning as opposed to holistic learning. However, as already addressed, this was not the case. It is difficult to speculate why this is so, which raises further questions:

- How aware are educators of the underlying basic assumptions which guide their practice?
- How consistent are underlying basic assumptions with espoused beliefs?
- What effect do variations in underlying basic assumptions regarding educational purpose and curriculum orientations have on what students learn?
- How are teachers' and administrators' values and beliefs negotiated/compromised/subverted/ in educational organizations?
- What kind of school culture is conducive to uncovering members' basic assumptions?

These are questions which warrant further study into the issue of educators' value orientations and their underlying basic assumptions. In coming to understanding of our values and how they influence what goes on in schools, we will come closer to actually achieving what it is we intend to do.

Value Disharmony

On the whole, there were more variations in value orientations among the perspectives than there were consistencies. Furthermore, consistency in orientations was noted primarily pertaining to the learning process within the curriculum orientation framework. On the other hand, inconsistencies in orientations were noted pertaining to all four categories: educational purpose, other aspects of curriculum orientation, educator professionalism and leadership. Table 8.5 (see p. 316) depicts a summary of the types of variations in orientations and value conflicts. There are a number of interesting issues related to the various types of variations in value orientations and the value conflicts which arose from certain types of variations.

One salient point which emerged in the findings related to value disharmony and value conflict is that of trying to address the issue of why some variations in orientations gave rise to reports of value conflicts while others did not. Here we are reminded of the role of core values or basic assumptions in experiencing value conflict. For example, only one value conflict related to variations in beliefs about educational purpose was reported. When variations in educational purpose were examined for the underlying basic assumptions it was found that all appeared to be grounded in some manner in the transmission position. Consequently, although there were differences in which aspects of this orientation were emphasized, there was underlying consensus in basic assumptions about the purpose of education. In other words, the core values or basic assumptions were not in conflict.

However, when we examine the variations where conflicts did occur (see Table 8.5, p. 316) we find that certain basic assumptions were in conflict. Most notable perhaps is Variation in Orientation # 7, Individuals Within the School. Each one of this type of variation, that is, variation in orientation pertaining to locus of control, collaboration, collegiality, principal as facilitator and teacher empowerment, is associated with value conflicts. As previously discussed, in each case there were instances of competing core values.

Moreover, this finding is significant in that it supports the precept that in order to understand the culture of a school it is necessary to go beyond the notion of shared values to uncover variations in values as well. The analysis of culture from the perspective of the school in terms of cultural artifacts such as bulletin boards displays, school festivities, daily school activities and rituals, school documents, administrators' and teachers' oral statements, reflected the values of collaboration, collegiality, participation, and shared decision making. However, these values were not embraced equally by the individuals at Hillside Elementary.

For example, as previously stated, although the school culture manifested itself as primarily humanistic in terms of emphasizing an internal locus of behavioural control (despite documents which clearly indicated a custodial leaning), there is indication that there was much variation in beliefs pertaining to student behavioural control among teachers in the school. Also, despite the principal's goal to facilitate collaborative and collegial cultures and teacher empowerment, many individuals in the school reported value

Table 8.5

Summary of Types of Variations in Value Orientations and Value Conflicts

- 1. District and School**
 - ▶ Social Adaptation vs. Academic Development
 - ▶ Professional Growth*
- 2. District and Teams**
 - ▶ Uniqueness of the Learner vs. Similarity of the Learner*
- 3. District and Team**
 - ▶ Informal Evaluation vs. Formal Evaluation
- 4. District and Individual**
 - ▶ Social Adaptation vs. Social Reconstruction*
 - ▶ Child-directed Learning and Teacher-directed Learning*
- 5. School and Teams**
 - ▶ Social Learning Environment vs. Individual Learning Environment*
- 6. School and Team**
 - ▶ Collaboration*
 - ▶ Community as Partner*
- 7. Individuals Within the School:**
 - ▶ Internal Control of Social Behaviour vs. External Control of Social Behaviour*
 - ▶ Collaboration*
 - ▶ Collegiality*
 - ▶ Principal as Facilitator*
 - ▶ Teacher Empowerment*
- 8. School and Individual**
 - ▶ Social Adaptation vs. Social Reconstruction
 - ▶ Teacher Empowerment*
- 9. Team and Team**
 - ▶ Internal Control of Social Behaviour vs. External Control of Social Behaviour
- 10. Individuals Within a Team**
 - ▶ Whole Child
 - ▶ Internal Control of Social Behaviour vs. External Control of Social Behaviour*
 - ▶ Collegiality*
- 11. Team and Individual**
 - ▶ Social Adaptation vs. Social Reconstruction
 - ▶ Social Adaptation/Personal Development/Career Development vs. Cognitive Development
- 12. Individual**
 - ▶ Social Adaptation vs. Social Reconstruction

*Value Conflict Experienced

conflicts related to these processes. The fact that there was so much value conflict reported by individual teachers within the school pertaining to these orientations is an example of how, when we look deeper into the prevailing culture that is manifested in a school through the variations in value orientations from different perspectives, we are able to uncover not only what is *shared* but what is *contested* as well.

Equally important for understanding the culture of Hillside School is realizing that many of the teachers were in the process of either negotiating, resisting, or acquiescing to, either one, some, or all of these values. For example, negotiation took place among the Primary Team teachers in working out ways to develop both social *and* individual learning environments in their classrooms. Teachers were also in the process of *negotiating* ways to deal with student misbehaviour and were critically examining the structure and implications of the detention room in terms of how to make improvements in the process. However, there was also evidence of incidents where teachers were *acquiescing* to the prevailing school culture, as in the case of those teachers who objected to the idea of young students “serving” detention but who also did not raise this concern for discussion with the detention committee or the administration. There were some forms of *resistance* to the overall school culture as well. For example, the open-classroom culture of the school was resisted to an extent by some. The principal suggested that a small number of teachers at Hillside did not wholeheartedly share the philosophy of a social learning environment and team teaching and that they preferred the isolation of their own classroom.

The culture of the school was one which seemed to support a negotiation process inasmuch as the principal appeared reluctant to rigidly impose values. Moreover, there seemed to be an atmosphere in the school which was conducive to facilitating change and growth in that teachers were allowed to take risks, make mistakes and voice criticisms. On the other hand, there was also an understanding in the school that those who did not adopt the team teaching philosophy might be encouraged to teach in a school that would better suit their personal educational philosophy. So while there was room for negotiation when it came to some variations in orientations inasmuch as the principal and vice principal supported an atmosphere of risk taking and allowed time for the process of working out the terms of teaming relationships, there was an implicit understanding that if teachers were not willing to make compromises when it came to negotiating these values, that is if there was firm resistance to these core values embraced at Hillside, then they might be encouraged to teach in a different school.

Summary

Looking at school culture from various perspectives adds both depth and breadth to our understanding of culture. Undoubtedly, it is necessary to examine consistencies in value orientations to help us better understand where there is value consensus among stakeholders. However, we must understand not only what it is we agree upon, but what it is we do not as well. Through examining variations in value orientations we gain insight into the evolutionary process which often is, and perhaps should be, a part of the culture of our educational organizations. Without acknowledging our variations in values and our

value conflicts, it is inconceivable that there would be change, growth and improvement in our educational institutions. This is important for educational leaders, particularly in light of the increasingly growing educational trend to include *all* stakeholders in the decision making process. Moreover, it is especially significant in today's postmodern, culturally diverse, technologically advanced society.

CHAPTER NINE

Implications and Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary discussion and conclusion and outlines the implications for practitioners and researchers.

Educational Purposes, Curriculum Metaorientations and Professional and Leadership Cultures: The Connection

In the examination of the culture of Hillside Elementary School I discovered an overall transmission orientation to the purpose of school to the extent that there was an emphasis on transmitting and perpetuating moral and social values for the purpose of teaching the skills that students need to “get through life.” The tangible manifestations of the school’s culture indicated a respect for and inclusiveness of the cultural diversity reflected in the student population. Nonetheless, the multi-perspective analysis of the school culture provided a way for me to delve deeper beneath these tangible manifestations so that I came to perceive the variations in espoused orientations to educational purpose, which ranged from preserving to downplaying Canadian societal values. The former position was based on the belief that Canadian identity was in

jeopardy with the influx of immigrants who did not share Euro-western values.

Conversely, the latter view was grounded in a belief that dominant societal values should not be imposed on ethnic minorities. Curiously, despite the variations in beliefs about educational purposes, curriculum orientations were not quite so varied. Inconsistencies, or variations in orientations and the resultant value conflicts, were primarily related to beliefs about the learning environment and beliefs about the role of the teacher, particularly, in the case of the latter, pertaining to behavioral control of students. Despite variations in espoused educational purpose across the various perspectives within a given school organizational culture teaching practices varied little. Espoused values, reflected in the school's cultural artifacts such as policy statements, school newspapers, bulletin boards, participants' oral statements, staff room discussions, etc., indicated that there were variations in orientations to educational purposes and curriculum orientations. However, these variations were not strongly reflected in educators' practices. The ensuing discussion attempts to shed light on this complex and multifaceted problem.

Cultural Influences on Educational Values

A culture or a society is the totality of its organizations and these in turn are the totality of their idiographic human components. Culture both determines and is determined by individuals and so, for that matter, is an organization. (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 68)

At the public, collective level, values may be objectified into systems of law, codes of ethics, systematized philosophies and ideologies (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 96) which are subject to relatively slow change depending upon changes in the socio-cultural climate (Rokeach, 1970, p. 34). This has implications for educators and the educational process,

for as “social and cultural diversity increases, as equity becomes a greater social priority, and as demands for fiscal restraint persist, the circumstances of educational decision making becomes more complex and challenging” (Begley, 1996, p. 405)

According to Hargreaves (1994a, p. 24), “the challenges and changes facing teachers and schools are not parochially confined to education but are rooted in a major socio-historical transition from a period of modernity to one of postmodernity.” Hargreaves (1994a, p. 25) describes the socio-cultural age of modernity as one which is characterised by “beliefs that nature can be transformed and social progress achieved by the systematic development of scientific and technological understanding, and by its rational application to social and economic life.” Efficiency, productivity, atomism, rational thought, mass production and standardization are some of the basic characteristics underlying this socio-cultural age. The technological developments of the past few decades have brought us from an industrial to an information society and along with this social evolution is a slow change in values. Authority relationships in the workplace and the classroom once were typically hierarchical, fostering obedience, control, rigidity, and conformity in the workers and students. However, today’s postmodern information society demands different work skills; hence, a shift from what once was valued in the workplace to different values; the promotion of independence, creativity, interaction, negotiation and communication (Bluestein, 1988, p. 24). This condition is depicted by “cultural wars” (Mitchell, Sackney, & Walker, 1994, p. 6) whereby individuals are “caught between the forces of those who are culturally conservative and those who are culturally progressive.”

It would seem that in many ways, on the surface at least, Hillside Elementary is a reflection of the conflicting ideologies of both the modern and postmodern age. Whereas the variations in orientation to the purpose of education may suggest the influence of a changing socio-cultural age, orientations to curriculum in terms of what teachers actually do, appear slower to change. This may be due in part to the fact that, despite perhaps a transformation orientation, teachers' "powers of discretion [are] delimited by the technical controls of standardized tests, "teacher proof" curriculum packages and guidelines, and step-by-step models of teaching imposed from above" (Hargreaves, 1994a p. 26), all characteristics of the modern society.

Why do teachers experience more value conflicts related to the role of the teacher and the learning environment than related to other facets of a curriculum orientation position? This, too, may be addressed in light of the postmodern influence on the larger society. As suggested by Rokeach, values reflect the social conditions of the time, and the state-of- flux condition associated with a postmodern world has given rise to valuing such qualities as "flexibility" and "adaptability" in contrast to the earlier modern world values of "uniformity" and "standardization" (Mitchell et al., 1994). A problem for many teachers, it is suggested, is that they have learned control-oriented values growing up, but are attempting to teach skills to information-age children. This was especially seen in the varied views of the Primary Team teachers pertaining to student behavioral control. Two of these teachers viewed the "erosion" of hierarchical structures in the school, which they believed served to help control behaviour, with dismay. From the perspective of the school, policy documents quite clearly reflected the influence of modern societal values

inasmuch as compliance, obedience, teacher control and respect for authority were emphasized while other manifestations of the culture of the school reflected a postmodern influence whereby respect for authority was perhaps not replaced but certainly co-existed with ideals such as student empowerment and shared responsibility for behaviour.

Moreover, there were varied orientations and inherent value conflicts experienced by some organizational members pertaining to the issue of discipline. This perhaps reflected the influence of changing views about student-teacher relationships and authority.

Consequently, Hillside Elementary School did indeed reflect the changing socio-cultural values of the society in which it belonged. The value conflicts teachers experienced were primarily related to their basic assumptions pertaining to the teachers' role and the learning environment. For many the transition from an individual learning environment characterized by hierarchical control, uniformity, authority and atomistic learning to a social learning environment which emphasized cooperation, participation, decentralized authority, shared responsibility and pluralism was difficult. The reason for this difficulty cannot be explained merely as teachers clinging inflexibly to the more traditional beliefs of a modern society. Rather, given District expectations for student academic achievement and the high priority attributed to literacy and numeracy performance, many teachers who may have wanted to be facilitative, who may have wanted to encourage democratic teaching curricular practices, who may have wanted to address individual needs and/or who may have wanted to "transform" accepted modes of thinking about social and multicultural issues may also have felt thwarted in their attempts.

Moreover, the school's overall emphasis on the development of social and moral values was a double-edged sword. On one hand, respect for cultural differences and the personal development of students was a high priority. On the other hand, there was a clear indication that social values such as honesty, respect, trust, work ethic, competition, and cooperation, were considered to be universal to all cultures. Consequently, the school was in the process of grappling with how to teach values without imposing them through top-down, hierarchical control. Also many teachers were situated differently on the discipline continuum between those who were utilizing practices which emphasized an external locus of control and those who were exemplifying practices which emphasized an internal locus of control.

Whereas issues of discipline are not new to schools, the postmodern influence on educational thought exacerbates the problem. Frequently, teachers are faced with the challenge of controlling students' behaviours in such a way so as to "establish rapport . . . and . . . awaken enthusiasm for learning" (Lunenburg, 1991, p. 19). The challenge of balancing the potentially polar extremes of *maintaining order* and *establishing rapport* for optimal student learning is at best enigmatic and most certainly situationally conflict-laden. As Lunenburg (1991, p. 19) discovered in his research on classroom discipline, "the teacher daily must resolve the conflict between the personalistic demands of the pupil-teacher relationship and the organizational demands for control in the classroom." However, whereas teachers may feel they are "victims of administrative demands" (Campbell, 1992, p. 6) they may also be "victims" of *self-demands*, that is, personal, self-expectations defined and shaped by individual experiences, and career-long routines and

regulations. As with Ryan (1989, p. 339), in his experience with teaching the Innut, these personal educational values may keep them “shackled to . . . teaching practices” which they know to be counter to what is *right* in terms of establishing and developing learning environments for students. The Primary Team teachers seemed to experience similar conflict inasmuch as they saw great potential in the Activity Time learning environment. It was an environment which encouraged participation, cooperation, sharing, responsibility, self-discipline, and decision making and where teachers were facilitators of learning. Yet these teachers still felt that there were times they needed to be more directive and authoritarian and, consequently, would limit choices, arrange for group or individual learning, impose learning activities, and control social behaviour to ensure that academic standards were met.

Education in Multicultural Schools and Values Theory: Means and Ends

Discussions about the antithetical characteristics of values and the resultant lack of consensus about these value characteristics (i.e., means and ends; relative and absolute; subjective and objective; desired and desirable) have implications for discussions about educational purposes and curriculum metaorientations. Educational purposes, by their very nature are deemed educational ends, or in Rokeach’s value theory language, “terminal” values. Frequently, discourse on educational purposes addresses the issue of what are the desirable *ends* and what are the best *means* for reaching these ends. What is one person’s end may be another person’s means, so to speak. Regarding the ongoing debate about ends and means, Beck (1996, p. 4) states:

A similar error has been made in education, where we have often treated correct grammar and spelling, for example, as absolutes or ends in themselves when in fact they are means. Much of the opposition to allowing a transitional phase of "invented" or "temporary" forms in language learning is due to this kind of absolutism.

What Beck is describing here is related to the content versus process debate, where advocates of knowledge as content emphasize the accumulation of knowledge (e.g., literacy and numeracy) as an end while advocates of process emphasize the process of learning as more important as an overall end. However, his point goes deeper than that. He raises the issues of the danger embedded in holding as ends that which should be means. In other words, the end purpose of education should not be literacy and numeracy in and of itself, nor should it be the transmission of social and moral values, in and of themselves. According to Beck, these are the means to the good life not ends in themselves. And perhaps that is the major problem with a transmission orientation to curriculum, that the transmission of knowledge, whether it be academic, social or moral, is viewed as the desirable end-state and not the means to the "good life."

Admittedly, pure forms of a transmission orientation are rarely found in today's schools. But the influence of a transmission orientation are pervasive, as was the case for Hillside Elementary. This is problematic for reasons which can be discussed in light of the findings in this study surrounding teachers' beliefs about educational purpose. When social and moral values cultural values are held uncritically and unquestionable superior to those of other cultures then it is no wonder that schools do serve to maintain and perpetuate the societal status quo. In the case the one teacher who suggested that schools really do function to maintain socio-economic and cultural status quo, we are left to

wonder about the future of those who enter school already culturally disenfranchised, socially marginalized and economically disadvantaged. And in this teacher's brutally honest analysis, this educational end worked to her advantage. Not only hers, it would seem. When the purpose of school serves to maintain the societal status quo, whether explicitly or implicitly, overtly or covertly, then students may come to learn that they will have to be content to be part of the "functional underclass" (Galbraith, 1992, p. 33).

So if the transmission of public knowledge in the form of social, moral and academic knowledge is not a desirable end, then what is? In the context of multiculturalism, this question is even more difficult to answer. There is considerable ambiguity and ongoing debate about what education in multicultural schools (Mazurek & Kach, 1990, p. 157) should entail. At Hillside Elementary School there was certainly a concerted effort on the part of teachers and administrators to understand the various cultures and to promote respect for the cultural differences. There was also a focus on the teaching of values which implicitly meant that certain moral and social values are universal to all cultures. One teacher voiced a concern that schools in general impose dominant societal values on cultural minorities yet she was unclear as to which values these might be. She felt that she too may have unconsciously and inadvertently imposed her own "Canadian" values on her students in the course of her teaching career. Kach and DeFaveri (in Titley, 1990, p. 159) describe the type of dilemma that teachers are faced with in a multicultural school:

And what is the teacher to do when asked to take the Charter of Rights seriously - the Charter, which insists that no individual is to be discriminated against on the basis of sex (section 15) - but who is at the

same time asked to take seriously the federal government's policy of multiculturalism, which states that the government "will seek to assist all Canadian cultural groups," some of which are, unhappily, sexist?

Which brings us to the issue of the universality of moral and social values. The culture of Hillside School was one which encouraged *respect for cultural differences*. It also was one which encouraged student/teacher relationships based on *mutual respect*. The principal worked to promote an open and congenial atmosphere in the school whereby students would feel that they were part of a family. However, there is a difference between mutual respect based on a loving, caring relationship and respect based on authority and there are cultural differences in which kind of respect is valued. For example, one parent interviewed was adamant that students should respect and obey teachers unconditionally, regardless of the character of the teacher. In light of the inherent dangers of this type of student/teacher relationship where students' discretionary powers are oppressed, this is not the kind of respect that is ideal. The implications for teachers and students are related to issues of imposing values, and the kinds of dilemmas that teachers face when trying to reconcile these types of value conflicts. Simple solutions to the problem, however, are not available and "hard choices will have to be made about what does and does not constitute multicultural education" (Titley, 1990, p. 159).

Though not an attempt to resolve the problems that are embedded in teaching in multicultural schools, perhaps a look at educational purposes from another perspective is warranted, where the transmission of moral and social values are not conceived of as desirable ends or absolutes in the educational endeavour. On the subject of educational purpose, Sarason (1995a, p. 149) writes:

. . . I have argued that at the top of my list of purposes of schooling is to recognize, respect, nurture, and exploit what children are before they enter school: curious, questing, question-asking, competence-seeking individuals in search of an identity that propels them to want to learn more about themselves, others, and their world, to want to experience that sense of growth or change, that sense of self-worth without which daily living is literally unproductive; it is routinized, aimless existence, a prelude to a similar future, to an unexamined life.

What Sarason is saying is that the overarching purpose of schools should be to foster the intellectual curiosity that is natural in children and I will add, natural to children of all races, ethnicities and cultures, and necessary for life-long learning. However, capitalizing on intellectual curiosity does imply a restrictive curriculum consisting of “a narrow band of academic disciplines” (Beck, 1995, p. 7). Referring to Ontario’s, 1995 “Report of the Royal Commission on Learning,” Beck suggested that the report “largely neglects general life values, popular culture, worldviews, life planning (apart from career planning), friendship, relationships, community” (1995, p. 7). What is suggested is that while knowledge of traditional academic learning is important, there is “much more” to learning that.

The concept of life-long learning is used widely and has varied meanings. Life-long learning may be conceptualized as necessary for the achievement of an extrinsic goal or it may be seen as intrinsically valuable in and of itself (Chapman, 1996). Life-long learning as intrinsically valuable really works toward the achievement of “education for a more highly-skilled work force at the same time an education for a better democracy and a more rewarding life” (Chapman, 1996, p. 3). In effect, life-long learning and through stimulating the intellectual curiosity as an overarching purpose would serve to distinguish schools

from other social organizations. Yet Sarason is pessimistic about the achievement of this overarching purpose without major organizational change in today's schools.

School Culture and Educational Purpose

Values and goals are not maps; they are beliefs, imperatives, and stimulants on the basis of which we plan our actions. Between values, on the one hand, and actions, on the other, is a series of booby traps, testimony either to our imperfections and inconsistencies, or an inhospitable social-institutional surround, or both. Methodologies are, in the abstract, morally neutral and useless. They become otherwise when we choose them to reflect our values and goals. And when we are unclear about our values and goals, and when our identifications with and commitment to them are at best superficial and at worst mindless - they have not become part of our "guts" and what we call mind - we choose a methodology to which when it fails as it must, we assign blame. Methodologies, no less than people, suffer the dynamics of blaming the victim. (Sarason, 1995b, p. 170)

Methodologies should be informed by clearly thought out educational purposes. In other words, educational purposes must be first clarified and then it will inform curriculum orientation. However as Sarason points out, there is a "series of booby traps between values and goals and actions" (1995b, p. 170), a point which was evidenced in this study.

At Hillside Elementary, these "booby traps" came in the following forms:

- varied and conflicting basic assumptions about the nature of human nature (e.g., varying conceptions of discipline, obstacles to collegiality)
- varied and conflicting basic assumptions about the nature of human relationships (e.g., collaboration, team teaching, committee structure, feelings of insecurity about teacher efficacy)
- varied and conflicting basic assumptions about the nature of authority (e.g., barriers to principal as facilitator)
- varied and conflicting basic assumptions about the nature of human activity (barriers to teacher empowerment)
- varied and conflicting basic assumptions about the organization's relationship to its environment (e.g., barriers to community as partner and parental involvement in decision making)

- district non-commitment to professional development beyond that which would take place within regular school hours
- varied and conflicting beliefs about the benefits of homogeneity in highly diverse, multicultural, multi-level, heterogenous classes
- implicit district expectations for high academic student performance coupled with school expectations for social and personal student development
- time constraints on teachers in terms of participating in decision making process

Booby traps are even more perilous when there are unclear goals and consequently, mismatched, co-existing and conflicting methodologies. This was surely seen in the way the school placed emphasis on the teaching of social and moral values while the district emphasized academic skills inasmuch as school profiles and evaluation centred around presentation of literacy and mathematic performance. As a result, teachers experienced value conflicts in that they were torn between methodologies which emphasized process, facilitative teaching, uniqueness of the learner and a social learning environment and those that focused on content, directive teaching, similarities of the learning and an individual learning environment. Concomitant with these mismatched methodologies are value conflicts related to discipline and organizational structure in the classroom.

To draw upon Sarason once again, he suggests that pedagogy, subject matter and curriculum “take on meaning only in the social actions and transactions of people governed by implicit and explicit rules about mutuality, obligations, power, and capabilities” (1995b, p. 171). What Sarason is getting at here is one very basic assumption related to the governance of an organization, which has implications for our basic assumptions about educational purpose, curriculum orientation, professionalism and leadership, for we are not just talking about power relationships between teachers and

administrators in the school organization, but among all the stakeholders in the educational endeavour, including students.

Sarason's main point is that being clear about our purposes and methodologies is important, however without major organizational change in schools, educational aims and methodologies which embody a transformation orientation will not be realized. He argues for changing existing power relationships among not only teachers and administrators but between teachers and students. Sarason grounds this argument in what he calls the "political principle" that is, "when you are going to be affected, directly or indirectly, by a decision, you should stand in *some* relationship to the decision-making process" (Sarason 1995a, p. 2). Yet, as became apparent at Hillside Elementary, despite an attempt to promote collaboration, shared decision making, teacher empowerment, some members in the organization were reluctant to change power relationships among teachers, administrators, students and to an extent, parents. Sarason suggests that some teachers feel that it is "safer" to stay isolated and lonely in the classroom than to change power relationships. This assertion was demonstrated by the teacher who admitted that she was reluctant to expose her flaws to all and sundry, and consequently experienced value conflicts related to team teaching and collaboration. This reluctance to participate in collaborative decision making is undoubtedly related to this situation:

We have developed policies and mandates to assure public accountability. We give voice to democratic control over education through legislation defining what is to occur in schools, administered by bureaucratic agents who prescribe regimens and reporting systems. Within current governance and administrative structures, teachers are accountable for implementing curriculum and testing policies, assignment and promotion rules, and myriad other educational prescriptions, whether or not these treatments

are appropriate in particular instances for particular students. As a consequence, teachers cannot be held professionally accountable - that is, responsible for meeting the needs of their students; they can only be held accountable for following standard operating procedures. (Darling - Hammond, 1988, p. 60)

It is no wonder that teachers are reluctant to take risks and participate in decision making regarding school curriculum when, despite claims to devolve authority to school sites, teachers are still held accountable for externally prescribed goals.

When we examine the professional and leadership culture at Hillside Elementary we see a culture which was characterized by both consistent and conflicting values. We also see evidence of a culture that encouraged discussion and expression of these varied ideals. However, some teachers were at various stages of willingness to take risks. In terms of governance and power relationships, there were structures in place which provided opportunities for participative decision making on the part of teachers and administrators. Some teachers had figured out ways to tap into community resources and had organized volunteers to become an integral part of the students' learning - a first step in getting community members more involved in the school. However, there was still a long way to go before all the stakeholders in the educational process at Hillside Elementary would become a genuine part of the decision making process. Nevertheless, examination of the consistencies in value orientations, the variations in value orientations and the inherent value conflicts brings us closer to understanding the issues, the complexities and the problems involved in understanding school culture. However, if leaders wish to initiate and implement change in schools, particularly change related to

promoting shared decision making for the purpose of achieving educational purposes, then they would do well to begin with an understanding of their school's culture.

Implications

There are several implications which have arisen from the findings in this study.

The following addresses these implications:

Implications for Practitioners

There are four implications for practitioners.

1. Clarify Educational Goals and Curriculum Metaorientations

This is not a new idea. However, considering the lack of clarity about educational goals and educators' conflicting and sometimes ambiguous understandings of appropriate methods for achieving these goal, it warrants reiteration. While generalizations about the findings in this study pertaining to Hillside Elementary School are limited, the findings do suggest that ambiguity is a salient characteristic of school organizations as far as educational values are concerned. Undoubtedly this is the case for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that school organizations are comprised of individuals who already hold educational values, values which have been influenced and shaped by their own personal and professional experiences. These values may or may not be consistent

with the educational values of the school organization. What makes the situation even murkier is that individuals in an organization may not be fully aware of the underlying basic assumptions which guide their educational practices. This is one of the reasons why there were incidences of apparent inconsistencies between espoused values and practice at Hillside Elementary.

Given the number of barriers, or “booby traps,” teachers and administrators encounter in their educational endeavours, value conflict becomes the nature of the educational pursuit. What knowledge of the complexity involved in promoting self-understandings of values does is lend support for the importance of clarifying both our educational goals and the means for how best to achieve these goals. To this end, stakeholders of school organizations ought to be involved in continued discussion and ongoing critical reflection about what it is they *want* to do and what it is they *are* doing. Praxis, or informed practice, first requires a clarification of educational values.

Moreover, whereas moral and social values are indeed important in the educational process, they should not be educational ends. To suggest that they are implies that there are universal “right” actions in all situations. This type of values transmission can promote unreflective action and unconscious acceptance of values and resistance to change (Garforth, 1985).

2. Examine Basic Assumptions

This is, of course, connected with clarifying educational values. However, as we have seen, clarification of goals without understanding one’s basic assumptions which

guide practices, may mean that we espouse one thing and do another. Many teachers may indeed believe that team teaching is beneficial for both teachers and students. They may understand and espouse the worth of learning from their colleagues through sharing teaching experiences and professional ideas. However, if in a team teaching relationship, one or more teachers also holds the deep-rooted assumption that human relationships are invariably competitive, then that assumption will affect the nature of the collaborative relationship. Uncovering basic assumptions gives us a chance to raise them to the light and examine them for what they are. This process of examining basic assumptions is important for both individuals and groups in an organization.

Examining basic assumptions does not guarantee that those that are in conflict with others in a group will be changed. However, compromise is a part of every social activity. The problem is that all too often values are not negotiated, but imposed, acquiesced to, or subverted. The principal in the school plays a very significant role in the negotiation process. Moral leadership implies that the principal should make an effort to understand the values of all the stakeholders. The principal should encourage and facilitate democratic practices so that all voices are heard. This is a much more difficult job than that of the authoritarian leader, especially considering that many educators, parents and even students are unaccustomed to facilitative leadership. Given the evolving nature of shared leadership, decentralized decision-making, and devolution of authority (Leonard, 1996, p. 258) the role of the school administrator in the postmodern school is an important one.

3. Examine the "Booby Traps"

Along with examining educational goals, curriculum practices and the underlying basic assumptions which link the two, educators have to understand the booby traps, that is despite noble intentions and clarity about how best to achieve these goals, what are the barriers to putting into practice our beliefs? It is no doubt that in many ways teachers and administrators do know what they should be doing to achieve the educational ends they feel are important. Mavis' frustration with not being able to be a facilitative teacher because she was in a classroom where so many of her students were so "needy" is one example of a booby trap. Teachers and administrators at all levels of the educational organization must be willing to recognize these barriers to implementing teaching strategies which are considered to be worthwhile paths towards achieving desirable educational goals. There were a number of booby traps at Hillside Elementary which have previously been addressed. Frequently, teachers are left on their own to navigate around these pitfalls. The Primary Team teachers worked out a way to deal with the challenge of being facilitators to students' *individual, holistic* development in a district environment where *academic standards* were a high priority by utilizing part of their day for the highly individualized Activity Time program. Despite the enthusiasm that the students demonstrated for learning, these teachers felt that the students needed more direction at other times during the day if they were going to meet the literacy and numeracy standards that were set for them. There is no doubt that the "rhetoric of school reform and of system goals is one which often extols virtues of skills, attitudes, concepts and problem-solving [however] the reality elevates content as the prime requirement" (Fullan & Hargreaves,

1991, p. 102). As Darling-Hammond (1988, p. 60) suggests, “herein lies the dilemma for educational reform.” And Holmes (1992, p. 155) adds, political shifts between right-wing emphasis on standards and sequential curricula and left-wing emphasis on language process and learning centres serves to “deprofessionalize” and “demoralize” teachers.

The main point here is that teachers are often left to sort through the problems and challenges of implementing teaching practices which may or may not be conducive to achieving the educational goals outlined by others external to the organization. Given the uniqueness of each school and the implications of context on how educational goals are to be met, there will undoubtedly always be challenges to face. However, it is incumbent upon the stakeholders in each school context to examine their own booby traps and to work toward helping teachers disassemble them.

4. Clarify Discipline Ideologies and Understand their Implications for Achieving Educational Ends

Conceptions of discipline have compelling implications for school culture and student/teacher relationships. The longevity and persistence of school discipline issues are illustrated by the innumerable models, theories and texts addressing the subject (Slee, 1988, p. x). The issue is an integral part of school and has significance for what students will learn beyond curriculum content (Curwin and Mendler, 1988). Understanding discipline orientations is pivotal to understanding the value conflicts teacher experience in the pursuit of school discipline. Examining discipline policies so that there are not “more rules than can be enforced by existing staff” (Duke & Canady, 1991, p. 138) is important,

as well. Educators must be willing to explore the underlying values which are embedded in discipline orientations and discipline policies and they must try to understand how these values serve to achieve the purpose of the school. Questions about underlying basic assumptions about human nature must be examined. For example, do the underlying discipline orientations of teachers and administrators transmit values of compliance, obedience and uncritical respect for authority or do they promote student empowerment, responsibility for actions and creative, critical thinking?

The relationship between underlying value orientations to discipline, educational purposes, and curriculum is important for understanding the value conflicts inherent in mismatched ideologies. Working toward achieving an harmonious school culture in a pluralistic, multicultural environment is a daunting task but one well worth exploring. An awareness of the potential for conflicting educational values which may be embedded in mismatched purposes, philosophies, and orientations should, at the very least, alert administrators to the need for understanding, and facilitating organizational members' understanding of the culture of their school.

5. Promote a Professional Learning Culture

There are innumerable reasons why a culture of learning is important for teachers, administrators and parents as well as for students. A few of them can be addressed in light of the problems which emerged in this study of the Hillside Elementary's culture, particularly in relation to collaboration, collegiality, teacher empowerment, and community as partner. In the analysis of the variations in orientations pertaining to these

concepts, it became apparent that teachers and parents were not all equally committed to participating in shared decision making processes. Considering the widespread educational reform to decentralize school governance (Caldwell & Spinks, 1992; Murphy, 1991, 1991), this finding is significant in that it implies that these reforms are doomed to failure if the stakeholders involved do not value the processes involved in such reforms.

In light of the ad hoc approach to professional development and learning, that is apart from that which would take place through peer coaching, mentoring and administrative evaluations, teachers are unlikely to change their thinking regarding the value of decentralization of authority and decision making. The principal at Hillside realized the importance of professional learning opportunities. He also realized that these opportunities could not be relegated to the end of the day or imposed on teachers who were already overworked in many ways.

Yet the issue of professional learning is a serious one. As Beck (1995, p. 7) points out, if students are to “catch the love and habit of learning” then teachers must be active in the educational process and not merely serve as mechanical transmitters of curriculum. Life-long learning as a part of a school’s philosophy should include teachers, administrators and parents as well as students and there should be greater demand on “schools and districts to provide learning opportunities and environments” (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991, p. 82).

Implications for Educational Researchers

There are two important implications for educational research.

1. Research into Values and School Culture

“For better or for worse, culture is a powerful force” (Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991, p. 85). The advice that these authors have for practitioners is to “understand the school and its culture before changing it” (p. 86). They also admit that while easy to say, this advice is not so easy to follow. Considering that there has been little “theoretical consensus on the nature of function of values” (Begley, 1996, p. 403) in education, this is not a profound revelation. However, good value theory can and should inform educational practice. Further research into what comprises culture, how culture is learned, and how best to promote an atmosphere where values are examined and negotiated for changing or improving school culture should serve to help leaders in schools in their endeavours to *understand* culture before attempting to *change* it. The values analysis from various perspectives utilized in this study has provided a way to examine espoused values and underlying basic assumptions. It has also helped to shed light on how individual and group values in one particular school were negotiated. Further research into personal and educational values and the role of values in the manifestation of school culture should add to our understandings of how leaders can facilitate school change and improvement, and how they can also facilitate participation in the decision making processes in schools.

2. Research into Collaborative Processes

As was seen in this study, despite espoused commitment to the ideal of collaboration, authentic collaborative processes do not just happen when groups of people within an organization are placed together. The relationship between collegiality (i.e., commitment to and respect for inter-personal relationships within a group) and collaboration (i.e., the professional interactions between individuals within a group) appears to be a very important one. Investigations into how to promote a culture of trust, respect, commitment, risk taking, cooperation, and shared critiques is imperative if teachers, parents, administrators and students are expected to share in the decision-making processes which are abundant in the postmodern world.

Conclusion

To summarize, the variations in orientations to educational purpose within perspectives and between and among perspectives may be described as a reflection of the influences of varying and even conflicting ideologies reflected in a changing and evolving global society. Moreover, in today's postmodern world, where universals and absolutes are virtually non-existent, the multicultural elementary school in this study mirrors in many ways the times in which it exists. Yet it is also a product of modern, industrial age ideologies where uniformity and truth are the underpinnings of educational thought. Consequently, the result is a conflation of often incompatible and competing educational

ideologies and orientations, propelled frequently by unexamined basic assumptions which in turn drive educational practice. Nevertheless, if we accept the Socratic view that we are wise to the extent that we are aware not of how much we know but how little we know (Alexander, 1989, p. 13), then I propose that this study contributes something to our wisdom in education, for I believe that it has added to our knowledge of how little we know about our values, both personal and collective, and how they are implicated in not only what we are *trying to do* in our schools, but also in what it is we *are doing*.

I chose to investigate educators' values orientations and variations in value orientations from difference perspectives within one educational setting in order to better understand the influence of these values on the culture of a multicultural school. In so doing, my purpose was to gain insight into how individual values come to be shared and learned in a particular social group, and also to understand the process that took place, that is, whether it was one represented by a negotiation, submission and/or subversion of values. Although what I have discovered in one school cannot be generalized to all school settings or to all socio-cultural learning processes, this study contributes to the field of philosophy and the field of practice, which according to Hodgkinson (1991) would bring us closer to the realm of praxis, that is, *enlightened* practice. This study adds to our knowledge of the importance of engaging in the pursuit of clarifying values, both our own and those of others for understanding how culture develops in an educational organization. It also highlights the significance of school culture for what we achieve in particular educational settings.

Moreover, implicit in this values inquiry into school culture is the added insight into the value implications embedded in school policies. The multitude of collective values reflected in diverse ideologies has been demonstrated through an examination and comparative analysis of educational purposes, curriculum orientations, and professional and leadership cultures and considered against the backdrop of a changing socio-cultural age. Consequently, knowledge of these values is crucial in the development of “a set of shared values and commitments” (Sergiovanni, 1990, p. 23). Leaders who ignore the significance of exploring collective and individual educational values reflected in various collective and personal philosophies may foster school environments that are characterized by competing purposes, unclear roles and norms and conflicting educational values. Furthermore, leaders must be cognizant of the significance of teachers’ personal educational values in the conscious and unconscious choice of what is educationally valuable. For example, the implementation of discipline policies may be largely dependent upon individual discipline orientations and personal educational values.

The implications of this investigation into school culture for educational administrators, then, are obvious: clearly articulated and educational aims coupled with compatible curriculum orientations are significant prerequisites to achieving school goals. Arguably, the importance of developing a shared educational vision and “practicalising” aims and orientations in the form of clear and coherent policy is crucial; nevertheless, conflict resolution in the implementation of these policies rests with the individual. Given the hierarchical nature of value systems, the situational impact on value choices and the influence of an individual’s personal values in decision-making, value conflicts are

unavoidable in any human activity. Consequently, value conflict is an inherent feature in the educational endeavour of making choices. Whereas value prescriptions, ethical codes and moral dogma may fall short of providing solutions in these everyday endeavours, educators need not abandon value inquiry. For administrators and teachers, an inquiry into values involves developing an awareness of personal and organizational educational values, taking a critical reflective approach toward value dilemmas, and executing conscious action. If *right* resolution requires sophistication about the nature of values (Hodgkinson, 1991), then deliberation about values is pivotal.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Teacher Participant Consent Form

I am a graduate student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (University of Toronto) and I am conducting a study that attempts to understand and describe teachers' dilemmas in the pursuit of school discipline. This is an area in need of investigation in that teachers work in an environment whereby there are both external and internal expectations for how and what they teach. In other words, teachers daily must make decisions regarding what to do to bring about optimal learning, achieve curriculum goals, and meet the expectations of students, administrators and fellow teachers, while simultaneously trying to establish positive relations with students and maintain order.

This study is necessary both for the teacher who is involved in the process of teaching, and for those who make decisions regarding curriculum, educational purposes, and discipline policies. Investigating the world of teachers within the framework of the educational values which are reflected in school policies and curriculum documents should provide greater insight into how teachers cope with these dilemmas, particularly those pertaining to school discipline.

I am a qualified teacher with fifteen years of elementary teaching experience. I am willing to make myself available to teachers and administrators, where deemed suitable, in assisting in the daily process of teaching and learning, for a period of three weeks. It is anticipated that this participatory observational method for collecting data will allow me to conduct my study in an unobtrusive and, hopefully, helpful manner.

During the process, several teachers who are willing to discuss more fully the types of dilemmas they experience in maintaining and fostering discipline will be invited to participate in semi-structured interviews. Safeguards will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the data in that all raw data will be locked in a filing cabinet. At the completion of the research project, the raw data will be destroyed. Every effort will be made to guarantee the anonymity of all participants. Participants will be given the opportunity to provide feedback on my interpretation of the data. Furthermore, the identity of the school will be concealed in that revealing information will be withheld. Any teacher who agrees to be a participant in this study is free to withdraw at any time.

Thank you.

Pauline Leonard

Graduate Student

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Phone # (416) 923-6641

Participant Consent:

I hereby willingly volunteer to participate in this research project and acknowledge that I have been advised of full anonymity. I also understand that I may withdraw from participating in this study at any time.

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B: Administrator Consent Letter

I am a graduate student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (University of Toronto) and I am conducting a study that attempts to understand and describe teachers' dilemmas in the pursuit of school discipline. This is an area in need of investigation in that teachers work in an environment whereby there are both external and internal expectations for how and what they teach. In other words, teachers daily must make decisions regarding what to do to bring about optimal learning, achieve curriculum goals, and meet the expectations of students, administrators and fellow teachers, while simultaneously trying to establish positive relations with students and maintain order.

This study is necessary both for the teacher who is involved in the process of teaching, and for those who make decisions regarding curriculum, educational purposes, and discipline policies. Investigating the world of teachers within the framework of the educational values which are reflected in school policies and curriculum documents should provide greater insight into how teachers cope with these dilemmas, particularly those pertaining to school discipline.

I am a qualified teacher with fifteen years of elementary teaching experience. I am willing to make myself available to teachers and administrators in assisting, where deemed suitable, in the daily process of teaching and learning, for a period of four weeks. It is anticipated that this participatory observational method for collecting data will allow me to conduct my study in an unobtrusive and, hopefully, helpful manner.

During the process, several teachers who are willing to discuss more fully the types of dilemmas they experience in maintaining and fostering discipline will be invited to participate in semi-structured interviews. Safeguards will be taken to maintain the confidentiality of the data in that all raw data will be locked in a filing cabinet. At the completion of the research project, the raw data will be destroyed. Every effort will be made to guarantee the anonymity of all participants. Participants will be given the opportunity to provide feedback on my interpretation of the data. Furthermore, the identity of the school will be concealed in that revealing information will be withheld. Any teacher who agrees to be a participant in this study is free to withdraw at any time.

Thank you.

*Pauline Leonard
Graduate Student
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Phone #*

Administrative Consent:

I hereby willingly consent to the undertaking of this research at _____ and acknowledge that I have been advised of full confidentiality for both the school and the teachers. I also understand that any teacher may withdraw from participating in this study at any time. Furthermore, the school as a site may be withdrawn.

Administrator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C: Parent Consent Form

November 20, 1995

Dear Parents,

I am a graduate student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (University of Toronto) and I am conducting a study that attempts to understand the influence of certain school policies on the relationship between students and teachers. I hope that this project will lead to a better understanding of how decisions about curriculum, school purposes, and discipline affect the nature of student/teacher relationships and, therefore, student achievement.

In several one-hour sessions during November, I will participate in your child's class by assisting the teacher and students in a manner which is deemed worthwhile by both the classroom teacher and the Principal. My intent is to understand the overall goals of particular curriculum programs and their implications for teaching and learning, and the potential impact of school policies on teacher/student interactions in the classroom. During this process I will be making observations of how the teacher and students interact, however I will not be recording personal information about the students, nor will the students be identified in any way. If you have any questions regarding the nature of these observations, please contact the school principal, _____, at _____.

This study has been officially approved by your child's school Principal and the _____ Board of Education's Research Advisory Committee. When the study is complete, a report of the findings will be available to interested parents in the school library.

I sincerely appreciate your co-operation. Thank-you.

*Pauline Leonard
Graduate Student
Department of Educational Administration
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Phone # -----
University of Toronto*

Appendix D: Original Teaching Team Interview Schedule

Part I: Discipline Ideology

1. What do you consider to be desirable characteristics in students?
2. How do you go about encouraging/fostering the development of these characteristics? (e.g., rewards, punishment, self-reflection)?
3. Describe the characteristics of what you consider to be an ideal teacher-student relationship.
4. How can these characteristics contribute to student growth and learning?
5. How would groups be selected in your classroom?
6. How are rules developed in your classroom?
7. How would you respond to a student who does not follow the rules?
8. What does the word “discipline” mean to you?

Part II: Curriculum Metaorientation

1. Do you believe children learn best interactively or privately?
2. Do you believe that students share very similar attributes or that they mostly differ?
3. What is your conception of an ideal learning environment? (e.g., loosely structured, highly structured, open-ended, interactive, facilitative)
4. What is your conception of your role as a teacher? (e.g., directive, facilitative)
5. What do you consider to be your responsibility as a teacher for the development of each of the following in students?
 - ▶ Intellectual
 - ▶ Emotional
 - ▶ Social
 - ▶ Moral
 - ▶ Physical

6. What, in your opinion, motivates students' learning and behaviour?
7. If you could design your own classroom, what would it look like?

Part III: Educational Purpose

1. What do you consider to be your responsibility as a teacher for achieving the following educational goals?
 - ▶ transmission of culture
 - ▶ moral education
 - ▶ career development
 - ▶ academic achievement
 - ▶ individual self-fulfilment

Part IV: Early Influences

1. Comment on the following in terms of what was emphasized when you were a student during your: i. elementary and secondary school years; ii. teacher training.
 - i. following orders, obedience
 - ii. listening
 - iii. hierarchical structure
 - iv. status quo
 - v. initiative-taking, decision-making
 - vi. negotiation
 - vii. risk-taking
 - viii. independence
2. Can you remember one teacher whom you particularly admired? What characteristics did this teacher have?
3. How would describe your relationship with that teacher?
4. Do you see any changes in students' needs and/or behaviour today than when you were a student? In teachers' behaviours?

Part V: Values Conflict

Sample Questions (*Further Questions will be derived from participatory observation data.*)

- **Conflicting Intrapersonal Values**

1. How would you respond in the following situations? Describe why you would make these choices in terms of the alternatives and ultimately your final decision.

- i. *Diane is working enthusiastically on a writing assignment. Her work area is a mess. You nearly trip over her pile of papers as you walk by her desk.*
- ii. *You have assigned an independent reading activity. Joe and Janet want to sit together while they work.*
- iii. *Mary and Jane are good friends. They ask you if they can be part of the same group after the group selection has been made.*

2. Can you tell me about some experiences you have had where you have some difficulty is deciding the right course of action pertaining to student behaviour?

3. What do you think about when making choices about what to do in these situations?

- **Conflicting Interpersonal Values**

1. How would you respond in the following situation? Describe why you would make these choices in terms of the alternatives and ultimately your final decision.

- i. *Donny is a new Grade three student transferred in from another school. He is a year older than his classmates and quite independent. He has just been reunited with his mother after living for two years in a foster home. Apparently, his father had been physically abusive towards both Donny and his mother. He seemed to be adjusting to the school environment without problem. However, today he has been given detention because he disobeyed another teacher while outside during recess. The teacher had asked Donny to put on his jacket because it was quite cold. He had refused but the teacher stood firm. Donny got angry, used foul language, and so the teacher gave him detention. Donny comes to you quite outraged that he is being punished for not being allowed to choose whether or not to wear a jacket. He says he is going to quit school and run away from home. You know the teacher involved is a strict disciplinarian.*

- ii. *Sandra started the school year as a very quiet child who lacked confidence. She seemed afraid to take risks when approaching any type of assignment. If she wasn't sure that words were spelled correctly, or that the math problem she was trying to solve was answered correctly, then she would do nothing. Her teacher noticed early in the year that she had a keen interest in art, so she used every opportunity possible to promote Sandra's artwork. Slowly, Sandra began to exude more confidence. She did not show such concern for perfection. At the end of each assignment the young student would draw an imaginative little creature, accompanied by a speech balloon stating something like, "I hope you like my work." Her teacher was pleased with her progress but apparently Sandra's parents were not. They met with the teacher to discuss Sandra's change in attitude towards her work. They felt that Sandra had become undisciplined and unfocused in her approach to her work. Furthermore, she was spending far too much time drawing and not enough time on the basics, another sign, they felt, of her increasingly whimsical and impractical conduct.*

2. Have you experienced other types of situations where there were conflicts between you and your colleagues, parents, and/or administrators believe is right pertaining to student discipline?

3. What have you done in these situations?

4. Why do you think about when you make these choices?

- **Conflicting Personal and Organizational Values**

1. How would you respond in the following situation? Describe why you would make these choices in terms of the alternatives and ultimately your final decision.

Just recently, after much discussion about the unruliness of children running in the corridor, there was consensus among teachers and principal to enforce the No Running in the Corridor rule by giving automatic detention. Students have been advised of the new consequence of this misbehaviour. Today, one of your students, Mary, is extremely excited because she had just seen her new baby brother at the hospital the day before and wanted to tell everyone. In her excitement to relay the news, she runs down the corridor and bumps into a younger child. As you approach Mary and the younger child, all eyes are watching.

2. Have you experienced any situations where you may have felt school discipline policies didn't work or have caused a problem for you?

3. What did you do in each situation?

4. Why did you do that?

Appendix E: Revised Teaching Team Interview Schedule

Part I: Discipline Ideology/curriculum Metaorientation and Educational Purpose

1. What kinds of characteristics do you try to foster in students and how?
2. What kind of relationship do you try to develop with your students?
3. What kind of grouping do you use and why?
4. What is your role as a teacher? (e.g., directive, facilitative)
5. What do you consider to be your responsibility as a teacher?
6. What is the purpose of education/school?
6. What, in your opinion, motivates students' learning and behaviour?
7. If you could design your own classroom, what would it look like?
9. How do you develop class rules and how do you get students to follow them?
10. What does the word "discipline" mean to you?

Part II - Early Influences

1. Which of the following were emphasized when you were a student during your: i. Elementary and Secondary School Years ii. Teacher Training

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Following Orders/Obedience | Listening | Hierarchical Structure |
| Status Quo | Initiative Taking | Decision-making |
| Negotiation | Risk-taking | Independence |

2. Can you remember one teacher whom you particularly admired and why?
3. How would describe your relationship with that teacher?
4. Do you see any changes in students' needs and/or behaviour today than when you were a student? In teachers' behaviours?

Part III: Conflicting Intrapersonal Values

1. Why did you respond the way you did in the following situation? Describe why you made this choice in terms of the alternatives and ultimately your final decision.
 2. Can you tell me about some experiences you have had where you have some difficulty is deciding the right course of action pertaining to student behaviour?
 3. What do you think about when making choices about what to do in these situations?
-

Part IV: Conflicting Interpersonal Values

1. How did you feel in the following situation? Describe why you would make these choices in terms of the alternatives and ultimately your final decision.
 2. Have you experienced other types of situations where there were conflicts between you and your colleagues, parents, and/or administrators believe is right pertaining to student discipline? What did you do and why?
-

Part V: Conflicting Personal and Organizational Values

1. How did you feel in the following situation? Describe why you made these choices in terms of the alternatives and ultimately your final decision.
 2. Have you experienced any situations where you may have felt school discipline policies didn't work or have caused a problem for you? What did you do and why?
-

Appendix F: Emergent Junior Team Interview Guide

(Revised for Junior Team teachers, Dec.10/95)

Part I - General Questions

1. What kinds of characteristics do you try to foster in students and how?
2. What kind of relationships do you try to develop with your students? Among your students?
3. What, in your opinion, motivates students' learning and behaviour?
4. What kind of grouping do you use and why?
5. What is your role as a teacher? (e.g., directive, facilitative, other)
6. What do you consider to be your responsibility as a teacher? (e.g., moral, emotional, social, intellectual development)
7. What do you feel is the main purpose of education/school?(e.g., academic achievement, individual self-fulfilment, transmission society's culture and values, career development)
8. If you could design your own classroom, what would it look like?
9. How do you develop class rules and how do you get students to follow them?
10. What does the word "discipline" mean to you?
11. How do you feel about the school detention system?
12. Do you use classroom detention instead of school detention, and if so, why?
13. What do you see as the greatest challenge in the area of classroom discipline? School discipline?

Part II - Questions Specific to Classroom/School

Parents:

1. How would you describe the parent/school relationship?
2. What are some special challenges in conducting interviews with parents in this school?
3. What is the role of parent volunteers?
4. How were they chosen/arranged?
5. Do you see any differences between cultural groups and their attitudes toward school?
6. Are there any particular groups well-represented at meetings? Not represented?

Students:

1. How do you choose/select what you put on the bulletin boards in the classroom? In the hallway?
2. What is the purpose of the student planners?
3. What are the roles of the various student groups displayed on your bulletin board?
4. What would you advise a beginning teacher about what the students are like?

Classroom/School:

1. Where did the flowers come from?
2. What do you think of the morning announcement routines? (i.e., O Canada, general announcements, thought for the week, joke, etc.)
3. How was the Wolf mascot developed?
4. How are the committees and clubs working? How would you describe the attitudes of teachers towards involvement in these activities?
5. How does this school address the challenges related to the multicultural diversity of its students?
6. Are there any issues of gender that need to be addressed?
7. How are decisions made in this school?
8. What are the challenges and benefits of team teaching?

Part III - Early Influences

1. Which of the following were emphasized when you were a student during your: i. Elementary and Secondary School Years ii. Teacher Training?

Following Orders/Obedience
 Status Quo
 Negotiation

Listening
 Initiative Taking
 Risk-taking

Hierarchical Structure
 Decision-making
 Independence

2. Can you remember one teacher whom you particularly admired and why?
3. Do you see any changes in students' needs and/or behaviour today than when you were a student? In teachers' behaviours?

Appendix G: Emergent Teacher Interview Guide

General Topics for Discussion

1. Team Teaching - Benefits and Challenges for Students. For Teachers
2. Gender Issues - Students' attitudes. Parents' attitudes
3. Desirable Relationships - Teacher/Student. Student/Student
4. Challenges to Establishing Desirable Relationships
5. School Discipline - General handling of inappropriate behaviours; Consequences; Student Empowerment, etc.
6. Committees/Clubs - Purpose
7. Purpose of Routines - (e.g., Announcements - O Canada, Birthday Greetings, Thought for the Week, Joke; Friday Treat Day; etc.)
8. Cultural Diversity of Student Population - Benefits and Challenges
9. Nature of Parental Involvement in School
10. Decision Making - Staff Involvement

Appendix H: Teacher Specialist Interview Guide

General Topics for Discussion:

- * The Program - Goals, Methods to Achieve Goals, Resources, etc.
- * Changing Technology and School's Capacity to Deal with Change
- * Student Behaviour and Attitudes
- * Parents' Attitudes
- * Administrative Support
- * Team Teaching - Your involvement

Appendix I: Principal Interview Guide

General Topics for Discussion:

- *The Principal's Role
- * This School's History - What you would like to preserve; to change
- *Means of Achieving Goals in this School
- *Decision-Making - The Process
Staff Involvement
- *Demands on this School - The School Board
The Community
- *School Support and Resources - The School Board
The Community
- *Nature of Parental Involvement
- *Committees/Clubs - Purpose
- * The Wolf Mascot - Purpose
- *Desirable Relationships - Teacher/Student; Student/Student
Challenges to Establishing Desirable Relationships
- *School Discipline - Desirable Climate
Challenges to Establishing a Desirable Climate
- *Team Teaching - Benefits and Challenges for Students; for Teachers
- *Gender Issues - Students' Attitudes; Parents' Attitudes
- *Purpose of Education

Appendix J: Vice-principal Interview Guide

General Topics for Discussion:

- * The Vice Principalship - Prior perception and reality
Challenges and Fulfillments
- *Decision-Making - The Process
Staff Involvement
- *Cultural Diversity of Student Population - Benefits and Challenges
- *Nature of Parental Involvement
- *Committees/Clubs - Purpose
- *Desirable Relationships - Teacher/Student; Student/Student
- *Challenges to Establishing and Maintaining Desirable Relationships
- *School Discipline - General handling of inappropriate and appropriate behaviours;
Consequences; Rewards, Detention, etc.
What works? What doesn't?
- *Gender Issues - Students' attitudes; Parents' attitudes
- *Team teaching - Benefits and Challenges for Students; for Teachers
- *This School - The Positives
Areas in need of Improvement
- *School Support - The School Board
The Community

Appendix K: Classroom Observation Guide

| | |
|--|---------------------|
| Date | Classroom(s) |
| Time | Subject Area |
| Setting | |
| Focus is on: | |
| Academic competency Affective needs Individual needs Group Standards Other | |
| Acceptance of students based on: | |
| Respect for the Individual Rule Compliance Other | |
| Classroom materials: | |
| Available for students as needed Dispensed by teachers Other | |
| Expectations for students: | |
| Cooperation Obedience Responsible decision-making Other | |

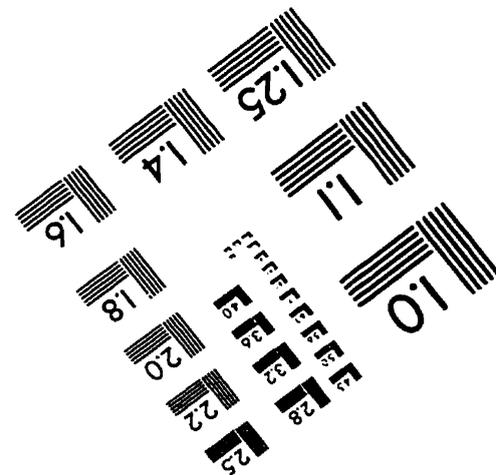
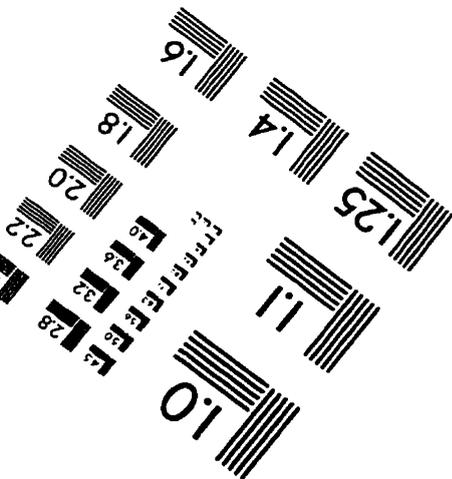
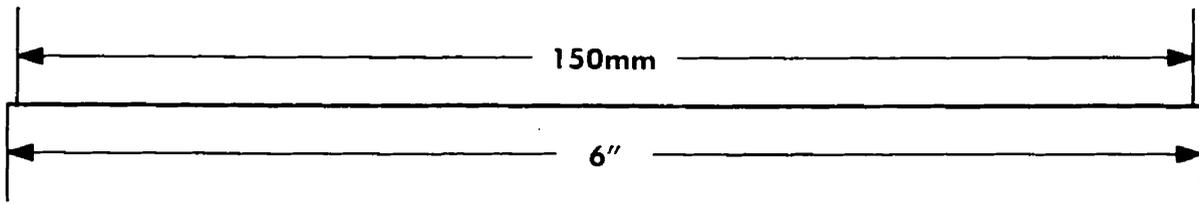
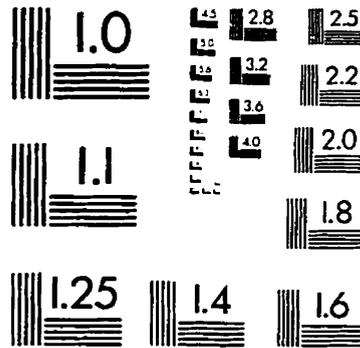
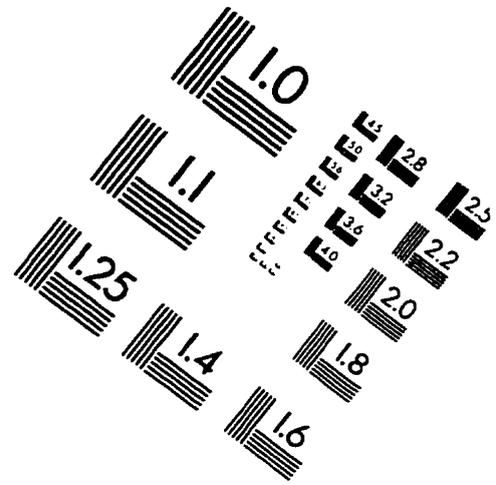
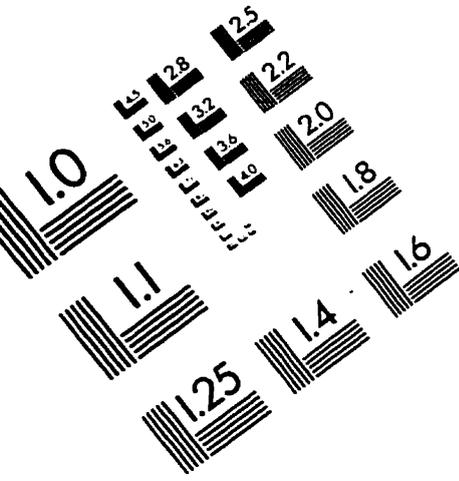
| |
|--|
| Student behaviour is addressed when it is: |
| Appropriate Inappropriate Appropriate and Inappropriate Other |
| Inappropriate behaviour receives: |
| Immediate consequences Some now, some later Many warnings and reminders Criticism Other |
| Student/Teacher interactions are: |
| Interactive Teacher initiated Student Initiated |
| Student/Student Interactions are: |
| Encouraged Discouraged Neutral -simply permitted |
| Student Assignments are: |
| Directed, observed, and evaluated by teacher Chosen, shared, and evaluated by students Other |

| |
|--|
| Teacher requests are: |
| Explained |
| Demanded |
| Other |
| Teaching strategies: |
| Integrates subjects/themes |
| Segregates subjects |
| Other |
| Other (Comments or questions to pursue) |
| |

Appendix L: School Observation Guide

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Date | Time |
| Setting | |
| Activity | |
| Interactions of students and teachers | |
| <p>Communication Style</p> <p>Supervision Style</p> <p>Student Behaviours Receiving Attention</p> <p>Attitude of Students</p> <p>Other</p> | |
| Interactions of students | |
| <p>Available Student Activities (during recess, lunchtime, etc).</p> <p>Student Entry into School (e.g., supervised, single file, at sound of the bell)</p> <p>Student Body Climate</p> <p>Student Empowerment</p> <p>Other</p> | |
| Rules / Regulations | |
| <p>Written/Unwritten/Visibility of Awareness of (i.e., teachers, students, parents, administrators)</p> <p>Consistency of Reinforcement</p> <p>Consequences of Disobeying Rules (Immediate, Long-term, etc.)</p> <p>Opportunities for Teacher/Student Discussion (and Negotiation of)</p> <p>Development of Rules/Behaviour Guidelines, etc. (E.g., input of students, teachers, parents, administrator)</p> <p>Other</p> | |

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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