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An Ethnographic Study of Two Schools: Some Aspects of
School Culture and the Significance for Change

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Educational Administration
at Massey University.

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August 1989



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Certificate of Authorship

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An Ethnographic Study of Two Schools: Some Aspects of
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Abstract

Two New Zealand schools, one primary, one intermediate, are studied in depth using ethnographic research techniques, with an emphasis on observations in the field. Observations were supplemented by a survey of pupils, by formal and informal interviews of people in the school community and by document analysis.

The aim of the study was to understand the culture of each school, its way of life, the responses each made to change and the means each used to begin the process of school improvement'.

Descriptions and interpretations of the cultures revealed 'sacred values' which provide a possible key to why changes occurred. At the primary school the 'sacred value' of bilingualism is revealed. This value is supported by rituals, ceremonies, symbols, language, a priestess and patterns of behaviour within the school. Other related values are: concern for people, teamwork, concern for learning and teaching, openness, consultation and involvement of the Kowhai School community; all incorporated within the values of positive reinforcement, flexibility and informality.

Manuka Intermediate is different from Kowhai School in having an overall, inspiring slogan, ***Making Manuka Matter***, to which three main 'sacred values' are connected. The value of putting people first is shown by sub-themes of teamwork, family feeling, shared decision-making and

positive reinforcement. This analysis revealed some sub-cultural groups with competing views, suggesting a site of change. The principal is shown to have a key role in culture shaping and as an agent of change. Two further 'sacred values' of aiming for excellence and image building are explicated. Incorporation of children's views is shown in the children's values of variety, choice and schoolwork.

From the study of the school cultures a theory of change is derived, from which the author proposes that the changes endorse, and are compatible with, the cultural themes and 'sacred values'. These cultural values are postulated to determine the pace, the process and the acceptability of types of changes. Many participants acknowledged that there had been multiple changes but found it difficult to specify them; suggesting that they had been incorporated into the 'way of life.' Changes were deemed to be largely positive, especially by informed people. Participants believed that it was mainly children who were affected by changes, although staff and community also were affected to a lesser degree.

Finally, if one goal of school improvement is an ability to handle change (Hopkins, 1984), then, judging from their ability to handle change and from parent perceptions, it appears that the two schools have commenced the process of school improvement. The thesis, therefore, contributes towards the understanding of the processes of school change.

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Glossary

Cultural Terms

- Sacred values* - immutable norms, sacred because they keep order in the culture, symbolized in events, relationships and procedures.
- Profane values* - values susceptible to change, 'the way we do things around here.'
- Rituals* - dramatization of the school's cultural values; a particular set way of doing things, symbolizing a central belief.
- Symbols* - a sign, focal point of a cultural value
- Legends* - stories about particular people or ways of doing things that embody the school's cultural values.
- Slogans* - brief sayings that embody a sacred value
- Heroes* - provide role model, set standard of performance; preserve what makes school special; motivate others; embody the beliefs and values held by the culture.
- Priest(ess)* - tend to be older mature, human 'encyclopaedias' on matters of their school's history and community.
- Storytellers* - tell stories to gain power and influence and because they enjoy doing it; typically found in positions that give them access to a great deal of information
- Cultural players* - people in the culture like heroes, storytellers, priestesses, gossips ...

Abbreviations

- P. = Principal
 D.P. = Deputy Principal
 S.T. = Senior Teacher

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter outlines the background of the thesis and the nature of the study and provides a statement of the research problem. Limitations and delimitations of the study are then discussed, followed by the organisation of the thesis.

Background of the Study

The two schools investigated in this thesis, according to folklore, myth, public and school perception, for years have been schools of 'poor reputation' with behavioural and educational problems. It was with interest, then, that the researcher observed some innovative strategies and stimulating professional development staff meetings and heard comments from teachers, pupils, and parents that the schools were improving. This prompted the following questions:

What is happening in these schools to allow or facilitate change?

Is change really occurring, or is it merely public perception?

If the schools, in fact, are changing, perhaps this could illuminate Fullan's (1985) concern,

"Understanding change is not the same as managing it. We are now at the stage of grappling with the much more complex problem of *how* to manage change in schools." (P. 73)... "Research needs to go beyond theories of change (what factors explain change) to theories of *changing* (how change occurs, and how to use this new knowledge." (Fullan, 1985 P. 392)

The writer believes that the impetus needed for change is

dependent on underlying motivation. Such motivation is sustained by a value system; ie. that the 'new way of doing things' is to make things more efficient or better 'in some fashion for the persons) involved. Yet, despite a great deal of good research on factors related to school improvement (eg. on school effectiveness Cohen (1983); Purkey and Smith (1983), on classroom effectiveness Brophy (1983), staff development Joyce and Showers (1980), on Principal leadership Dwyer, Lee, Rowan and Bassert (1983), and on implementation Crandall et al (1983) and Fullan (1982)), we do not have much specific knowledge about *how* and *why* change or improvement occurs.

This thesis attempts to narrow the gap on processes of change and school improvement by reporting an ethnographic study of a primary and an intermediate school in New Zealand.

Nature of the Study

In this thesis, two New Zealand schools are studied: a primary and an intermediate school. The primary school is one of five schools in a town of 4 000 people, while the Intermediate school is set in a provincial city of 75 000. The two schools are researched using an ethnographic approach; ie. cultural description and interpretation. Ethnography is a 'natural' method in that the school is described as it is. The ethnographer endeavours to not influence or alter the school culture in any way while pursuing an understanding of cultural meanings for occupants

of the educational setting.

The 'way of life' of the school community (pupils, teachers and other staff, parents and the wider school community) is described and interpreted in light of cultural themes (predominant patterns). This involves the writer in observing life in the schools: in the playground, staffroom, classrooms, assemblies - syndicate and school, staff and parent meetings and staff social functions. From this blend of many situations and circumstances, combined with a survey of two classes in each school, interviews of a sample of staff, informal interviewing of parents and associated community people, and document analysis, a picture emerges of the schools' everyday lives.

Educational change is occurring amidst the participants' daily school activities and, from these patterns of behaviour, language, symbols, rituals, stories and personalities, a theory is derived of how and why educational change occurs. A proposition is made of the connection between successful change and the process of school improvement.

Statement of Research Problem

In order to pursue the study of school culture and educational change, four key questions were posed at the beginning of the study:

1. What aspects of the school culture are changing? Why?
 - a) What behavioural regularities can be observed?

- What would a newcomer need to know in order to feel at home?
- What routines and rules operate - both formal and informal?
- What behaviours are appropriate in various situations?
- How do people dress, and speak to each other?
- What gives the school its own special character?

b) What modifications are occurring?

- What is the *source* of these modifications?
(internal, external: particular patterns of the informal network)
- What *strategies* are used?
- Who* is involved/not involved?
- Who *initiates* change? How? When? With what results?
- Is it evident in classrooms?

2. What aspects of the culture appear to facilitate change?

3. What cultural factors inhibit change?

4. How is the change perceived by the school community?

(community = school staff, pupils, sample of parents, liaison inspector, community workers in touch with the school).

In using the questions as the basis of the study, it was proposed to derive a theory on how and why educational change occurs.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

Being an ethnographic study the main research instrument is the ethnographer. The major limitation, then, was that the writer could be only in one place at one time and, although other methods were used to supplement information, nothing surpasses the thick (detailed) descriptions obtained from actual observations.

For feasibility reasons the study was confined to two schools and limited in its time span from July 1988 to May 1989. Working fulltime restricted the length and systematic time which the researcher could spend in the schools. Nevertheless, her job involved being in these two schools, at times, with the Curriculum Review Exploratory Schools Project.(CRES)¹ Because of the schools' involvement in this project and the implementation of Tomorrows' Schools, the assumption has been made that it is unnecessary to prove that change is actually occurring. The writer acknowledges the affect of extra release time and some degree of the Hawthorne phenomena with the schools involved in the Curriculum Review Project but, apart from one or two references to it, the Project was considered to be outside the scope of the writer's study.

The writer endeavoured to encompass both width and depth in her study of the two schools but, when a compromise had to be made, she generally chose the option of depth. Therefore, not all classrooms were observed; but in those that were, observation was undertaken in considerable detail.

In accordance with research tradition, and to preserve the anonymity of the subjects and their schools, fictitious names have been used. However, the content is valid and it has been cross-validated by the subjects themselves. A compromise had to be made between presenting all the data and interpretations the writer had gathered and estimating the capacity of the reader to absorb all the information.

¹ There are two arms to the project: the development side (CRES) and the research arm Curriculum Review Research In Schools Project (CRRISF).

it is intended that, in presenting detailed and representative samples, the reader will also be engaged in the interpretive task. (Johnson and Johnson-Lee, 1988).

Finally, the purpose of the study is to *describe* the cultures of two schools and the cultural factors that facilitate or restrict change; not to prove, judge or evaluate attributes of the schools. However, some participants' comments may suggest to the reader how they feel about the changes and processes occurring in the schools.

Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into eight chapters.

Chapter one sets the scene in providing a brief background of the reasons for the study and defines the nature of the study and research problem. It also considers the major limitations and delimitations of the study. Chapter two provides the reader with further background in reviewing the related literature; while chapter three explains the proposed methodology.

Chapter four presents the reader with the interaction between the methodology, writer and school cultures; after which chapters five and six describe these cultures. Chapter seven examines and compares both cultures and proposes a theory as to how and why change has occurred. Chapter eight links together the threads of the preceding seven chapters to present the reader with the findings. The

appendices include information and examples discussed in the text, but which are supplementary to the discussion.

Throughout the text, but especially in chapters four to seven, the reader will find a variety of charts, diagrams, graphs and tables. These tables endeavour to condense the information, engage the reader in the interpretive task and to accept Johnson and Johnson-Lee's (1988) challenge that "educational ethnographers should employ reflexive and imaginative techniques for documenting their interpretations of cultural meaning." (P. 239)

Thus, the first three chapters provide the theoretical base underpinning the original research which is described in chapters four to six. Chapters seven and eight link the former two sections together and interpret the data to form a theory of change.

Conclusion

With an understanding of the background, nature of the study, research problem, limitations and delimitations and the organisation of the thesis, the reader is now ready to review the related literature.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

In order to address and put into context the central concern of this thesis - school culture and the processes of change - it is necessary to examine recent research. No literature pertaining to this central concern was located. Therefore, the following literature review examines three relevant components of the questions posed in chapter one: change, culture and school improvement.

Change

According to Fullan (1986), serious research on the implementation of educational change began only in the early 1970s. Since that time, many aspects of change have been explored by researchers, falling largely into three categories: the nature of change, conditions of change and the management of change. These themes are examined in this chapter. Some discrepancies between cited research are revealed, which the thesis endeavours to address.

The Nature of Change

"Change is a process not an event, which connotes that something is happening over a period of time to transform individuals and situations." (Fullan, 1985, P.392) What is happening and what transformations are taking place frequently elude educationalists for two main reasons: "the intended outcome is rarely stated clearly, and if it is

stated clearly, by the end of the change process it has managed to get lost", (P.3) due to the complexity of the process. Understanding the process itself is challenging enough (and will be examined in the next section) without considering the particular site at which the change is to occur. Koller and Schliesinger (1986) identified four main situational factors affecting change: the amount and kind of resistance anticipated, the position of the initiator compared to the resistors, (especially with regard to power) the person who has the relevant data for designing the change and the energy for implementing it, and the stakes involved. These situational factors affect the speed and extent of change implementation, the number of people involved, the amount of information needed, and the extent of clear planning required to design the change correctly. It is this critical juncture of marrying the change process to the site, that is frequently the cause of failure to change (Sarason 1971, Fullan 1985, Coleman 1987, Corbett et al 1986, Leithwood and Montgomery 1982, Crandall et al 1983). In this thesis that relationship is examined in depth.

Sarason (1971), argued that it was necessary to examine behavioural regularities before one could measure what changed, and Cuban (1987), takes this further by saying, "describing dominant patterns of instruction both over time and in diverse settings becomes crucial to establishing what is durable and what is transient." (P.35) The fieldwork, therefore, will examine behavioural regularities in order to determine the changes.

The nature of change, however, implies an assumption of improvement. The effort required to change can only be sustained by a motivating force or a value system striving to make the situation more efficient or better for the person(s) involved. Sarason (1971) argued that the attempt to introduce a change into the school setting makes at least two assumptions, "the change is desirable according to some set of values, and the intended outcomes are clear." (P.62) Who determines the values, and how, is not discussed by Sarason and could be a critical step in successful change. Research by Common (1981), suggests this very phenomenon is the root cause of innovation failure as the struggle for power over who or what will change schools leads to a lack of change; thus supporting Sarason's belief that "the more things change the more they remain the same." (1971, P.221) The fact is that the amount of time, energy and resources needed just to keep a school running is so enormous that only a small proportion remains to expend on changing things (Eubanks and Parish, 1987). However, we know that change does occur in schools; but under what conditions?

Conditions of Change

"Schools and other organizations are full of myths and legends about change: top-down change is bad, bottom-up change is good, the pendulum of change always swings back ... They are actually myths that continue because they guarantee that the changes will stay within acceptable ranges of existing practice." (Eubanks and Parish, 1987 P.613)

However, certain factors can stretch the boundaries of acceptable change. Sarason (1971) and Cuban (1987), indicated that the success of a change is dependent partly

on the history of the school: ie. whether the school is receptive to change or whether it can be affected by the success or failure of former change implementations. How many changes, and the extent of the implementations, may be a critical factor which is not explored by research to date. Sarason (1971) believes that this failure to change is largely due to two problems - inadequate knowledge of the "*actual* functioning of schools and school systems" (P.229) and the failure to consider a universe of alternatives. By this he means that schools get trapped into thinking there is only one way of addressing a problem and, as such, what *is* becomes what *ought* to be. It is hoped that, by investigating two schools in depth some light may be shed on these problems. The writer believes some illumination can be derived from linking the concepts of change and culture.

Russell et al, (1973) move somewhat in this direction by arguing that "the generation of a climate for change must be considered the most critical component of change. It is also the most elusive component to describe, since it manifests itself in many ways" (P. 106), and consequently there is minimal research on *how and why* change occurs (Fullan 1985, Crandall et al, 1983).

Research within the school itself suggests that certain organizational conditions can facilitate change. Fullan, (1985) derived various factors from a myriad of case studies to indicate that change always takes time, involves anxiety and uncertainty, needs technical and psychological support, involves learning new skills, and the "fundamental

breakthrough occurs when people can cognitively understand the underlying conception and rationale" (P.396) behind the change. Fullan is supported by other research: Sarason (1971), Corbett and D'Amico (1986), and Eubanks and Parish (1987). Further research suggests additional conditions - one of which is opportunities for encouragement, ie. rewarding staff members for their participation (Corbett and D'Amico 1986, Peters and Waterman 1986, Inkson et al 1986, Stewart and Prebble 1985). Other conditions include communication - especially reasoning behind changes and the identification of emerging problems (Alexander (1985); providing sufficient resources of money, time, knowledge and personnel; and development of a flexible implementation plan (Alexander 1985).

Peters and Waterman (1982), advocate that "the essential idea (of change) is to focus immediately on tangible results" (P.149). They describe this as 'a bias for action'. In quoting numerous vignettes of dramatic change, they suggest that, in reality, these "contravene much of the conventional wisdom that existed previously." (P.102) We, therefore, have conflicting research results - factors which are common to successful change in many situations are violated in others. Change must demand more than conditions; it possibly depends on successful leadership and management.

Change and the role of leadership

Much of the literature emphasises the need for strong leadership: "the most successful examples of change occur when leaders are replaced with new leaders with different

characteristics, and a mandate for change." (McMahon, 1986, P. 104), (Fullan 1982, Sarason 1971, Fullan 1985, Inkson et al, 1986). This will be an interesting factor to pursue as the two New Zealand schools investigated had a change of principal at the beginning of 1988. McMahon (1986) warns, however, that it must be more than the principal who wants change for the school must see it as necessary and appropriate with a degree of mutual trust and confidence, a share in the decision-making, and the staff must find confidence in the principal to take seriously any recommendations s/he makes. McMahon is supported by Coleman (1987), Corbett et al (1987), Fullan (1985), Peters and Waterman (1982).

Fullan (1986), maintains that change can occur without the principal but it is more likely to succeed with his/her support. Change agents may need to be identified and supported otherwise they may thwart changes (Common 1981, Koller and Schlesinger 1986, Corbett et al, 1987) by using the informal network and resistance behaviours. The only way to reduce this is by knowing the change process. How this is done is the subject of the next section.

Management of Change

"Managing change is intrinsically dilemma-ridden," (Fullan, 1986, P.78) for change of any magnitude threatens norms and values deeply rooted in the school culture(s). Change results in an increasing need for reorganisation - which itself is usually feared. This is because reorganisation disturbs the status quo, threatens people's vested interest

in their jobs and modifies established ways of doing things. (Koller and Schlesinger, 1986). Koller and Schlesinger advocate diagnosing resistance as the first strategy in implementing change. The most common reasons for people resisting change are: parochial self-interest, misunderstanding and lack of trust, different assessments of the situation and low tolerance for change. The challenge, then, for management is to assess who will be affected and in what ways, so that managers/principals can select the appropriate way to overcome resistance.

Skills in anticipating and dealing with resistance are important, according to Koller and Schlesinger's (1986) argument. The most important skills are education and communication but, to be successful, they require a good relationship between initiators and resisters or else little notice will be taken of the change. Further skills include participation, involvement, support (provision of time, training and emotional support) and, at times, negotiation. Ultimately, the decisions depend on the judgement of the change initiator who must balance the risks and benefits against the time available, extent of commitment required and importance of the change strategy.

The skill of the principal possibly lies in careful analysis of the school culture to determine who to involve, when, how much, and why. Implied is the need for a balance between theory, interpersonal skills, and knowledge of the culture(s). Quinn (1986) argues that, "because of differences in organisational form, management style or the

content of individual decisions. no *single* paradigm can hold for all strategic decisions." (P.68)

Because there are so many factors, which tend to be paradoxical, Fullan (1985) advocates a *feel* for the improvement process on the part of leadership, based on knowledge of change processes, "experience, intuition and assessment of the situation as a whole". (P.401) In other words, knowledge of change processes alone is insufficient. Change must be dovetailed into the complexities of the organisation to which it is being applied. Understanding successful change involves a close examination of the context, or culture; a recurring factor in the examination of the literature, and to which we now turn.

Culture

Towards a definition of culture

Culture tends to be an elusive concept. Even Sarason (1971) failed to define it in his book, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, for culture's intangible nature means it cannot be seen as such, only derived from behaviour and its consequences. (Merrill 1969, Schein 1985).

Corbett et al. (1987) define culture as:

"the way things are - it provides contextual clues necessary to interpret events, behaviour, words and acts - and gives them meaning. Culture also prescribes the ways in which people should act, regulating appropriate and acceptable behaviours in given situations. Culture thus defines what is true and good." (P.37)

This definition highlights the significance of meaning and

value which Corbett et al. expand further, in giving two types of norms which produce a school's culture: the sacred (immutable) norms and profane norms (which are susceptible to change). The sacred become symbolized in ordinary events, relationships and procedures, while the profane incorporates "the way we do things around here" but can be modified. (Corbett et al. 1987, Deal. 1985). This incorporation of the element of change is important, and Corbett et al. intimate that some values may be changed and others may not.

Deal (1986, P. 33) suggests that "understanding the depth of culture is a prerequisite to learning *what* does and does not change in organisations." It requires an awareness, for culture incorporates basic assumptions that frequently are taken for granted and acted on unconsciously by an organization (Schein, 1985). Meaning derives from the elements of culture: "shared values and beliefs, heroes and heroines, ritual and ceremony, stories, and an informal network of cultural players" (Deal, 1985 P.605). How then, do the sacred and the profane elements of culture become established and changed?

Beardsmore (1985, P.68) attempts an explanation by arguing that "the key is to have an appropriate balance between the solid core values, which provide stability and strategic flex which allows exploration, experimentation and questioning". He does not say how to achieve an 'appropriate balance'. Beardsmore (1985) argues that there are "no 'right' cultures - each has its own unique blend of

attitudes and beliefs. The question is whether it is appropriate to its environment." (P.67)

However, Handy (1985) would dispute this in his cultural models of power, role, task and person. Handy argues that particular cultural models are *more* appropriate to particular settings than others. The way a group makes its culture appropriate to its environment, by inventing and developing a pattern of basic assumptions, is critical and is well explained by Bates (1987, P.89)

"The quest for understanding the culture (the whole way of life) of a particular society cannot succeed if it assumes a unitary pattern of beliefs, values, mores, understandings, relationships, institutions and artifacts that is shared more or less equally by all members of that society... The cultural-studies perspective insists that the culture of a society cannot be understood unless the nature and organisation of the relationships and struggles between dominant and subordinate cultures are taken into account... The production and reproduction of a culture is crucially dependent on the interpretation of that culture by the learner within a context shaped through struggle between competing cultures and interests."

He continues:

"If culture is what gives meaning to life, then cultural politics would be at the heart of political battles over ideologies and commitments. The cultural politics of the school are frequently complex and may result in serious conflicts over both ideology and technology... The internal cultures of schools both derive from and contribute to divisions of class, race, gender, and age, in the wider society... Schools are historical and structural in the sense that they signify readily in ways that are often actively contested and experienced differently by various individuals and groups." (P.108)

The struggles and ideological battles to which Bates (1987), refers could be the heart of cultural dissatisfaction,

In fact, Erickson (1987) argues that

"culture *arises* through social conflict, with possibility of differing interest groups becoming progressively more culturally different across time even though the groups may be in continual contact. . . This new culture is accepted, learned and remembered, or rejected: ignored and forgotten; depending on where one sits in the social order." (P.14)

Erickson's reasoning explains the existence of multiple sub-cultures within a school and the evolution of cultures cited by Handy (1985). This concept will be explored further in examining fieldwork observations.

There remains the problem of some school cultures being more cohesive, appropriate and dynamic than others. Inkson et al (1986) explain that the combination of elements give each organisation its own special identity and character and an all-pervasive "gestalt - a totality in which the individual elements are intricately combined." (P.165) The *combination* of elements, therefore, must be crucial and cannot be understood merely by dissecting the parts. The importance of an appropriate culture has been stated earlier. However, to be appropriate, the culture needs to adapt to its changing constituents and its environment. Kilmann (1986). suggests that an,

"adaptive culture requires a risk-taking, trusting and proactive approach to organizational as well as individual life. Members must *actively* support one another's efforts to identify problems and adapt to solutions. The latter can only be accomplished by a very conscious, well-planned effort at managing culture." (P. 96)

It is this site of adaptation (change) and management of culture that links the thrust of this study in two New Zealand schools. For the purposes of this thesis then, the writer has derived from several sources her own working

definition of culture to be:

the conceptual glue that binds a school together by its shared patterns of beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours, symbolised in its rituals, cultural players, myths, stories, slogans and symbols.

Culture provides meaning and direction but, because of the ideological struggles, any school will incorporate sub-cultures: holding the same sacred values but being differentiated by the loose-coupling of profane values. The struggles between these 'profane' groups is the site of cultural change in a school.

With an understanding of change and culture, it is now appropriate to consider the relationship between these concepts and that of school improvement.

School Improvement

Sarason (1971), argues that an implicit assumption in implementing change is the desire for school improvement. School improvement is becoming an increasingly important topic - given the economic restraints and the recognition that the school is the essential unit of change in the education system. It is only since the 1970's that we have come to understand how educational change works in practice. (Hopkins, 1984) In the 1960's educational thought was dominated by the Coleman and Plowden Reports (1967), indicating that home and societal influences far outweighed school variables in relation to student achievement. However, Rutter et al. (1979) showed in their study of twelve secondary schools in London that there were significant differences between schools, largely due to the human-social

characteristics of the organisation. Other researchers had similar findings, eg. McDill 1973, Weber 1971, Madden 1976, Brookover and Lezotte 1976. Later studies in the 1970's revealed the complexity of putting educational change into practice (Hopkins, 1984). The difficulties were due in part to the definition of school effectiveness.

Two fundamental problems arise from the concept of school effectiveness. The relationship between the concepts of improvement and effectiveness is made in the following passages - with the understanding that improvement is a process, moving towards the achievement of effectiveness. The first problem is that,

"the concept of school effectiveness is a very narrow one, and in much of the literature is tied narrowly to test scores in lower-order math and reading skills' and it ignores other outcomes of schooling prized by many parents and educators...sharing, learning to make decisions, developing self-esteem, higher-order thinking skills, and a sense of the aesthetic." (Cuban, 1984, P. 132)

Schools are multi-faceted organisations (Renihan and Renihan, 1984) with a multitude of concurrent activities. Any narrow definition misses the heart of the school- its way of life. The crucial question is how the way of life - the culture - of the school impacts on the reading, maths and all the other values promoted by the school. The researcher is faced with a dilemma: for culture is an intangible phenomena which can only be appreciated by observing its dimensions of values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviours, cultural players, myths, stories, symbols and rituals. Yet, "attacking individual elements without paying due regard to the webs of interrelationships

surrounding them is likely to lead to solutions that will not have long-term success." (Duignan, 1986, P.69)

An analysis of the literature and the research itself, therefore, will need to examine the elements of school culture. Then an endeavour will be made to deliberate on the entirety of the school and its culture in order to perceive the combination of factors which contribute to school improvement.

The other fundamental problem is that it is reasonably easy to identify a successful/effective school by analysis of the successful factors. However, the difficulty is in *how* the school *becomes* effective. It is here that a relationship between change and improvement can be made, for improvement is:

"A systematic, sustained effort aimed at *change* in learning conditions and other related internal conditions (culture) in one or more schools, with the ultimate aim of accomplishing educational goals more effectively." (Miles and Ekholm, 1985 quoted by Glatter, 1986, P.88)

For the purposes of this thesis, school improvement encompasses Glatter's definition, with the additional dimension of external conditions, and the understanding that it is a *process* of moving towards effectiveness - which is the achievement of improvement. Since improvement is viewed as moving towards effectiveness, the literature review includes a consideration of the factors of effectiveness, its relationship to the New Zealand setting, further limitations of the concept and the justification for this investigation.

Factors of effectiveness

Renihan and Renihan (1984), identified seven variables of effective schools: leadership, conscious attention to climate, academic focus, great expectations, sense of mission, positive motivational strategies and feedback on academic performance. Like Rutter et al (1979), they emphasised the essential interdependence of these factors to which Rutter refers as the 'positive ethos'. The following discussion centres on the Renihans' variables.

Leadership

The first variable, leadership, includes such qualities as assertive administration, instructional leadership, assumption of responsibility, high standards, personal vision, expertise and force of character. (Renihan and Renihan 1984, Elmore 1987, Reynolds 1982) Much of the literature supports the notion that leadership is crucial to school improvement (Caldwell and Spinks 1988, Fullan 1985, Holdaway 1988, Robinson 1984, Wideen and Andrews 1984), but the actual style is not clear (Schmuck 1984, Wideen and Andrews 1984).

Inkson et al (1987), refer to the leader as the 'keyholder', who enthuses and influences others to strive willingly for company goals by exhibiting qualities of commitment, energy, vision and communication. They believe that successful leaders should have an appropriate style for the current stage of a company's development. Perhaps in education, too, particular principals are more suitable to the stage their school has reached. The leader not only alters the structure

and technology of an organisation but also creates the symbols, ideologies, language, beliefs, rituals and myths. (Pettigrew, in Peters and Waterman, 1982).

Ruddock (1984) implies that it is the culture of the organisation that determines, and is determined by, the style of leadership and pattern of interrelationships. (Supported by Deal 1985, Eisner 1988, Elmore 1984, and Inkson et al 1987). The appropriate leadership style is negotiated at the site and the way these negotiations are made determines the success and idiosyncratic nature of the leadership element. Although this element can be identified, it cannot stand alone from other components of the particular school culture and will be interesting to pursue in the two schools investigated.

Conscious attention to school climate

It is pertinent that Renihan and Renihan's (1984) next factor of school effectiveness is 'conscious attention to climate'. An environment conducive to learning is seen as essential, particularly where "rules, regulations and guidelines are laid down and are clearly understood by everyone." (P.1) This factor is supported by many researchers, such as Fullan (1985), MacKenzie (1983), Reynolds (1982), and Rutherford (1985). However, of vital importance with this factor is *how* the guidelines and regulations are laid down and *how* conscious attention is given to the climate. Deal (1985) reinforces this by saying that,

"a strong performance is dependent on a cohesive culture - a set of shared values that motivates and

shapes behaviour inside the company and inspires commitment and loyalty from customers or clients."(P.605)

The critical task in school improvement is to generate a culture that permeates the school organisation to link these other components together. The school improvement literature skirts this issue and, although the analysis of 'culture' related literature touches on it, the gap thus identified will need to be addressed in the writer's own investigation.

Academic focus

Academic focus and great expectations, particularly the importance placed on basic skills, is the next factor. Again this is supported by much of the research to date (MacKenzie 1983, Reynolds 1982, Sizer 1986, Caldwell and Spinks 1988). The particular balance between these and other educationally valued skills, such as human relationships, cooperation and critical thinking, are not mentioned by the researchers, and yet are valued by the wider community. The difficulty in measuring these variables is the main reason, with the added component of political views, which Ekholm (1984) argues, is an inherent factor of the evaluative nature of improvement.

Sense of mission

Sense of mission, the next component identified by Renihan and Renihan (1984) is the consistent philosophy which is shared by the teachers, students and pupils of the school. Renihan and Renihan imply an overlap with the other factors when they define it as having the following characteristics: "shared norms...agreed-upon ways of doing things, clearly stated goals known to all, a high degree of acceptance of

the importance of goals, and joint planning." (Renihan and Renihan, 1984, P.2) In this explanation they are showing the difficulty in separating elements of culture; that culture is the interlocking of these associated variables.

Inkson et al (1987), refer to this component as the kite, (the organisational purpose or mission) which the keyholder flies with its inspiring and uplifting effect. They advocate also, that kites need to be a *communal experience*, giving direction and focus. On a more educational note, Duignan (1986) refers to this as "a clear set of goals and an emphasis for the school"(P. 63), so that the school (administrators, teachers, students, parents) has a fundamental belief system.

Positive motivational strategies

It is with this in mind that we examine the Renihans' next factor of 'positive motivational strategies'. They cite evidence to show that "studies at both school and classroom level find more successful schools having a greater conscious reliance on praise rather than blame." (Renihan and Renihan, 1984, P.2) (Elmore 1987, Fullan 1985, Hopkins 1984). It is interesting that Inkson et al (1987) do not have positive motivational strategies as a separate factor, as it is very much part of the whole culture. Other theorists also incorporate positivism in other factors: Ramsay et al (1987) - supportive, caring environment; Levin (1986)- giving recognition; Deal (1985) - tell good stories; Holdaway (1988) - high expectations and collegial support. No researchers refute the factor.

Feedback on academic performance

The final factor is 'feedback on academic performance. Renihan and Renihan (1984, p. 2), cite "effective schools as providing consistent and continuous feedback to students on their academic achievements", as do Edmonds 1979, Roseshine 1979 and Berliner 1979. Renihan and Renihan also indicate the direct relationship of feedback to teaching objectives and performance. Rutherford (1985) refers to feedback as 'continuously monitoring progress' and Ramsay et al (1987), as keeping 'records of pupil progress.' Again, 'feedback' is a factor not made explicit by many other researchers, but is incorporated into other elements of culture or the culture as a whole (Inkson et al 1987, Caldwell and Spinks 1988, Peters and Waterman 1982, Schmuck 1984).

It will be interesting to see how evident these factors are in Kowhai and Manuka Intermediate schools.

New Zealand Studies Related to School Improvement

In the years between 1977 and 1980, New Zealand intermediate schools were invited by the Department of Education to take part in a voluntary self-evaluation exercise - a 'school review'. (Robinson, 1984) Rather than relying on an outside evaluator, the staff themselves were responsible for reviewing their school. (This point is interesting in light of Manuka Intermediate's September 1988 staff meetings which were devoted solely to reviewing 'where they were at'.)

The model has the advantages of people 'within the culture'

having their awareness raised, knowing the strengths and limitations of staff members and being continuously on site to implement modifications and voluntary involvement. However, Robinson (1984), highlighted some inadequate implicit assumptions of the model. Voluntary involvement was not true of all cases - some schools were coerced by inspectors to be involved, so that the very schools who needed self-review, were involved for the wrong reasons and, subsequently, were less committed and derived little ultimate benefit. The stimulus of an outside facilitator was missing from the model. Wideen and Andrews (1984) and McMahon (1986) suggest the need for external support in successful school self-reviews in order to see beyond the day-to-day demands of school life.

The role of the principal was viewed to be essential to get the review underway (supported by Fullan, 1982), but there was conflicting evidence about the extent of active involvement by the principal. Robinson (1984) argued that the Principal needed to be actively involved in order to sustain interest and direct the necessary resources into school-review.

Robinson's (1984) study reveals a catch-22 situation. Willingness to embark on a school review exercise demands sufficient awareness of the need for school development and reflexive practice. Yet, the schools that need the review rarely have these skills. (Hence, there was a need for coercion by some school inspectors). Awareness itself, though, is not enough. The school culture must encompass

committed, skilled and mature personalities in order to sustain the on-going effort required to be open, to experiment and to take risks. The challenge is *how* to enter this cycle of school improvement at the right level in order to derive benefits without being demoralised. Hopefully, this thesis, in investigating two school cultures in detail, will elucidate some facets of this dilemma.

In a different vein, a study by Ramsay et al (1987) in eight schools in the Southern Auckland region revealed eight characteristics of 'successful' schools. A significant finding was that each school was highly idiosyncratic and that "a considerable range of practices were found *within* schools as well as *between* schools." (Ramsay et al, 1987, P.2) This is probably a factor that contributed to variable success in school reviews by Robinson (1984) and one that needs to be borne in mind for school improvement.

The eight characteristics of 'successful' schools are similar to those of Renihan and Renihan (1984):

(a clearly articulated philosophy or statement of goals, patterns of communication, decision-making procedures, records of pupil progress, use of community resources and community relationships, developed resources, improved school environment, and created a supportive, caring environment)

However, there are some different emphases. The factor of leadership is absent - and is even moderated in 'decision-making procedures', where democracy and staff participation are emphasised. However, the point is made that leaders in these schools were prepared to make and take responsibility for a final decision after staff involvement. (Ramsay et al, 1987). Thus, leadership is an implicit rather than explicit

component of school success: perhaps implying the 'style' of leadership, rather than its importance.

Ramsay et al (1987) place greater emphasis on communication than other researchers. Ramsay et al (1987) stress "a team spirit and a sense of working together under difficulties was engendered in the informal structure...for staff felt they knew what was going on, and were consulted prior to decision making." (P.5) Communication is a more measurable factor and gives some indication of *how* and *what* schools can do towards school improvement.

The study by Ramsay et al (1987) indicated a factor not mentioned by other educational researchers: that of community resources and community relationships. This point is particularly interesting in the light of the educational reforms in New Zealand in 1989 and the attention paid to community relationships by the two schools investigated in this thesis. Businesses have long recognized the need to maintain contact with their markets for, if they neglect them, the business fails. (Peters and Waterman 1982, Inkson et al 1987). So, too, with a school. If the 'customers' (students, parents and the wider community) are neglected, the school might experience declining rolls and a slide towards its demise. It is with interest, then, that this added component of community perceptions is included in the thesis investigation.

With the possible exception of a supportive, caring environment, the factors listed by Ramsay et al (1987) are

readily identified by schools and are tangible factors to implement, such as records of pupil progress. However, the fundamental problem is exactly how and when to implement these facets which are vital components of change, and are not noted in Ramsay et al's (1987) report.

Limitations of the literature on school improvement

The most fundamental dilemma of the improvement literature, already discussed, is the artificial separation of components. This simplifies a highly complex phenomena of culture. (Fullan, 1985)

"The factors have some generalizability but at the expense of understanding any particular school context...the strength of the relationships should be examined as well as the relative contributions of different factors." (Fullan, 1985, P.398)

Effective approaches to managing change call for combining and balancing factors that do not apparently go together - simultaneous strong leadership-participation, looseness-tightness - leading to the recommendation of a 'feel' for the improvement process as, otherwise, the process is intrinsically paradoxical and subtle. (Fullan, 1985) The literature to date is limited in defining how to address this dilemma. The study of two schools, their cultures and their attempts at school improvement may give more clues.

Insoluble problems of limited resources, ineffective principals and staff members are not addressed in the literature. The literature assumes that leaders will exhibit such outstanding qualities as expounded by Renihan and Renihan (1984). Apart from changing principals, the ambivalence in the literature suggests some possibility for

school improvement in spite of a principal, through whole staff involvement in school review. Perhaps, in some instances the staff's 'power' in the culture can overcome or complement the leader's weaknesses. (McMahon, 1986). After all, the key to success seems to be the overall picture: the complex combination of interrelated factors. (Eisner, 1988: Wideen and Andrews, 1984).

Conclusion

The penultimate challenge is *how* a school *becomes* successful. Although the literature pinpoints various landmarks, particularly the New Zealand study by Ramsay et al (1987), existing research tells us nothing about how an effective school got that way. The literature tells us little about the *process* of change.

"We do not know with any certainty what works, even in the cognitive area, let alone the less easily defined but perhaps more important social and affective goals of schools. There are no good grounds in empirical evidence for placing too much credence in any single school improvement strategy.. ..It is clear however, that it is micro-level processes - teaching and learning in classrooms - which are critical to quality. (Levin, 1986, P.3)

In sum, understanding school success involves knowing how factors operate in context rather than simply listing factors associated with higher student achievement (Fullan, 1985).

Armed with some understanding of change, culture, and improvement, we can turn to that very issue (of how factors operate in a particular setting) in the study of Manuka Intermediate and Kowhai School.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter the writer explains the term ethnography and its appropriateness to the study. Discussion of ethnographic techniques and their related implications follows.

Ethnography

Ethnography is both a process and a product of research in a natural setting. "The purpose of ethnographic research is to describe and interpret cultural behaviour." (Wolcott, 1985, P. 190) More simply, ethnography is a picture of the way of life of a particular group of people. This necessitates the researcher becoming part of that culture for a period of time. The endeavour is made to explicate the subjects' knowledge and interpretation of their world, much of which they take for granted.

Ethnography requires 'thick description' (ie. detailed description) and the use of multiple research techniques. However, the major instrument is the ethnographer and his/her fieldwork observations. These observations embody four main values: the research is guided by the participants' viewpoints, the cultural system is viewed in its entirety and its related parts, an awareness is needed of the researcher's own biases and the need to refrain from making value judgements, and the data must be placed in its

own environment so as to provide a more accurate presentation. (Edwards, 1986) The technicalities and implications of the ethnographic method are expounded further in the next sections of this chapter. Before exploring these, it is necessary to examine the reasons for the methodology being chosen to study Kowhai and Manuka Intermediate Schools.

Why choose ethnography?

The writer has always been interested in why some schools operate more effectively than others and, although it seems relatively straightforward to recognize a 'good' school, the challenge is *how* schools 'become good'. Preceding even that stage is the question of how schools change to embark on a journey of improvement.

Much of the literature on change (refer to Chapter 2) suggested that failure to change was due to inappropriate change processes in the particular site. (Sarason, 1971; Coleman, 1987) In addressing this concern, Russell et al (1973) argued that the critical factor was generating a climate for change but, as this tends to be an elusive concept, there is little research on *how and why* change occurs. The *how and why* of change intrigued the writer and formed the genesis of this thesis.

In order to pursue this question, the writer considered it necessary to have the change process studied in a particular site (since research by Sarason et al suggested the juncture

between process and site to be critical). Process implied the need for monitoring over time. Ethnography is a technique that embodies process and culture. for

"the purpose of educational ethnography is to provide rich, descriptive data about the contexts, activities and beliefs of participants in educational settings. Typically, such data represent educational processes as they occur. (Goetz and Le Compte, 1986, P.17).

Ethnography admits into the research frame the subjective experiences of both investigator and participants. Thus, a depth of understanding is provided which is often lacking in other research methodologies. Ethnography also allows the interlocked concepts of culture and change to be investigated. Theories can be derived from the data, rather than trying to prove preformulated hypotheses. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) The writer hopes to explicate a grounded theory of how and why change occurs and, therefore, to explain what allows a school to embark on a journey of school improvement. Ethnography, therefore, was deemed an appropriate technique for such a task.

Disadvantages of ethnography are acknowledged, however. It is a laborious and time-consuming methodology. Located in a natural setting, much activity occurs over which the researcher has little or no control. Considerable data can be collected, therefore, and never be used in the final report. Critical factors of rapport and relationships with informants can determine the success or failure of the research and the degree of access to necessary information. Qualitative research, particularly ethnography, has been considered a soft option by proponents of scientific and quantitative methods (Woods, 1977). Questions of

reliability, validity, credibility and generalizability are among the major concerns. These concerns are now discussed in the section on ethnographic research techniques.

Ethnographic Research Techniques

This section considers research techniques and their implications in three main areas: fieldwork, the multi-methods approach and research issues.

Fieldwork

Gaining of access is an important factor in researcher acceptance. The ethnographer is faced with a dilemma, however, as explanation of the research question has to be clear enough and plausible in order to gain participants' understanding and acceptance without unduly influencing their behaviour and the nature of the setting. On the other hand,

"purely inductive research begins with a collection of data - empirical observation or measurements of some kind - and builds theoretical categories and propositions from relationships discovered among the data." (Goetz and Le Compte, 1984, p.4)

The ethnographer's initial explanation, therefore, needs to be encompassing and general.

A site is chosen according to its suitability and feasibility for investigating the research question(s). Initial gaining of access in schools necessitates approval from the principal and, possibly, senior staff or the governing body. Once authorisation is attained, "symbolic

disengagement from the leadership is needed for the researcher to establish independence. (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, P.20) The researcher, then, has to negotiate his/her way in a continuous process of establishing and developing relationships with people in the cultural scene, for ethnography,

"is best served when the researcher feels free to 'muddle about' in the field setting and to pursue hunches or to address himself to problems that s/he deems interesting and worthy of sustained attention." (Wolcott 1975, P.113)

Care needs to be taken to be objective and independent - by being perceived as wanting to hear all points of view and not favouring particular groups of people. Assurances of confidentiality facilitate a trusting relationship. (Zigarmi and Zigarmi, 1980) This can be stressful for the researcher who needs to maintain secrecy in relation to the data s/he is collecting and the conclusions s/he is reaching. Potentially even more stressful is the fact that, whatever the ethnographer reveals about her personal background and experiences, this can be influential. Even the best efforts of an observer cannot eliminate completely the impact of his/her person on the setting. Metz (1978) coped with this problem by such strategies as:

"I never volunteered comments on controversial or school-related topics. I replied to questions with other questions, carefully bland statements, or agreement that it was a puzzling problem." (P.258)

However, when topics unrelated to school business arose, Metz made an effort to participate in the conversation in order to build up a sense of rapport and shared humanity. Other researchers advocate increasing visibility so that the ethnographer's presence comes to be taken for granted. (Zigarmi and Zigarmi, 1980; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973)

The need for reciprocity is a related problem when informants' questions trigger feelings on the part of the ethnographer of always owing the informants something in exchange for their time and cooperation. Being empathetic and sensitive to their other demands, expressing interest in a setting beyond the purpose of the research and promising data in the future, are coping strategies advocated by Zigarmi and Zigarmi (1980).

Once these concerns are dealt with (although they surface throughout the ethnographic period), participant observation can continue in earnest. Participant observation allows the ethnographer "to experience activities directly, to get the feel of what events are like, and to record his/her own perceptions." (Spradley, 1980, P.51) Heightened skills of explicit awareness, middle-angle lens, the insider/outsider experience, introspection and record keeping are required of the ethnographer. (Spradley, 1980) In order to do this the ethnographer endeavours to record verbatim what people say, identifying the participants and describing the scene.

"By observing as much as possible the 'natural situation, the researcher can observe the group's norms, values, conflicts, and pressures which over a long period cannot be hidden from someone playing an in-group role." (Woods, 1977, P. 42)

Over a period of time the researcher can move from descriptive observation to focused observation and, finally, to selective observation. However, general descriptive observations continue alongside focused observations. Wolcott (1985) explains this by saying, "fieldwork and interpretation go hand in hand as concurrent rather than as

sequential steps." (P. 189) The purpose of it is theoretical sampling - the process of data collection for the purpose of generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his/her data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them in order to develop his/her theory as it emerges. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Observations in the field are limited by the researcher's time available to be spent in the field, the difficulties of recording a multiplicity of factors occurring simultaneously, fatigue, physical conditions preventing note-taking and a sensitivity that at times precludes the researcher from attending particular events. In order to build a cultural picture that has structural integrity where the 'pieces fit together as an interrelated part-whole relationship', and embody the complexity of the scene, the participant observer needs to supplement field observations with further dimensions, to which the discussion now turns.

Multimethods

The perennial problem of the researcher is the limitation of being in one place at one time while action is occurring elsewhere. Although Smith (1978) rightly states that, "being on site is the *sine qua non* of ethnographic research", to do the cultural system justice, the researcher needs a multimethod approach.

Interviews enable the ethnographer to learn of data in a post-facto capacity, to learn of situations from the participant's perception or to verify tentative

propositions emerging from the data. Rutherford (1978) stresses the value of personal interviews as a research tool, especially in the study of change, since the individual person is the key to the change process. Through interviews the personal perceptions of each individual can be secured. Interview flexibility makes it possible to obtain both breadth and depth of information. Personal interviews, however, are always plagued by problems of reliability and validity, which can be reduced by the researcher's rapport and triangulation (discussed later) to cross-validate the data.

Woods (1977) advocates that interviews should be unstructured, in depth, almost part of informant's natural conversation. This is because conversations convey much more meaning than what is actually said,

"How the participants 'hear'... will depend on the knowledge they already have, the perspectives they share with those speaking and how they interpret the situation. They will 'fill in' the meanings."
(Woods, 1977, P.36)

Hence, there is a continuum from structured interviews to supposed casual conversations. All types of interviews have their place in ethnography, with the actual technique being chosen to suit the information sought and the particular situation. (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982)

Key informants are individuals who possess special knowledge, status or communicative skills with the researcher. Their access in terms of time, space or perspective, otherwise denied to the ethnographer, is why they are chosen. Key informants can 'fill in gaps' and may

sensitize the researcher to value dilemmas within the culture. (Goetz and Le Compte, 1984) However, it is necessary to interview others in the field to obtain an overall and fair representation.

The use of surveys and questionnaires enhances the scope, density and clarity of constructs and allows for triangulation or cross-checking the accuracy of information on a single problem. (Smith, 1978) Document analysis, for instance, organisational files, school newsletters, schemes of work and noticeboards, can reduce the demands made on participants and serve cross-validation purposes. (Schatzman and Strauss 1973, Zigarmi and Zigarmi 1980, Smith 1978, Wolcott 1975) But unobtrusive methods cannot replace time in the field and it must be borne in mind that "most accounts contribute toward ethnography rather than achieve it". (Wolcott, 1975, P.122) Having confidence in the data is an important facet. This leads into the discussion on research issues.

Research Issues

Key concerns of any research methodology, particularly of ethnography, are reliability and validity.

"Validity is concerned with ensuring that the ideas and propositions which emerge from a study are well-grounded and soundly reasoned from a reliable data base." (Edwards, 1986, P.156)

The length and quality of time spent in the field are of prime consideration. Intense observation and involvement reduces the likelihood of 'faking' behaviour as the researcher becomes part of the cultural scene. Length of time and especially the "freedom of the researcher to come

to classes, meetings and other events unannounced or without prior arrangement broadens the basis of seeing normal or unusual events and increases the validity of the data." (Smith, 1978, P.342) Data can also be checked with a range of participants to determine whether their meanings and interpretations are fairly represented. The skills outlined in the fieldwork section are assumed of the fieldworker where his/her behaviour and rapport can determine the quantity and quality of data supplied by informants. This includes an awareness on the part of the researcher of non-verbal signs and verbal asides.

To ensure external or construct validity, the ethnographer must show clearly the derivation of theory from descriptive observation, categories and codings used in the data analysis phase.

"Coupled with the obligation on him to order and make sense out of his material he is duty-bound to present sufficient primary data that his readers have an adequate basis for rendering their own judgements concerning the analysis." (Wolcott, 1975, P.124)

This also relates to reliability.

Reliability refers to the extent to which studies can be replicated. Reliability in science lies in the requirement that another observer, using the same methods on the same group, will obtain the same results. In ethnography, the observer is necessarily unique in his/her own behaviour (and how it affects the subjects) in what s/he chooses to record as important and in the interpretation of his/her findings. (Bell et al, 1986) The exact replication of an ethnographic study, therefore, is impossible. However, inclusion of

detailed descriptions of the site, techniques used, who provided the data, identification and discussion of data analysis processes and retrospective accounts of how data were examined and synthesised - all contribute towards ethnographic reliability. (Goetz and Le Compte, 1984)

The credibility of results is enhanced by examining cultural behaviour with a variety of different approaches. (Wolcott, 1975) It can be established by,

"systematically identifying and examining all casual and consequential factors ... The naturalistic setting within which ethnography is normally conducted, both facilitates on-the-spot analysis of causes and processes." (Goetz and Le Compte, 1986, P.10)

Attention to factors of reliability, validity and translatability also enhance the study's credibility. Smith (1978) goes beyond this point in encouraging the inclusion of lengthy field excerpts supported by triangulation in the final report. This enables the reader to clearly perceive the sources and significance of analytic interpretation, giving the report overall credibility.

Translatability is akin to reliability in that it assumes that research methods, analytic categories and characteristics of phenomena and groups are identified so explicitly that comparisons can be made across groups and disciplines. (Goetz and Le Compte, 1984) This leads to the problem of generalisability. As argued above, ethnography cannot be replicated exactly. Hence it has limited generalisability. To a certain extent this is addressed by describing the research methodology but it is more the ideas and knowledge that are generalisable than the research study

itself. The purpose of ethnography is to describe and interpret a cultural system and it is these interpretations that can, in some cases, be generalisable.

Bearing in mind Spradley's (1980) point that "ethnography is always partial, incomplete and in need of revision", (P. 161), it is now timely to consider the subsequent strategies employed in the study of Manuka Intermediate School and Kowhai School.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY IN ACTION

Introduction

This section explains why Manuka Intermediate School and Kowhai School were selected for this thesis. Practical considerations and limitations are outlined. The timetable and phase progression of the study are then discussed along with details of the research techniques utilized.

Why choose Manuka Intermediate School and Kowhai School?

Already being an ethnographer in these schools as part of the Curriculum Review Exploratory Schools Project meant that the writer had established a role, rapport and access in the two schools. The principals and staff were particularly friendly, open and cooperative and the researcher was readily accepted. From conversations with parents, teachers and the people in the wider community (as well as a questionnaire by the writer), it became clear that each of the two schools had been victims of previous 'bad reputations'. However, with new principals and a large proportion of new staff in 1988, these schools were poised for change.

The writer was intrigued by the number of new staff members, and, therefore, the possible negotiation of cultural patterns, values, players and way of life which might occur in each school. It was thought that two schools should be used, a primary and an intermediate school, for a basis of

comparison and, therefore, to provide greater depth and breadth for any generated theories. In the unlikely event of a school restricting the researcher's access, one school could be used as a fallback position.

Practical Considerations and Limitations

Time is a key consideration in ethnography. Working fulltime has restricted the amount and distribution of time in the field which was available to the writer. As a researcher in other schools there was limited control over when time would be available. (Fortunately the writer's job of being on site regularly, facilitated simultaneous data collection for thesis purposes.) However, frequently 'office days' were exchanged to work in the field and the subsequent paperwork was done in evenings or weekends. The writer was unable to be systematic in sampling time periods in the two schools. At times it was a matter of seizing the opportunity to be 'on site'. This had the advantage of occasionally arriving with little or no notice so that events observed were as routine as might possibly be anticipated. However, it is acknowledged that the act of observing affects the action of whatever is being observed.

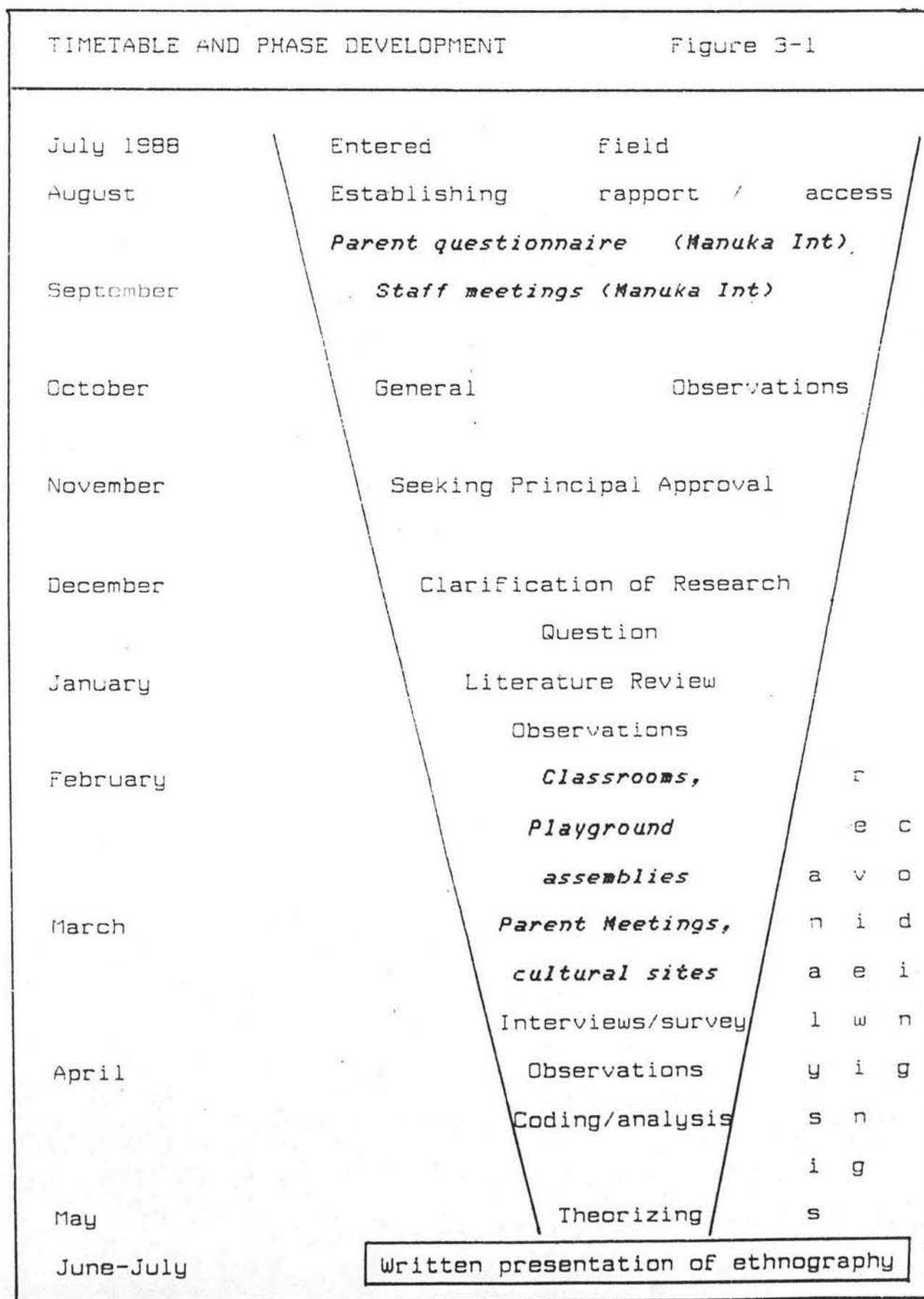
Researching in schools was found to be very difficult. The limited time during the day, due to timetable structures and the non-existence of teacher release, made it difficult to triangulate classroom or other data, to arrange interviews or simply to talk to participants. The writer was ever conscious of herself having been a teacher under the

pressure of time. Therefore, she was very sensitive to requesting time for interviews or asking questions. Accommodating to teacher time meant interviews occurred anywhere between eight in the morning, lunchtime or, in one case, at the weekend. This researcher-teacher conflict was also a factor in classroom observations when the writer felt torn between being a teacher and an observer. As rapport and patterns of behaviour were established this feeling eased.

The writer was sensitive to staff interaction and, therefore, did not ask to attend staff meetings which may have proved awkward for the principal or staff members concerned; although this would have been ideal data collecting time. (Key informants occasionally filled the gaps.) At other times it was deemed inappropriate to take out a notebook. Thus, some detail was neglected in later recall. Fortunately this was a rare occurrence.

Finally, the writer concedes that the human factor restricted data collection in terms of fatigue and occasional inattention to verbal asides or social interaction. At times it was difficult to record a multiplicity of factors occurring simultaneously, especially in classrooms. Fortunately the cooperation of staff, children and school community enabled the research to proceed, and the quality time spent on site resulted in some rich data being collected.

The Timetable and Phase Development (Figure 3-1) summarises the research foci and the researcher's activity from the time of entering the field to the final reporting of the study.



Utilized Research Techniques

Access

This was virtually a non-issue with the writer already being involved in the schools as an ethnographer. The two selected schools are among eight in which the writer was researching as part of the Curriculum Review Exploratory Schools Project, involving twenty eight schools throughout New Zealand. The researcher, therefore, had been in the field a couple months before deciding on the schools for her own thesis study. She approached each principal and explained her interest in the general concept of school change and improvement. She was hoping to use the school as a basis for a thesis, which would require minimal time from them. One or two interviews were anticipated with themselves and a sampling of their staff. Observations around the school, in meetings and in classrooms were also sought.

The Principal of Kowhai School was dubious, particularly as at that stage the writer was particularly interested in the book, Theory X (Inkson et al, 1986). The principal asked to think about the proposal for a couple weeks. Refreshed from the August holidays, he gave the writer approval to 'go ahead'. It was not until November that the writer sought permission from Manuka Intermediate for it was then that the writer was modifying her research question to emphasise change and the study of culture and thought it wise to include two schools. This decision coincided with the publication of her parent questionnaire report, Involvement in Schools: Parents' Reactions, which was received with

interest by the principal, as his was one of the schools involved. He readily agreed to the study, particularly when it was emphasised that the time commitment which would be required from himself and the school would be minimal.

The writer believes there are several layers of access in a school. It was fine for her to attend staff meetings and general meetings of the staff but to go into classrooms took careful negotiation and gentle, incremental persuasion of one principal in particular. It was found that both principals were very protective of their staff, especially in applying any more potential stress or pressure on them. The writer, therefore, initially entered classrooms suggested by the principals and agreed by the staff members concerned but, as the staff became more comfortable, the researcher was *invited* into more classrooms and to school events.

Rapport

Rapport was gradually established and the writer came to realize that rapport is an on-going phenomena. Taking advice from other researchers, (Wolcott 1975, Schatzman and Strauss 1973) she began with the school leadership and gradually moved to observing senior staff and other teachers. Attending a Parent/Teacher Evening in February at Manuka Intermediate one teacher remarked, "*It's good to see you here. You're basically one of the staff, eh?*" The D.P. remarked another day, "*Hello, the ghost that haunts us!*" On another occasion two teachers wondered aloud why the writer was not coming to join in the staff photograph.

The writer, along similar lines to Metz, (1978) endeavoured to be a passive observer in meetings, school functions and, initially, in classrooms. As time passed in classrooms, she gradually changed to helping the teachers in attending to individual children's questions, as well as helping with language and reading. This was done for reasons of reciprocity and rapport. The teachers relaxed, possibly due to the extra adult help in the room and reduced 'waiting time' for the pupils. Whenever appropriate, contributions were made to conversations unrelated to the study in order to develop a sense of the 'shared humanity' (Metz, 1978) which led to invitations to various staff social functions.

In some cases the researcher was never formally introduced to classes, but children, either individually or in small groups, would ask if the writer was a teacher. The writer replied affirmatively but explained about being a researcher and "wanting to learn about their school." Children accepted this answer and, after a while, would identify the writer in the school grounds and ask when the researcher was coming back to their classroom. One child commented to her friends, *"that lady is a .. researcher... and she sometimes helps us with our work"*.

With teachers, the writer found that the initial entry to classrooms was rather stressful for teachers. However, once established, familiarity in the classroom led to a better relationship with them. Concerns about programmes, particular children and stresses of teaching were shared

with the researcher who, at times, served as a confidante or 'neutral sounding board'. For many teachers, the classroom is the major focus of their interest and, in showing interest in that arena, somehow the researcher is accepted at a deeper level. As a result, at least two teachers became excellent key informants. On three occasions the writer was asked for ideas of what she had done for reading and language activities in her own classroom. A few suggestions were given for reasons of reciprocity but care was taken to not unduly influence teaching practice.

Like Metz (1978), the writer joined in staffroom conversations on topics unrelated to school life, such as leisure interests, sports and current events while she enjoyed the good-humoured teasing which was received in both schools. Care was taken to sit in various places in the staffroom and to mix with different groups of staff members.

Initial observations at a cultural site were viewed as a whole by the researcher and notes were written afterwards, ie. away from the field. This was done for two reasons. Firstly, the absence of a notebook lessened participants' concerns or fears; and secondly, the researcher captured the atmosphere and non-verbal signals which were sometimes missed when she was busily note-taking. Normally, however, writing of fieldnotes was done while on site although further embellishment of details or analysis was recorded soon after the event. Participants in the latter stage were not worried. They often joked about the note-taking, but rarely were interested to see the fieldnotes when offered to

them. They often speculated on the number of notebooks the researcher had, what would be done with it all, and would the writer be writing memoirs in years to come? (A sample page of fieldnotes is included in Appendix IV).

Fieldnotes formed the basis of data collection but, for the purposes of triangulation, additional tools were employed.

Interviews of a sample of staff and community people were undertaken in order to elicit their cultural values and perceptions of change (refer to Appendix III for question samples). Generally, the question structure was followed but, on two occasions, it was abandoned as the informants talked incessantly for an hour and alluded to the questions anyway. Flexibility was paramount. Some teachers needed little prompting to respond to questions while others required further explanation about the broad areas to which they might respond. Notes were taken during the interview. The researcher did not have the facilities or time for later transcribing from audio tapes. Time constraints prevented a fuller sampling of staff for interviews. Sampling included a mix of gender, status (ie Principal, Senior Teacher and Scale A teachers), years of teaching experience and cultural groups as perceived by the researcher.

Several interviewees appreciated the opportunity to clarify their thinking and consequently their interviews lasted about fifty minutes. Other people had less to say and completed the interviews in fifteen to twenty minutes duration. The writer originally had intended to undertake

structured interviews with parents but realized that this approach was artificial and might possibly be threatening for some parents. Thus, the researcher and parents had informal conversations in the playground, in the staffroom at interval and lunchtime; at Board of Trustee candidate meetings, or informal parent/teacher evenings. Fieldnotes taken during meetings with parents also captured innumerable perceptions of the school culture, change and improvement. This informal approach was used also with caretakers, secretaries and a few staff members who were not formally interviewed.

A *survey* was taken of two classes in each school. (refer to Appendices I and II) In one case the class teacher administered the survey. In the other three classes the survey was administered by the writer. In each case, she explained to children that she had been a teacher but had not taught their age group. Now, as a researcher, she was keen to learn about them and their school. The writer then read out each question, giving children sufficient time to write their response; stressing that spelling was not important, to encourage those who find writing ideas challenging. The intermediate school survey was deemed to be more accurate as little guidance was needed by students to complete the survey whereas the primary school classes sampled had mixed levels of children from standard two to four. The researcher had to indicate broad categories for their responses. However, collation was possible, and groupings of values were derived from the data. The intermediate sample was analysed in detail in order to

ground children's values. Numbers of responses were tallied and ranked to show the importance of values according to gender, class level and particular classroom.

Document analysis provided a means of validating emerging values, cultural language, symbols, roles of cultural players, and change. Included were collections of school newsletters, organisational files (Kowhai School), school prospectus and policy document (Manuka Intermediate), staffroom notices, staff communication boards, term calendars, some teacher planning, children's schoolwork and process writing.

Kowhai School surveyed their parents and the collation of those responses was used for validation purposes. The *triangulation* made possible by survey results, interview findings, document analysis, and confirming of ideas with participants also fulfils the criteria of *validity*. (See P. 55-56)

The most fascinating, exhilarating and challenging phase of the research process was the *analysis* stage. An overview of the process is provided in figure 3-3. (P. 59) Fieldnotes were thoroughly read from start to finish and indexing (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) made in the right hand margin (refer to Appendix IV for an example). Once all notes were indexed and coded, these were transferred to small cards, (an adaptation of an idea of Bogdan and Biklen's, 1982). The phrase was written on one side and the reference (continued on P. 57)

KOWHAI SCHOOL TRIANGULATION CHECKPOINT Table I

CONCEPT/VALUE	FIELDNOTES	INTERVIEWS	SURVEY	DOCUMENT ANALYSIS
BILINGUALISM	x	x	x	x
respect for people	x		x	
whanau approach	x	x	x	x
shared kai	x			
sc. org. facilitates it	x	x		x
oral communication	x			
welcome/hospitality	x			x
CONCERN FOR PEOPLE	x	x	x	x
POSITIVE REINFORCEMENT	x	x	x	x
professional development	x	x		
shared planning/decision	x	x		
teacher/teacher commun.	x	x		
behavioural concerns	x		x	x
indiv. learning needs	x	x		
kids help each other	x	x	x	
cooperative learning	x	x		
TEAMWORK	x	x	x	x
principal prof. leader	x			
staff admire/respect principal	x	x		
Greg interested in progs	x	x		
staff support one another	x	x		
caretaker part of staff	x	x	x	x
flexible school org.	x	x	x	
environmental concerns	x	x	x	x
friendly children	x	x	x	
friendly/welcoming parents	x			
unity concerns	x	x	x	x
community contacts	x	x		x
staffroom multipurpose	x			
OPEN SCHOOL	x	x	x	x
teacher/parent commun.	x			x
principal listens/ responds to parents	x			x
principal wants to inform and empower community	x	x		x
P. keen to involve cmtty	x			x
school committee support teachers and principal	x			
Sc. Cmte reinforce values	x			
school image	x	x		x
knowledge of parent community important	x	x		
parents concern about discipline	x	x		x
need to educate parents	x	x		
parents perceive good feeling about school	x	x		x
rivalry- other schools	x			
INFORMALITY	x	x	x	x
casual dress	x		x	
tolerance/acceptance	x	x		x
sharing	x	x	x	x
friendly/relaxed staff	x	x		x
chn given freedom/resp.	x		x	

NB. documents = newsletters, files, parent survey, minutes.

MANUKA INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL TRIANGULATION CHECKPOINT Table II

CONCEPT/VALUE	FIELDNOTES	INTERVIEW	SURVEY	DOCUMENT ANALYSIS
PEOPLE FIRST	x	x	x	x
positive reinforcement	x	x	x	x
democratic leadership	x	x		x
family feeling	x	x		x
unity/sharing/teams				
P. professional leader	x	x		x
P. admired by staff	x	x	x	x
and community				
shared decision-making	x	x		x
P. listens/responds	x	x		
to staff				
P. seeks outside	x			x
support				
P. considerate of	x	x		
staff pressures				
supportive staff	x	x		
friendly staff	x	x	x	
integration of manual	x	x		x
staff				
welcoming/friendly	x	x	x	x
school				
some cliques(subculture)	x	x		
P. consults community	x			x
P. listens to parents	x			x
PTA supports school	x	x		x
P. listens to pupils	x	x	x	
pupils involved in	x	x	x	
decision-making				
building of self-esteem	x	x		x
concern with learning	x	x	x	x
and teaching				
individual learning	x		x	x
needs/extensions				
acknowledgement of	x		x	
things Maori				
fun/choice	x	x	x	x
sport	x	x	x	x
heroes/rituals	x			x
EXCELLENCE (aim)	x	x	x	x
hard work ethic	x	x		x
tight discipline	x	x	x	x
orderliness	x	x		x
organisation	x	x		x
IMAGE	x	x	x	x
image building	x	x	x	x
publicise school	x	x	x	x
school environment	x	x	x	
more parent contact	x			x
few parents involved	x			
but extensively				
need to inform parents	x			x
open school	x	x	x	x
involvement of	x			x
community				
parent support	x			

(page number, date, direct quote or summary comment) was written on the reverse. Where values were more prominent, they required two or three cards to be stapled together - a quick visual cue to its prevalence and possible significance. Although categories were gleaned and adapted, they were not used as artificially as Spradley and McCurdy (1972) advocated.

The cards were placed randomly on the floor and were grouped and regrouped until cultural themes emerged. These gradually formed into a taxonomy with more sacred values being placed at the apex and less sacred values being placed towards the base (refer to figure 6-5). Once the writer was satisfied with the taxonomy, it was verified by comparison with values derived from the interviews, surveys and document analysis. Slight modifications were made as required. The taxonomy, along with the details and references recorded on the cards, formed the basis of writing about the cultures.

A copy of the ethnography of each school culture was sent to the respective schools for verification. Greg Brown wrote back:

"Thanks for the preview. I found this work very interesting. I think it is accurate in fact and the conclusions you have drawn valid. Regards, Greg Brown."

The writer was amused by the informant signing with his assigned pseudonym; and, therefore, providing validity.

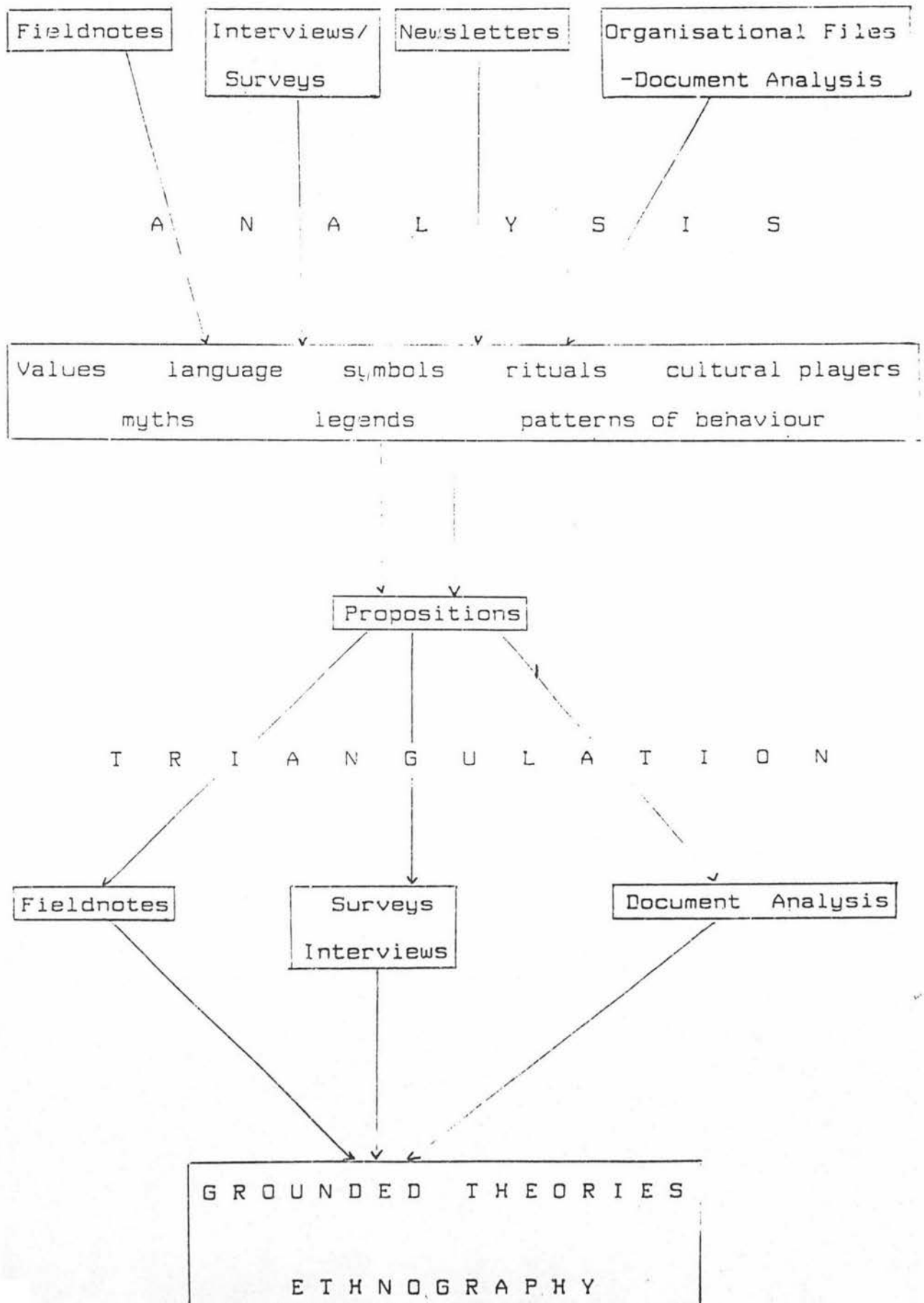
The derivation of theory from descriptive observational themes, categories and codings used in the data analysis

ALLOCATION OF TIME SPENT IN THE FIELD			Figure 3-2
CULTURAL SITES	TIME (IN HOURS)		
	KOWHAI SCHOOL	MANUKA INT	TOTALS
Staffroom	7	8.5	15.5
Staff meetings (full)	3	6	9
Meetings-groups of staff.	25	25	50
Assembly	1	4	5
Playground	2.5	3	5.5
School Council (students)		1	1
Classrooms	22	23.5	45.5
Parent Evenings	7.5	10	17.5
Parent Afternoons	3		3
Cultural/Sports Events	3.5	3	6.5
Other staff Contacts	5	5	10
Interviews	5	7	12
Document Analysis	unknown	unknown	
TOTALS	84.5	96	180.5

Note: Figure 3-2 shows the breakdown of time spent in the field by the writer. Multiple cultural sites are indicated, as well as the amount of time spent in each cultural site and in each school. Not so evident is that time at Kowhai School was condensed into fewer days, whereas Manuka Intermediate, being closer to the writer's residence, was visited more frequently but for shorter durations than Kowhai School.

ANALYSIS PROCESS

Figure 3-3



will become evident in chapter six. As can be gleaned from the figures 3-1 and 3-2, considerable time was spent in the field covering a multitude of cultural sites, and spanning nearly ten months, although the intensive observational phase was in term one of 1989. The writer believes that 'faking' behaviour was minimal (her open acceptance at the two schools was one criterion of the schools' selection), and familiarity over time led to easier acceptance. The writer is confident the data are as valid as is possible under the constraints of working in schools and the factors indicated under the section on practical considerations and limitations.

Detailed descriptions in Chapter Five of the schools and their organisation, the methodology explicated in this chapter, primary and analytical data in Chapters six, seven and eight contribute towards *reliability, translatability and generalizability*. Naturally, the reader will be the ultimate judge of these features.

Conclusion

This chapter has expounded the theory and practice of ethnography and the reasons why the particular schools' were selected for the thesis. The chapter, too, highlighted the practical limitations and idiosyncracies which were experienced in the field and set the scene for examination of the school cultures which are addressed in the next chapter, "Cultural Slices from 1988."

CHAPTER FIVE: CULTURAL SLICES FROM 1988

Introduction

This chapter contains a physical description of the two schools, outlines of the schools' patterns of organisation and some cultural incidents from 1988. This initial section of the ethnography sets the scene in which the study is located and prepares the reader for the more detailed and conceptual information which is developed in the subsequent chapters. In addition to describing the physical and organisational setting of each school, the reader is presented with a series of 'cultural slices'. For Kowhai School these are: the Staffroom, the Burglary, a Maths Lesson, the Teddybears' Picnic and a Glimpse of the School Community. 'Cultural Slices' for Manuka Intermediate include: General Impressions, Image Building, Arts Festival and School Assembly. These 'cultural slices' were episodes observed in 1988 which appeared to encapsulate the atmosphere of the school; and from which the writer developed various hunches about the two schools' cultures.

Kowhai School

Physical Description

Kowhai School is located in a small New Zealand town of 4,000 people in the heart of a horticultural and farming area. The school is graded G4 with a roll of 241 children in 1988 and caters for children from J1 to standard 4 (5 -11 year olds). Class sizes are based on the 1:20 ratio. The

school population (45% Maori, 5% Chinese, and 50% Pakeha) tends to be rather transient. Fourteen teachers form the staff, one of whom is part-time. The staff is 80% female. The principal was appointed in February 1988.

The school has 11 teaching spaces - a large open plan area for the junior school and separate classrooms for the senior school. The entire junior block was renovated in early 1988 (at a cost of \$750,000) and provides withdrawal spaces and resource areas. However, the narrow building, inflexible teaching spaces and lack of an assembly area have drawn considerable criticism from the teaching staff and School Committee who have asked the Education Board for further renovations.

Kowhai School consists of four classroom blocks. Attached to one block is the new administrative area which was completed in March 1988. This block contains a staffroom, secretary's, and Principal's offices, resource room, library, staff toilets and foyer. The staffroom is fairly small. Although it contains a kitchenette with modern appliances, the main feature is a step-down pit around much of the periphery. The steps provide extra seating for visitors. Large windows allow the sun to stream into the room and enable views of visitors entering the school. Little can be seen of the main playground areas. An informative and up-to-date noticeboard includes a welcome to visitors in Maori and English, a term calendar of forthcoming events and the latest ideas generated from professional development staff meetings.

The Principal's office is small and cosy, with large sunny windows and good storage provided by the ample bookcase. Three chairs are provided for visitors. Photos and artwork of the Principal's two daughters give a personal touch to the office. The library and staffroom have dual purposes: being frequently used as withdrawal teaching spaces while the library is also an audio-visual room. The library is fairly small and is unusual in having a small conversation pit (children enjoy this for reading and viewing the video tapes) and red skylight windows. Large colourful cushions and modern leather-like seating near two walls create a comfortable atmosphere.

School Organisation

Junior classes are vertically grouped and some class interchange occurs for reading and mathematics. A *whanau* group caters for 5-7 year olds, many of whom have attended the *Te Kohanga Reo*. A *kaumatua* assists the teacher in implementing the bilingual programme. The older children have the option of being in a language enrichment class (standards 2-4) which, although not completely bilingual, has a greater emphasis on things Maori. Maori welcomes and Taha Maori are a feature of the school.

Kowhai School has a School Committee but no PTA. The school not only sends home regular school newsletters but also endeavours to operate an open door policy. Thus, parents are welcome at the school at anytime. The few parents who make use of this access find Kowhai a very welcoming and friendly school. The Maori enrichment class readily informs the local

community as one teacher is highly involved in the church and local community. Parent-teacher interviews are held mid-year and reports go home at the end of the year. Although some parents assist with junior school programmes, support is low for fund-raising activities and class trips.

Cultural slices from 1988

The writer formed hunches from the following fieldnote excerpts. These hunches provided guidance for the work reported in chapter six where focused observations, in 1989, resulted in exploration of many of the hunches. In this way the hunches provided a "grounding" for the theoretical ideas of school culture and change which were developed subsequently.

The Staffroom

Before school begins, up to six teachers can be found drinking coffee, socialising and informally discussing class programmes. They warmly welcome any visitors, and the Principal or Deputy Principal ensure visitors have a mug of tea or coffee. Often a teacher is punching information into the school computer (pupil records) and the Principal is updating the noticeboard; especially writing Maori and English welcomes to the day's visitors. When the bell rings, a few teachers linger, while others quickly rinse their mugs.

At morning tea time the vivacious young secretary has the tea made and abundant supplies of crackers and biscuits

ready. Teachers are friendly and chat readily as they collect their hot drinks and sustenance and sit on the carpeted steps or available chairs. Discussion topics are free-ranging and continue until interrupted by announcements from the Principal, who welcomes visitors and updates staff on any important eventuality or organisational detail. He then hands over to Terry - the Maori language enthusiast. For a teacher, he looks an unusual character - earrings in his ears, a ruddy complexion, wearing jeans and a jean jacket. Terry is quietly spoken, unassuming and, yet, his enthusiasm is infectious. Each day Terry introduces a new Maori phrase to the staff who practise it amongst themselves (and supposedly later with their class). Often a new song, *waiata*, is introduced and the staff freely sing with Terry's guitar accompaniment. Children sometimes gather outside and listen. A friendly and relaxed atmosphere is created. The bell rings and most teachers return promptly to their classrooms.

Hunch: Promoting bilingualism seems to be a central focus of the school staff. To what extent does bilingualism permeate other aspects of school life?

The Burglary

In July Kowhai School was burgled several times. In one instance the school video, two computers and their software and several guitars, amongst other things, were taken. The Principal, in his late thirties, and an innovative idealist, decided to publicise what was missing. He used the media - the local newspaper and radio station - to express his disappointment at "the community and their

children being robbed" and gave explicit details, including serial numbers, of what was taken. These details were written also into a school newsletter. A special billboard was placed at the front gate, *"Our children have been robbed."* Teachers were bitterly disappointed that hours spent composing and compiling computer records and class programmes had disappeared. However, this innovative tactic worked; the computer and their discs mysteriously arrived on a teacher's doorstep and the video was left at another location. The informed community applied pressures and the 'hot' goods were unsaleable and subsequently were returned.

At morning tea time that day the Principal arrived late. He looked annoyed and apologetically interrupted the staff, introduced the researcher and explained he had to speak of a matter which concerned him as he had been delayed by a very irate citizen. Rumours were abound in Kowhai town that a teacher at the school had suspected John (a community worker who had been painting a mural on a wall of the school and who had a previous jail conviction) of burgling the school. The Principal urged the staff, for the sake of community relationships, not to make such accusations. *"If we have such thoughts, please keep them to yourselves - it could do our school-community relationships irreparable damage"*. A few teachers remarked among themselves that they didn't think any teachers would do that: *"probably those College students - you know what they're like."*

Hunch: School relationships with the community seem to be highly prized by the principal.

Maths lesson

An eager group of about twelve standard 3 and 4 maths pupils strode into the staffroom, spreadeagled themselves on the carpet waiting for the Principal, Mr Brown. When he arrived they sat up keen to begin. Mr Brown had a low key, friendly manner with the children who spoke and interacted freely, yet respectfully. They willingly asked questions and took learning risks. A warm, friendly atmosphere prevailed, with jokes from Mr Brown and the children alike. He related maths 'arrow diagrams' to the children's world; (eg. the All Blacks, various sports personalities and general knowledge). One could note Mr Brown's own enthusiasm for rugby and cricket and his enjoyment of teaching. Part of the group was quietly chattering in work related discussion on 'Keeping Skilful' activities from their maths textbooks. Particular questions and activities had been outlined at the beginning of the lesson by Mr Brown. From time to time Mr Brown inquired about the learners' progress and frequently praised them for appropriate work behaviour. The other group was praised for their interesting questions. Encouragement and respect for other people seem to be valued behaviours in this place. Verbal symbols and ready smiles abound.

Hunch: a. Praise and positive reinforcement seem to be promoted by the principal. What is the significance of positive reinforcement in the school culture and processes of school change?

b. Mr Brown seems to be an instructional leader and appears to assist the teaching team. What affect does his leadership and teaching have on professional development and staff relationships?

Teddybears' Picnic

One lunchtime there seemed to be a flurry of activity. Apparently it was time for the teddybears' picnic to begin. Outside the junior block were children readily armed with their schoolbags and clutching an assorted array of coloured and various sized teddybears. These were proudly shown to any admirers. Junior teachers, in the spirit of the experience, also carried their own teddybears. Several amused teachers from the senior school accompanied them. Following the young male teacher, the children filed off on their adventure singing the 'Teddybears' Picnic'. The group meandered around various buildings and playground equipment and finally settled under a big tree where they all sat down to share lunches with the teddybears. Excited chatter and giggles came from the children but it was difficult to determine whether it was the children or the teachers who were enjoying the experience more! Having fun and enjoyable rituals in learning may be a shared value in this school.

Hunch: Teachers appear to work together as a team. Making learning enjoyable seems to be important. Teachers tend to empathise with children as people. These hunches were felt to be significant in the school culture.

It is difficult however to experience the total 'cultural' feeling of the school, for Kowhai School has no assembly hall. It almost seems like two separate schools for the Junior school and Senior school seem to work apart.

A Glimpse of the Community

At 4pm one Thursday, there were seven exhausted teachers collapsed on staffroom chairs clutching cups of tea and coffee. This situation seems to be a characteristic of Kowhai School. The teachers were enjoying a respite after hectic preparations for their school twilight gala. Trestles were placed strategically in the playground and notices displayed wares and prices. The playground looked temporarily deserted, apart from a small group of adults who were ferrying boxes of used clothing to the White Elephant stall. A young teacher was being warned to keep an eye on the money box and equipment. In past years, some teenagers had caused trouble.

By 5pm the school was transformed. Cars lined both sides of the street for about a kilometre. The playground was packed with people. The whole town seemed to be there - teachers from another primary school, the local secondary school, many children, grandparents, teenagers and adults. The hangi was particularly popular for the Maori but also the Chinese and Pakeha people. Other stalls contained Chinese dishes, New Zealand barbecued sausages, the usual cakes and baking, raffles, competitions, clothing and so on. Serving behind the stalls in all cases were either School Committee members or Kowhai School teachers. Although many parents were in evidence, few non-committee members were assisting with the stalls. One wondered whether other parents were invited? There was considerable intermingling of people, although the Chinese tended to stay together.

Hunch: The community seems to support fund-raising and social events but tends not to support educational

experiences. This hunch could be a significant element of school culture.

General Impressions

In the past Kowhai School has been known as a 'rough' school and lacking in discipline. In 1988 a new Principal and Deputy Principal were appointed. The DP and new school secretary are people well established in the local Maori and wider community. For some reason a few people are now visiting the school who never used to do this. The Principal has declared the school an open school and welcomes community people. His office door is always open (except in confidential cases) and his philosophy is one of sharing. Everything in the school belongs to everyone. Greg Brown is innovative and believes in participative management.

The staff appear to like and respect the Principal. Most staff members seem happy and appear to relate well to one another. The secretary and caretaker are very much part of the staff. In fact, the caretaker helped supervise some children at an inter-school sports day. The general impression is that the staff and school work together as a family.

Observations in the classrooms, staff meetings, and at the school in general in 1989 would give a clearer view of the cultures operating at Kowhai School. Chapter six revisits the above hunches and develops a picture of the way of life at Kowhai School. Before that, it is necessary to view the way of life of Manuka Intermediate School.

Manuka Intermediate School

Physical Description

Manuka Intermediate is in the south-western sector of a New Zealand provincial city. It is located in a residential area and serves nearby contributing schools. Adjacent to the school is a *whanau* centre, with which the school has some interchange. A small number of shops service the area. The community is considered by the staff to be predominantly "middle working class".

Manuka Intermediate is graded as a G5 school with an 'overlarge' component, an adjustment class teacher, and two teachers attached to the local Manual Training Centre. It has 24 fulltime teachers and 2 part-timers. The teachers range in age from 21 to over 50 years of age with 43% of teachers being in their thirties.

Manuka has a roll of 472 pupils, 22% of whom are Maori. The children come from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds (eg. Samoan, Kampuchean and Tokelauan). English as a Second Language facilities are provided for about twelve students.

The buildings consist of seven classroom blocks, and an administration-assembly hall block. The administration block contains a large foyer from which glass panels ensure sighting of visitors by the two secretaries. From their office and the corridor, doors lead into the Principal's office. This is a reasonably spacious room, easily accommodating five visitors. A small coffee table and

comfortable vinyl Education Board chairs ensure a relaxing atmosphere. Noticeboards and storage cupboards line two walls and strategically placed windows allow views of visitors to the school, shrubs and gardens outside. Along the corridor is the Deputy Principal's small office, an interview room (which doubles as the Second Deputy Principal's office), a casualty room and the staff toilets.

The staffroom is sited on another floor above the offices. From the staffroom panoramic views can be obtained of the school playground, the road and some surrounding houses and motels. The staffroom is a rectangular shape, with a kitchenette having been added at one end. Chairs are arranged around the periphery and in two rows down the centre of the room. A chalkboard is used for recording weekly events and important notices while a term planner displays forthcoming events.

The classrooms are typical of those built in the 1960s, except for a prefab block and the specialist classroom block which fulfil the technicraft requirements of an intermediate school. This block includes metalcraft, cooking and woodwork rooms. A remodelled library is considered to be an asset to the school with modern features such as tiered seating and a withdrawal room.

School Organisation

The school is organised into five syndicates of three classes, led by senior teachers. Only one class was composite in 1988, the rest being separate form one and form

two classes. However, Manuka Intermediate has changed to composite classes throughout the school in 1989. One class has a special Taha Maori emphasis, due to the teacher's particular expertise, although many classes have Maori language and artwork displayed.

Full school assemblies are held weekly on a Friday afternoon and are generally run by the pupils. Pupil representatives from each class form a School Council which meets weekly with the Principal to present student issues and to consult with the Principal over school decisions, such as alternative uniforms, possible curriculum changes and the electives programme.

In 1988-1989 the school had a School Committee and PTA. The PTA was very active in fund-raising and supported the school with numerous changes (eg. alternative uniform, school calendar). Communication to parents is achieved predominantly by newsletter although the PTA and School Committee provide another avenue. Further means used are the telephone, letter, visiting teacher and, at times, the Youth Aid Officer. More formal means of communication include school reports (twice yearly) and parent-teacher interviews. Parents participate in the school in a variety of ways: school camps and class visits, sports programme (in coaching, umpiring and transporting of teams) crafts and skills in the electives programme and fundraising and occasional meetings, such as on the Picot Report.

The school is one of 28 schools involved in the Curriculum

Review Exploratory Schools Project from July 1988 to October 1989. The main aim of the project is parental consultation and involvement. This aim - combined with the nationwide changes of *Tomorrows' Schools* - means Manuka Intermediate is in the midst of educational change.

Cultural Slices in 1988

The following vignettes induced research hunches which formed the basis of focused observations in 1989.

General Impressions

The way of life at Manuka Intermediate is imbued with an atmosphere of support, warmth and openness amongst the staff. The staff as a whole "clicked together" which was surprising in a way as a good number of teachers were long term relievers for only 1988 and the Principal, Mr James, was new to the school in February. As one teacher remarked to the researcher, *"With our type of kids we have to stick together and support each other."* Relationships in the staffroom seemed friendly (with the exception of one observed incident) and jovial, with one staff 'clown' - the friendly, welcoming member to visitors who ensures they quickly have a cup of tea or coffee in their hand. He is the butt of some jokes, especially about his 'shrinking self' - an obese character who launched into weightwatchers and marathon clinic walking.

Hunch: That staff interrelationships could be a significant factor in successful implementation of school change. Would friendship groupings determine the initiators of change, how change was implemented and the receptivity of the change to

other staff members?

Life in the classroom was not observed in 1988 but changes in the school atmosphere were evident during the second and third terms, during the time of the researcher's first contacts.

Image Building

A new alternative uniform was introduced as a result of requests from the Student Council and PTA activities. The uniform consisted of a blue sweatshirt and wet weather clothing. The students and staff were excited by the alternative; as one teacher remarked, *"This has really boosted the kid's image. Bill (Principal) has achieved in six months what the other bloke didn't get around to in three years."* Sales were brisk - even a few teachers and parents bought the sweatshirts.

Hunch: Students and parents seem to be listened to and involved in decision making. What implications would this have for other school changes? Second, the school seems to concentrate on visible symbols that may contribute to unifying or inspiring the school community.

Arts Festival

In July and August, much encouragement was given by the Principal to staff for items of quality for an Arts Festival. The purpose was in his words, *"to boost Manuka's image. Let's sell ourselves to the community."* Gentle reminders were given casually at morning tea time. Thus, in late August, for the first time at Manuka Intermediate, an

Arts Festival was performed by pupils in two evening sessions. Mr James and two teachers greeted people at the door. Mr James briefly welcomed the audience but the main welcome was done by the large Maori Club which performed various *waiata* and action songs. This was followed by a fashion parade (complete with music and lights) of clothing made in manual classes and by a class dance performance. During interval Mr James encouraged the audience to view an impressive static art display in an adjoining room. The display included pottery, masks, dioramas and basketweaving. Parents were interested in the variety of activities and intermingled with people they knew. After the interval an operetta was performed with the accompaniment of a school choir. The choir was conducted by the Principal and another teacher. The acting, costuming and singing were of a high standard. The audience gave delighted and appreciative applause.

Hunch: Promoting excellence seems to be an underlying cultural theme. Does excellence pervade all school activities or is it promoted only at public performances? How does excellence relate to building a school image?

Decision-making

In September the Principal instigated two major reviews of the school: one was a written questionnaire to parents while the other was a series of 'self-reflection and redirection' staff meetings in which staff contributed to a list of matters they wanted modified or improved for 1989. Thus, staff meetings were solely devoted to school analysis. Collation of parent responses was done in syndicate

meetings. Responses were later compiled by the Principal and senior staff who were surprised at the level of parental support. Special interest was noted in cultural aspects (the Arts Festival altered many perceptions) and, at the same time, teachers were ready to listen to parents' requests for more information and a changed reporting system. Frank discussion centred around many topics; for example, composite classes, sports organisation, expanding the electives programme and discipline. These topics tended to support some of the parents' comments which arose from the School Review. Concern about discipline, bullying and the desire of Mr James' to build a 'family feeling' led to the decision to introduce composite classes throughout the school for 1989. Discussion amongst staff was free-ranging - allowing a variety of views to be expressed and taken into account by the Principal.

School assemblies emerged as a topic where several teachers spoke of the need for silence and greater discipline. The Principal expressed his view that, *"it should be like church- sacred, quiet and established rituals."* It was unanimously agreed that the pupils needed to be silent in the hall but was this quietness to be achieved by individual classroom teachers or a senior teacher? The senior teachers felt it was the onus of classroom teachers, while a couple of young female teachers thought a male disciplinarian should quieten the pupils in the quadrangle. Some debate arose about female versus male teacher control and their responses to pupil behaviour. Although the disciplinarian (a Maori woodwork teacher who, according to other teachers, had

considerable *mana* amongst the pupils) was agreeable to assisting in the task, he agreed with the senior staff that it was ultimately up to individual teachers to establish rapport and discipline with their own classes.

Hunch: Frank discussion and shared decision-making could be significant factors in creating a climate for change. Are decisions always made in this manner at Manuka? Are particular types of decisions made after staff participation?

School Assembly

The researcher attended a Manuka school assembly, which appeared, on that occasion, to be run jointly by the Principal and Deputy Principal. Classes were sitting quietly, orderly and attentively in rows on the floor. Most teachers were standing at the back of the hall; a few were standing on each side of the hall, while Mr James and the D.P. were at the front. Positive reinforcement seemed to be the dominant theme. An interesting ritual was being performed with the presentation of merit certificates. Teachers were distributing these cards for valued behaviour in the Manuka culture. Certificates were presented for such behaviour as: *"consistent improvement in work (cooking)"*, *"improved attitude to school and helpfulness in the classroom."* Pupils' names were called, the award was read out, hands were shaken and pupils returned quietly to their places. Awards were shown surreptitiously to near neighbours.

Trophies were presented by a female teacher to the winning netball teams for the season's competition and to rugby teams by the second D.P. The Principal emphasised that the

conduct and manner in which the teams presented themselves was most rewarding. The female teacher reinforced this by saying, "*I'm very very proud of the way the girls dressed and behaved at the netball courts.*" The Principal remarked about the year one teacher who was a member of the province's rugby team and noted that the team would have some excellent reinforcements from Manuka in a few years time.

Mention was made of the upcoming Friday night disco (another school ritual) by a young Maori male teacher. Then, the Town Crier arrived (a large extrovert Maori from a local popular radio station) to "sell" the disco. His comedian's style enthused the students, who readily applauded his jokes. When he asked, "*What's the best school in Bush City?*" there was a moment of hesitation before the students yelled, "*Manuka!*" The Town Crier was to be the disc jockey for the night and he appeared to be a local hero of the students. He described the prizes and motivated the students to attend through jokes, hilarity and the use of entertaining body movements. Afterwards the students filed out relatively quietly and in an orderly fashion.

Hunch: Thus, a cultural image was beginning to emerge of Manuka Intermediate where language, rituals, symbols, and heroes appeared to be used to build up the school's image. When this image was threatened, the school assembly was used later to reinforce the cultural values.

An incident of vandalism by a small number of pupils

resulted in a 'court martial' at a special assembly. The 'crimes' against the student body were described and admonished. The offending students were asked individually to stand up and to file out in front of a full assembly. Here, they faced, on their own, the Student Council and two staff representatives who had been selected by the students. The Student Council gruelled the offenders on their behaviour, the disgrace to their school and the slashing of their hard work in building up the school's image in the neighbourhood. The perpetrators were issued with an atonement task to discharge around the school. Meanwhile students in the hall were asked by the Principal, *"to be Christian and forgive the (criminals), and to not retaliate"*. Later, the teachers were satisfied with the punitive measures instigated by the Student Council; as well as their own efforts in using the police, and informing and involving the concerned parents. A stand was taken to guard and promote important values of Manuka Intermediate.

As a result of such conscious efforts to improve the self-esteem of the student body and image of the school, the general feeling of the staff was that this was a good place in which to work. The Principal remarked, *"This has been the most rewarding, and exhausting year of my career."*

Comments by the visiting teacher and liaison inspector suggest that the school is changing its image in the perceptions of parents and the wider community.

Closer observation in 1989 would enable the researcher to delve more deeply into the cultural patterns, regularities

and changes of behaviour at Manuka Intermediate. Chapter six now returns to these hunches, develops them with focused observation and leads to grounded theories of culture and school change.

CHAPTER SIX: THE CULTURE OF THE SCHOOLS

Introduction

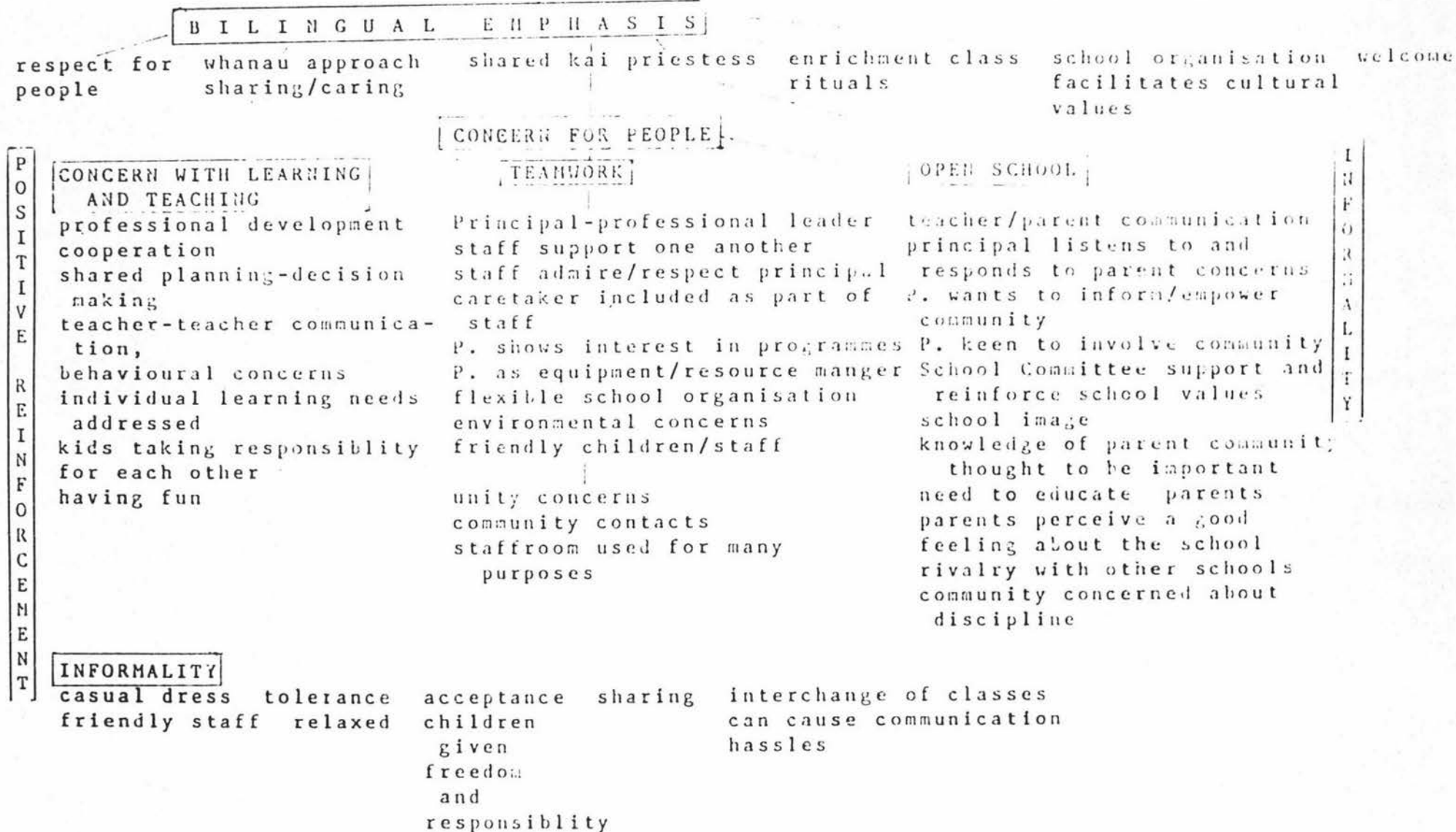
This chapter describes in detail the cultures of Kowhai School and Manuka Intermediate School. The writer endeavours to elucidate the automatic assumptions, unconsciously held and taken for granted, which Schein (1986) attributes to the phenomenon of culture. The definition of culture developed in chapter two, forms the basis of the analysis of the schools. For the purposes of this thesis, culture is defined as:

the conceptual glue that binds a school together by its shared patterns of beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours, symbolised in its rituals, cultural players, myths, stories, slogans and symbols.

Extensive examples are included to give the study validity, to allow the reader to judge the writer's interpretations and to highlight particular cultural values. The hunches developed in chapter five are explored in greater depth and interpreted in a cultural framework. Kowhai School is the first to be examined, followed by Manuka Intermediate. Interpretation and theorizing are left to chapter seven.

The Culture of Kowhai School

The reader is advised to turn to figure 6-1 for an overview of the culture. Chapter four described how the cultural themes were derived. Each theme framed by a box forms sub-headings for discussion of the Kowhai School culture. The chapter now describes the key themes which were identified as forming the basis of the culture.



Bilingualism

The most sacred and pervasive value at Kowhai School is bilingualism. On entering the school, one is faced with a Maori challenge in the form of a mural painted on an exterior wall. This cultural symbol is reinforced by the native plants and flaxes on the edges of the playground. Outside the library are children's shoes - shoes are removed before entering the library; a Maori ritual since the library is considered to be a sacred place. The staffroom contains phrases on the wall in English and Maori, for instance the term planner and greetings to visitors are written on the whiteboard in Maori - symbolizing the importance of the language. Each day she attended the school, the researcher witnessed a staff ritual that heightened this bicultural value.

"At morning tea time people chattered (mainly in English, although the two bilingual teachers alternated between Maori and English), and ate their shared kai of biscuits and crackers, drank tea and coffee. Greg Brown (the Principal), interrupted them to remind them of an NZEI meeting after school, and then handed over to Terry. Terry then led Te Reo Maori. He taught the phrases *Homai he... He atu _ ki a _*. He had prepared cards which groups of teachers worked together to practise phrases with. It was a friendly jovial atmosphere. Wiremu, the caretaker, joined in and apparently is "doing module 3" along with some others. The bell rang but teachers continued. Greg suddenly said a couple phrases in Maori urging the teachers to go back to work! One teacher replied, "*Kaore!*" Wiremu said, "*Oua, oia!*" (run) Greg laughed and commented to Terry, "*The only problem with this Terry is that the teachers get too absorbed.*" (laughed) (P.6 10/4/89)

This excerpt shows the values of bilingualism²².

²² Although the present discussion is centred on bilingualism the reality of the culture is that the values overlap and interrelate. The reader's attention is drawn to underlying values in this excerpt of professional development, teamwork and a friendly and a supportive staff.

The school organisation is structured to facilitate cultural values, with cross-grouping, cooperative teaching and classes organized for Maori language teaching. In the junior school a *whanau* class caters for children from *kohanga*, in which a fluent Maori teacher assists during the morning with the *Reo*; and helps the senior school in the afternoons. The senior classes (S2-4) have the choice of opting into the enrichment classes or 'ordinary' classes. Terry (Pakeha) and Heni (Maori) teach in the enrichment classes where greater emphasis is placed on the *Reo*:

"The leader (child) for the day had led the children through a *karakia* (prayer), and *waiata* (song/hymn). Children then stood up in turn to give brief *mihis*, Heni also gave a brief *mihi*, interacting with the children asking a few in Maori what they had done on Saturday - some responded well in Maori. Heni then taught them another *mihi*:

E nga / te rangatira
Tena koe
Nau mai ki tenei kura
Nau mai haere mai
Ka nui te koa
Ki te mihimihi koe
I tenei wa
No reira tena koe
E te whanau
E te kaiako
Kia ora koutou.

Sir greetings
 Welcome to this school
 Welcome...
 I am very happy
 to greet you
 so greetings

 the family
 the teacher
 greetings.

Heni: "That's not bad. *Tai Hoa*." They sang another *waiata* then Heni revised *Te Tinana* - *Nga Mahanga* (basic body parts).

The children read them out, "*Kei whea to rae? Anei taku rae*". ... One boy asked, "*Is it maths time now Auntie Heni?*" Heni said, "*Yes*", and clapped her hands. "*Maths time, turituri*". (P. 3,4 1/5/89)

The vocabulary used, particularly the term '*Auntie*' used by the children highlights a bilingual emphasis, a family/whanau feeling and a friendly, welcoming atmosphere.

Further evidence of this bilingual pervasiveness is seen in the appendices with bilingual letterheads on the school

newsletter and in the included fieldnote sample. In more subtle ways, children are readily absented to attend *tangis*, a *powhiri* is performed for visitors to the school, process writing samples (3/4/89) on the wall describe children's visits to the *marae* and their experiences of the protocol and local Maori legends. These few examples of symbols, stories, legends and rituals show that the value of bilingualism pervades the way of life at Kowhai School. Even the composition of the staff indicates a commitment to *tikana Maori* with five Maori staff members (including the secretary and caretaker).

Community approval (another cultural value) was seen in the School Committee seeking bilingual status for the school (17/8/88), as the result of a school survey:

"There was substantial, strong support of the bilingual/Maori language programme presently available for those children who choose this option. The key issue seemed to be the one of choice for parents and pupils."

Similar supportive remarks were made in an interview with a parent:

"The school community of Kowhai used to be anti school because it wasn't relevant to them. Maori kids used to be 'deculturalised'. Now the programmes are relevant to the 45% Maori population with bilingual and enrichment classes... The community now feel they belong at school. I like the open, friendly atmosphere."

However, although biculturalism pervades the wider culture of Kowhai School there are fundamental conflicts within it. A group of standard four girls answering the survey had comments such as:

"I don't like the Maoris being in a different class."

"The bilingual kids pick on us."

"The bilingual classes don't like us ... all

of forms and culture that are ideological in the sense that they signify reality in ways that are often actively contested and experienced differently by various individuals and groups." (Bates 1987, P.23)

Perhaps this is most readily seen in a fairly new culture, for the enrichment classes were only implemented in the beginning of 1988, and ideological battles are still being contested. The overall norm is sacred though - it is the manifestations which are more profane. Corbett et al (1987) argue that the sacred values become symbolized in ordinary events, relationships and procedures (as illustrated above), but the profane norms become acknowledged as 'the way we do things around here' and are susceptible to change. Biculturalism is accepted as a vital component of the Kowhai school life, but its expression results in pockets of ideological battles, which in the meantime are kept in check by providing parents and children with a choice of classes.

Concern for People

A similar divergence is seen in the next sacred value of concern for people, which is expressed in three sub-cultural themes: concern with learning and teaching, teamwork and open school (refer to figure 6-1).

Concern with learning and teaching

Parents' requests for further information revealed their value of learning and teaching. This 'educational' value is shared by teachers and children whose surveyed values are summarised in tables III and IV. The tables record the *participants' verbalized* values. (refer also to figure 6-1)

(Continued on page 91)

TABLE III VALUES DERIVED FROM STUDENT SURVEY NOWHAIPeople Values

playing with friends
 teachers
 talking with friends
 kids
 dislike mean kids:
 bullying
 stealing
 not sharing
 Maori kids
 choice of children to play with

Organisational values

no uniforms
 not too many rules
 bilingual kids separated
 concerns some children
 like changing classes
 canteen liked by a few

Activity Values

(also show the value of
 variety/having choice)
 lunchtime:
 trampolines
 skateboarding
 sandpit
 hometime
 outside games
 playground equipment
 'lots of play things'

Educational Values

homework not liked
 stories
 maths
 reading
 process writing
 art
 computer
 class trips
 spelling
 good school

Environmental

backfield
 trees
 library

NE These are values mentioned by the children: liked or disliked factors, things that were different or had changed.

REGROUPING OF VALUES ACCORDING TO FIELDNOTE ANALYSISBilingual emphasis

Maori kids
 bilingual kids separated

Positive reinforcement

good school

Concern for people/teamwork

playing with friends
 teachers
 talking with friends
 kids
 dislike mean kids:bullying etc
 choice of children to play with
 learning and teaching (subjects)

Open schoolInformality

no uniforms
 not too many rules
 changing classes
 canteen

Note: These above groupings triangulate with the values derived from the fieldnotes. However, two other groupings were mentioned by the students which were not significant in the fieldnote analysis: environmental concerns, and having variety/choice.

TABLE IV KOWHAI TEACHER VALUES DERIVED FROM INTERVIEWS

<u>Educational Values</u>	<u>School Atmosphere</u>
more structured programmes	open school
higher self-esteem	supportive staff
especially Maori children	staff work together
empathy and understanding of	things Maori permeate
children's backgrounds	friendly
cross-grouping (to cater for	want more unity
children's needs)	less playground violence
bilingual programmes	
(children's needs)	

<u>Leadership style</u>	<u>Environmental</u>
shared decision-making	like tidier grounds
staff kept informed	concern about junior
staff work in curriculum	block architecture
committees	lack of an assembly
good professional development	place concerns those
meetings	wanting more unity
principal liked	

REGROUPING OF KOWHAI TEACHER VALUES ACCORDING TO
FIELDNOTE ANALYSIS

<u>Bilingual emphasis</u>	<u>Positive reinforcement</u>
bilingual programmes	higher self-esteem
(children's needs)	amongst children
Maori children's confidence	
things Maori permeate	

<u>Concern for people/teamwork</u>	<u>Open school</u>
empathy/understanding of	
children's backgrounds	
cross-grouping to cater for	
children's learning needs	
supportive staff	
staff work together	
friendly	
would like more unity	
assembly area	
shared decision-making	
staff informed	
staff work in curriculum	
committees	
good professional development	
principal liked	

Informality
 anti having more structured programmes

Note: These above groupings indicate the participants' values. The regrouping shows how the teachers' values triangulate with the fieldnote analysis, giving it greater validity.

Lunchtime conversations by teachers frequently concerned matters such as running records, resources, Physical Education organisation and topic studies; indicating the importance of educational values. Daily senior syndicate planning before school became a ritual in the staffroom:

"The teachers talked casually, planning maths for next week. With cups of tea and coffee they talked over individual children and placed them in particular groups (based on test results and knowledge of the children). The relievers were doing mastery and pre-tests for the next unit. Various books were used in planning and a customized (bilingual) planning sheet." (P. 1, 13/4/89)

This excerpt also shows the teachers' value of individual monitoring, which has become a conscious value and is built into the school organisation with Greg's staff meeting structure providing time for teachers to update records. The school computer has programmes suitable for school record keeping and cross-grouping of classes facilitates teaching of individual needs. Catering for individual needs is helped by the flexible use of part-time teacher hours for special needs and reading recovery. Concern was also expressed about the environment impinging on learning and teaching:

"Greg: The design of the building is wrong - it's too narrow. He'd hoped to use a learning centre approach but found the newly refurbished rooms unsatisfactory and find greater freedom of movement in the old room!" (P. 28 13/4/89)

Learning and teaching concerns, therefore, form part of the school's rituals, symbols, slogans and patterns of behaviour.

Teamwork

In the value of teamwork the key person - whom Deal (1985)

would call, in cultural terms, a "hero" - seemed to be the principal. From a school management point of view this was most readily seen in his role as the professional leader. Greg Brown alternates weekly staff meetings between professional development topics (eg. communication, Tomorrows' Schools), housekeeping meetings and monitoring or record-keeping meetings. At one such 'housekeeping meeting' the agenda was written on the whiteboard and teachers participated in decision-making. The fieldnotes showed:

"Teachers wandered in chatting and getting tea and coffee, so the meeting took awhile to get started. Greg asked if anyone wanted to add to the agenda? One teacher asked for a booklet but no one had it.

*Greg: Let's discuss shortened lunch times then -
Henri?*

Henri: Het days the children's behaviour is shocking and so I wondered about shortened lunch times in term two.

Greg: Any reasons why we can't?

Sue: Parents working

Henri: Let's think about teachers

Sue: Not as much preparation time... Do we need to ask parents?

Mary: Perhaps they should have a lunchtime duty on wet days.

Terry: What about starting later 9.30 am, especially on cold winter mornings? ...

Greg: That's an idea... We need to ask parents - it's a partnership issue. Could any staff who have had it at other schools comment?

He then went around the staff in a circle, allowing all an opportunity to speak. The caretaker and cleaners were there and were asked their views as well...

Mary: There's pressure on duty and short lunch time. Maybe teachers could work in pairs to look after the class next door.

Greg: Schools I've been in have tried it. It doesn't affect me.. If you're ready to accept a rushed lunch time... I'll put it in a newsletter and parents can notify us - if too many children are inconvenienced we'll do something different.

Lisa: Should we ask the children?

Greg: Yeah, we could.

Henri: Need more people on wet day duty..

Greg: Henri and I will get around on wet days to take the pressure off and make sure kids got things to do.

Mary: Perhaps we should have a trial period to check it out.

The group agreed and they went on to the next agenda item. (P. 6 3/4/89)

This excerpt reveals many values listed in figure 6-1. Greg encouraged shared decision making -- inviting the staff to add to the agenda. Staff were free to express individual opinions to which their colleagues listened and which Greg encouraged. Ancillary staff were accepted as part of the team. The principal was willing to implement a decision that the staff wanted. Children and parents were considered as decisions were made. Change was more readily accepted when it was deemed to be flexible and had a possibility of review. Greg also showed his support for the staff by offering his (and the D.P.'s) help on a wet day. The meeting continued, showing a desire for teamwork and unity:

Heni: Greg is the only one turning up for Friday drinkies. Would you prefer once a month to get together and gossip?

Greg: Maybe if we could make an effort one Friday a month...

Greg displays interest in school programmes by teaching a senior maths group - thus being an instructional leader. He helps teachers to attend to individual learning needs by having smaller groups as a consequence of his sharing the load, by being in touch with class programmes while wandering in and out, offering suggestions when asked and videoing activities, such as the multicultural festival. Greg, therefore, is admired by the staff.

Further examples of teamwork were seen with Mary coming out to an evening meeting just to be present as another teacher to support Greg. Teachers sharing planning, the caretaker attending a cross-country meeting to help supervise children and his teaching a group of boys the *haka* and the weekly

buying of lotto tickets for the staff fund: all these were further examples of teamwork which were observed by the writer.

Finally, a glimpse into the children's world reveals the transfer of similar sharing, caring, mixing of ages and race, and teamwork values:

"Before school there were about 20-30 children skateboarding on the driveway. A few kids had all the gears - knee pads and trackpants. It was mostly boys but there were girls there too. There was a mixture of ages and race, but heavy concentration of Maori children. A few 'big kids' were pushing junior children sitting on the skateboard. One group of girls were concerned that a board was wriggly: *"Mr H. can fix it. He does things like that. That's why he's here."* (caretaker) They asked to borrow Jane's skateboard and she willingly lent it to them. When the bell rang the younger children ran off to class, older ones lingered, especially on the trampolines. Some older children pushed younger ones at speed on the skateboard; others raced on foot or on their boards themselves." (P. 1 13/4/89)

Such mixing of junior and senior children was also seen in reading programmes. Some of the teachers want more unity (Table V -interview schedule- shows teamwork and a supportive staff as a prominent value, if the reader wants more detail) and remarked in formal and informal interviews about the lack of a general school assembly area, so the school never meets as a whole. A few teachers want less cross-grouping so that they can have a more flexible programme in their own rooms. Parents are divided on whether to have more mixing of older and younger children and the extent of interchange between enrichment and other classes.

Table V Kowhai School Interview Schedule

PERSON	As a newcomer what what would I need to know about Kowhai School?	How is this school different from other schools?	What do people say about this school?	What has changed at Kowhai School this year?	Why do you think change has occurred?	How do you feel about the changes?	How do other people view it?	Who has it mostly affected? Why?	What else needs to be changed?
Greg (Principal)	Open school multicultural nature policies syndicates routines	shared decisions Maori element (organised) people choose to come here high number of Maori teachers Community Devel. workers; poor remodelling	staff happy Maori community appreciate acceptance of Maori parents vary - great to critical bad reputation outside Kowhai	strength start to year - only 1 staff change powhiri school grounds cleaner tighter programmes	worked at these things viewed as fluid/not concrete staff worked hard together OR, great vehicle	had to be done	don't know	kids - meeting their needs parents - more aware and welcome school atmosphere; Principals stress	parents to know the programme fix buildings more fluent Maori teachers computers for each class
S.C. Chairman			changed from disaster area to open, friendly warm atmosphere more Maori programmes	programmes more relevant to 45% population in being bilingual; open atmosphere	change of staff especially the principal	great; positive atmosphere relaxed; open	very positive appreciate use of Maori language feel welcome	kids	
Anne	Easy to fit in everyone works well together	Maori community want to be involved open door policy lots of things going on	used to be negative - slowly changing - lots said through the other primary school - more kids coming here now	more stable staff more meetings with teachers/shared decision-making cross-grouping (reading)	more direction by principal needed to daily syndicate meetings	fairly happy good staff relationships sometimes wonder when the changes will end	community are aware of changes more parents come in now	children	need to look at afternoon programmes need to mix bilingual and other classes more
A.P. Mary	resources timetable SES vast range playground violence	children appreciate what you do for them - kids make you feel needed staff bonded and supportive	really positive like grounds happy children bilingual option occasional negative parent comment about bullying/violence	improved playground behaviour - fewer fights; increased confidence of M. children; minor resentment by other children; loss migration to other primary school	Maori children increased self-esteem due to the programmes; children with their friends; supportive teachers - sympathetic to children's needs	like the constant challenge principal keeps staff informed	very well haven't heard any complaints parents correct very little	senior school (bicultural) and 'non' language grouping more parents come in	buildings greater emphasis on Maori programmes need more resources
Whanau Teacher	need to understand backgrounds of children/knowledge of Maori/work hard trusted/teachers work together	different backgrounds of children bigger school good professional development/supportive staff/buildings	but school down as rough and nasty - its not now	change in atmosphere structure of classes different language assistant/more staff curriculum meetings where ideas help people free to watch each other, friends	found things didn't work; seem to have lots of meetings staff get on well where ideas help each other, friends	very positive	most staff like it - some are successful some not comfortable with teachers feel Maori things more positive	children - as people teachers feel good about themselves	would like whole school assemblies
Terry	kids keen on now and different teacher strengths kids don't relate to heavy discipline	better cultural balance, less parent involvement it's special	good headmaster like powhiri, lots	lots nicer; more relaxed and happier staff more organised and settled, Maori permeating/all staff working towards discipline	Greg wants it good leadership	I like change if its not too rushed	refinements this year, into routines parents don't know what's happening people who know like it	teachers who have been here a long time junior children	unify juniors and seniors address cultural balance/refine things changes

Note: This table summarises the formal interviews undertaken at Kowhai School. Participants' values were derived from the data and provided validity for the writer's observations.

Bates (1987), argues that culture is communicated and shared through individual attempts to understand the life of the group - "it cannot be assumed that all members and groups within a (school) will share equally a common culture." (P.89) The implications of this statement will be examined further in chapter seven.

Open School

Vital to promoting unity and an open school is the bridging value of teacher-parent communication. (refer to figure 6-1) One teacher, Anna, sends home her class programme each month while some teachers have informal contact with parents before or after school. The writer observed three parents coming into classrooms on a regular basis; more apparently go to the New Entrants' room. At parent meetings Greg and Mary invited parents to come in and look:

Greg: Why don't you come, and sit in on a few lessons so you know what's going on... I'd love parents to come and see and ask questions...

Mary: Come in - you'll be impressed with our junior reading programme. (P. 22 13/4/89)

The principal listens and responds to parent concerns,

Parent: I don't like cross-grouping for juniors. They can be trampled on.

Greg: That's why we changed J1-3 to N/E with Mary, then move them to J1, then J2/J3 this year. If parents have concerns we'll listen and change it. (P. 27 13/4/89)

The School Committee support the teachers and principal. At one meeting the Chairman's explanation of enrichment classes showed he was informed and supportive. This was evident also in his patterns of behaviour: visiting the school at lunchtime, helping on class trips and attendance at social functions.

In the writer's view there is little evidence of more parents entering the school. Somehow the value, attitude and slogan of Kowhai School being an open school have permeated, judging from a parent's remark at morning tea to the writer:

"You know, the new staff here has led to a friendlier, more open and relaxed atmosphere. The children fight less and swear less than they did... Greg has made the school more open and parents feel more welcome now. Parents are beginning to talk more favourably about the school and it is becoming more popular." (P.4 13/4/89)

The importance of the school's relationship with its community was a hunch identified in chapter five. By opening the school to parents who are free to come and observe, Greg Brown seems to have created in parents a more favourable disposition towards the school. Implications of an open school will be explored in chapter seven.

Informality and Positive Reinforcement

Two further pervasive but more profane values of the culture of Kowhai School are informality and positive reinforcement. Positive reinforcement is a slogan in the school and is dovetailed into the integral nature of the school life:

"Barry took his book up to show Miss B. Miss B. said, 'Hey that's a beauty. See if you can do some more like it... Good Roddy, lovely finger spacing'."
(P. 2 14/3/89)

Further examples of positive reinforcement were noted in school newsletters (refer to Appendix VI), verbal praise, symbols (stickers in children's books and written phrases such as *ka pai*), rituals like taking their work to show the principal (where they received further praise and another sticker), their work being displayed on the wall and a

cultural ceremony:

"Mr Brown addressed the children at senior singing time.

"Tena koutou katoa.

"Tena koe Mr Brown.

"I enjoy listening to the singing from my office...

I have some Principal's awards to present today.

E tu. Haere mai Mary... This is for written work and effort in all areas..

Hiremu, for process writing - tino pai.

Samantha - for your work...

Ryan - for being a good role model - a good kid around the place...

He shakes each child's hand as he presents them with a card." (P. 2 10/4/89)

This fieldnote sample also shows the intertwined values of academic work, individual needs, bilingualism and positive reinforcement. The writer heard the caretaker praising children in the playground - a value held by all participants. Even parents had explained to them the value of positive reinforcement:

"Terry: He try to model appropriate behaviour and reward good behaviour rather than punish bad behaviour ... The school is constant and children know when they come here that they have to fit into standards of behaviour. Teachers are likeminded on that." (P. 20 13/4/89)

Terry also reveals values of consistency and teamwork. At its fundamental core it is a sacred value, but there is some ambivalence about the symbols:

"Mary: I'm very anti distributing rewards since in my mind they become meaningless and children focus on the extrinsic rather than the intrinsic motivation." (P. 10 29/9/88)

The value was manifested, therefore, in different ways in the rooms in which the writer observed, tending to be more verbal in the junior school and more as symbols (stickers) in the senior school.

An informal atmosphere also pervades the school and is evident in teachers' dress: shorts (male and female

teachers), bare feet, running shoes, jeans: although the principal always wears a tie. Children were observed on three occasions walking down the street with teachers, straggled for 30-50 metres and not in lines. Again, this is a variable value for Heni remarked to the writer, "*I hope the boss doesn't see them!*" (P. 4 21/2/89)

Greg's manner with parents was totally relaxed and informal, as he sat on the floor amongst the parents. This was seen in the classrooms, too:

Terry: "*Thank you for doing all that work.*"
 The girl grinned. Terry then lay on the carpet next to a boy and rubbed out a line for him.
 Terry: "*Keep going, you're nearly there.*"
 The girl is helping one boy who hasn't finished.
 (P. 5 10/4/89)

Terry has a very relaxed manner with the children - caring, sharing, concerned for learning needs and positive reinforcement. A new teacher at the school remarked to the writer at a staff party that she found the school and staff to be very informal but friendly. Allied to this view is staff tolerance and acceptance. These features are demonstrated in a smokers' corner in the staffroom, the acceptance of varying abilities in Maori language, children opening and closing the school gates at their volition for safer skateboarding.

Conclusion

Having combined fieldnotes, surveys, interviews, and document analysis, a picture emerges of a school culture containing important overlapping cultural themes and threads of informality, concern for people, teamwork, value of learning and teaching, communication, open school,

and positive reinforcement, all embodied in the sacred value of bilingualism.

The subtle cultural ceremonies (eg. the principal awarding certificates to children) were shown to be important for what they express and how they dramatise and transform important values. (Deal, 1985) These were made slightly artificial by highlighting various facets when, in reality, they are intricately intertwined. Nevertheless, sites of cultural ideological battles were alluded to, and these will be examined in greater depth in chapter seven.

The discussion now turns to the culture of Manuka Intermediate School.

The Cultures of Manuka Intermediate School

An overview of the cultural themes identified at Manuka Intermediate School is provided in figure 6-5. (refer to the next page) This figure shows how the overriding theme of "Making Manuka Matter" links to three main themes of putting people first, excellence and image building.

"Making Manuka Matter" is a school slogan and the title of the 1989 organisational file of Manuka Intermediate. It is in Inkson et al's (1986) terms, the kite, or organisational mission which inspires and uplifts the organisation. For Manuka, "Making Manuka Matter" is the kite to which all other values are tied. Their most sacred values linked to this are: putting people first, promoting excellence in all activities and fostering a positive school image.

The following excerpt looks at these intertwined values which are promoted in a sacred ritual of the school: the weekly Friday assembly.

"School assembly on Friday is to establish Rome and what we are about here." Principal (P.5 30/1/89)

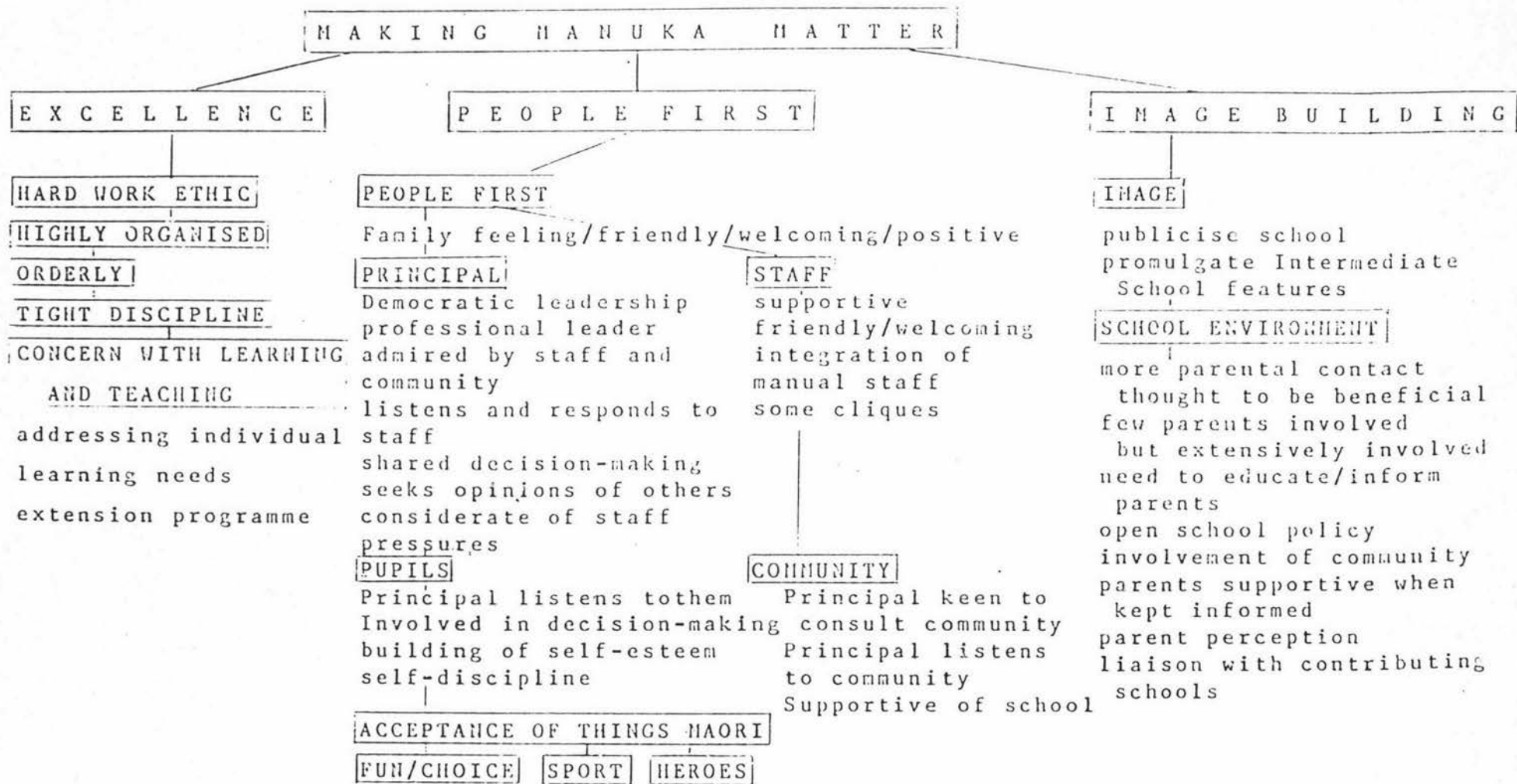
After a monitor rang the bell at 2.20pm, classes started filing into the hall in orderly, silent lines. Teachers invariably led them in, pointed and students sat on the floor. Most lines were separate boys and girls lines, but some were mixed. There was silence apart from the odd teacher's direction to particular children. Outside Peter's voice boomed across the quadrangle, telling some students to hurry up.

Paul (the D.P.) stood up the front of the hall - other teachers either sat at the side of the hall by their classes, or else at the back. Once everyone was assembled Paul said,

"Good afternoon everyone"

Children replied, ***"Good afternoon Mr Hillians."***

(continued on page 103)



"Over the last few weeks all of you have been involved in speech making. Unfortunately we have to choose a winner, although I know there have been many good speeches. I hope you have enjoyed the experience. Today we will hear the speeches of 5 people - one from each syndicate. Ms Stephen will give you comments later about it and I will mark the winner. Good luck - I hope you enjoy it - we will certainly enjoy the entertainment."

He read out the contestants' names and their order.

The speeches were about the year 2000, school, words, school camps and second languages. All contestants spoke for 3-5 minutes; spoke clearly, were audible, (I sat at the back of the hall), contained some humour and were well executed. The one on Words was done by a girl who stressed positive thinking "I can" rather than "I can't as kids at Manuka say. You should be like Mr James who always says at assembly Manuka is good at this and that, and how proud he is." (Bill sat at the back by me and laughed).

After the speeches, Paul asked students to applaud them. Ms Stephen came forward and congratulated them all on their fine performance. I can't remember her exact words, but she concentrated on the positive features of their speeches and gave no criticism. She gave a couple witty replies to some of their speeches.

Then Paul came forward and said the winner would be having a special dinner with Mr James at the Rotary meeting (where other speech contestants will also be competing). "The winner is Linda."

There was a spontaneous applause from the audience and a few enthusiastic "Yahoos" from her syndicate. Linda had given a lively and entertaining (by body language and intonation) speech about schools, and asking for greater say and choice by students as to what was taught...

Next Paul asked syndicate leaders to come forward to present merit awards. Awards were presented for overall work improvement, a new person settling in, lead role in drama (extension programme) and for being a considerate class member. Students were applauded. Then Paul urged girls especially, to offer to take billets when Oxford come to play sport against Manuka and to see him afterwards, gave a few sports notices, and then Mr James came forward and spoke,

"I have a confession to make - I haven't got the Principal's award this week but I am delighted with your behaviour this week. Can I say those speeches were magnificent. I'm over the moon about them - such a high standard. Well done people. I'm over the moon."

Paul then told classes to go with their teachers. Students filed out quietly. (P.1-2 10/3/89)

Many values are embodied in this sacred ritual: positivism, excellence, putting people first, pupil participation, cultural heroes, promoting school image, friendliness - to name a few. (Refer to the appendices for details on how the values were derived) The value of putting people first is now examined in detail.

Putting People First

Putting people first is seen in many patterns of behaviour at Manuka Intermediate. The first time the writer arrived at the school a friendly pupil gave directions to the office; and, several times when she was observing in the playground students asked if they could help find who she was looking for. In the staffroom at morning tea time visitors are always introduced and warmly welcomed by Paul, the DP, and this was also seen at PTA meetings where the chairman welcomed parents to come to meetings at any time. Special welcomes are seen at parent-teacher evenings:

"A friendly boy met people at the gate and asked them to write on a name tag, so people could introduce themselves more easily... People began to assemble in the quadrangle. There seemed to be at least 100 parents and lots of students. The Maori Club performed a couple items and then the principal welcomed the people in English; saying he complimented parents on the way their children settled so well this year; what a great staff they had and were in for a good year; spoke of the need for PTA representatives from each class to represent them and help the Board of Trustees; and invited people to mingle, socialize and eat sausages! " (P. 22 2/3/89)

The interrelated values of people first, positive reinforcement and parent involvement are all extolled here.

A kind of family feeling pervades where the principal "takes a fatherly hand" (30/1/89). The school is divided into five

teams to:

"return to the atmosphere and family warmth of a small school. The prime aim of trialling composite classes throughout the school was to remove the WE and THEY syndrome, and to reinforce our family/whanau feeling at team level." (Making Manuka Matter, P. 3)

Syndicate and school assemblies are designed to foster this family feeling. School rules are referred to as *"family rules"* (Trevor, P.6 30/1/89); and the family behaviour and vocabulary even permeates the classroom,

...Children worked in twos and fours and helped each other. Some groups two children really did the work - in other groups all contributed. Tim marked the work, saying,

"Now what do we do with this one team?"
(P. 2 11/4/89)

Sharing was also reinforced:

Tim: "Hey, you can read over his shoulder - share and share alike." (P. 12 2/3/89)

Teachers readily shared equipment; eg OHPs and tape recorders. The 'cheap accessible uniform' is seen as a means of striving for unity and a family/team feeling with several teachers and the principal occasionally wearing the school turquoise sweatshirt. A form two girl wrote in the survey, *"Our school is different because it's all like a family."*

This concern for people is embodied in the principal who strives towards positive reinforcement with merit awards at assembly and frequent praise of staff, pupils and community (as seen in the parent/teacher evening above). Daily notices to the classrooms contain such statements as,

"Congratulations to the basketball team who did very well last night". (15/3/89)

Teachers promote this value too:

Hone: It's very important to give positive reinforcement at the time of success. (1/12/88)

Trevor: Have your good kids show their work to Bill - give it some mana. (P.6 30/1/89)

One boy asked for help with his speech, so Tim read it. "You've got some really neat ideas and introduced some good words like *prescription*." He helped the boy rewrite a section of the speech. (P. 9 2/3/89)

Finally, the value has permeated to the PTA:

Parent: Perhaps we could say thanks to the PTA committee since this is their last meeting before the AGM; and thanks for a good job they've done."

(P. 6 9/2/89)

The value of positive reinforcement (which also incorporates a desire to build children's self esteem) is largely seen in patterns of behaviour, language and ceremonies (eg assembly).

As already indicated Bill James, the principal, is a key figure in promoting the value of people first; ie. he is a hero. Deal and Kennedy (1982) argue that culture-shaping managers develop something close to a reward routine; that is, they actively seek ways to provide frequent and visible praise or other recognition for even modest contributions to the support of important values. Even in dealing with outsiders, they neglect no opportunity to reinforce the theme. Bill James is a perfect example of this. His democratic leadership style engenders staff contribution:

Bill: He'll need to go to the staff on this one...

(P. 5 30/9/88)

Use your initiative this year, senior teachers..

(P. 3 30/1/89)

However, he likes to lead and direct proceedings at meetings:

"Look, can I take the initiative here and appoint people to the committee..." (P. 12 7/11/88)

This facet is endorsed by teachers:

*Trevor: I'll have to consult Bill James on these -
I can't stomp over the school organisation...
(P. 16 10/2/89)*

Although he tends to dominate discussions he does listen to staff and consider their views. For instance he first floated the idea of composite classes with them at a staff meeting (13/9/88) and asked particular teachers for their experiences and comments. Staff meetings generally contain a mixture of housekeeping matters (these are often dealt with by the D.P.) and professional matters (eg. Board of Trustees, Tomorrows' Schools). He delegates some meetings; so the writer observed a meeting led by Helen, who informed the staff about Curriculum Review and had the staff working in groups modifying survey questions to be sent out to parents. Other teachers have a 'slot' in the meeting:

"Tim handed out PE booklets to teachers, Guide to Success; encouraging them by saying they were a great resource. He also mentioned that Aquapass personnel would be there tomorrow and urged teachers to use them to lower their class ratios and to learn some new skills." (P. 5 7/3/89)

Bill James, thus, encourages shared decision-making, instructional leadership training for other teachers, sharing of teacher strengths and enthusiasm.

Bill James is a modest and open-minded person who readily sought advice and expertise from outside the school as well, such as the liaison inspector with whom he has a good rapport and parents with community related employment. At one particular staff meeting the Bush City Community Worker, newspaper editor and School Chairman were present and were asked for their advice and contribution to a planning meeting:

Parent (P)1: You've got to empower other people

who've got other skills...

P2: Use your community recreation officers too...

P3: Key people are overloaded - need to train them up... ensure they get self-fulfilment rewards... Lots of trust and rapport is needed and takes a long time to establish." (P. 12-14 7/11/88)

Another afternoon the public health nurse was seen in the staffroom teaching children about babysitting rights and responsibilities. (7/12/88)

Because of the principal's genuine care and concern for people, he is admired by staff, community and pupils - as was frequently mentioned in the interviews, survey and informal conversations:

PTA Chairman: I'm very impressed with the new Principal and his abundant positive challenges... He is very good - really gets the children going and is getting a good curriculum going and community involvement." (P.5 20/7/88)

Bill James' consideration for teachers under pressure probably contributes to this admiration.

"He can't add to teacher's burdens"...

"Teachers need to feel comfortable with it" (life skills programme) (30/9/88)

"My greatest concern at the moment is to get teachers settled into their classes first and then we'll get into Curriculum Review..." (P. 1 7/2/89)

"Some of you have been working your backsides off this term - it worries me - limit yourselves - I don't want you overcommitted". (P. 3 2/5/89)

Teachers worry about him, too:

Cathy: I worry sometimes about Bill. He's surviving on 3 hours sleep a night. Everything is running through his head. (P. 20 2/3/89)

However, a culture is made up of more than one person and Bill James would accomplish little without his supportive staff - a fact which he readily acknowledges:

"I was of the belief to move into the community anyway, but the staff certainly turned to it..." (P. 6 10/2/89)

Teacher support was observed in staff informing one another, pairing up for pubertal change teaching, following up another teacher's reprimand of a child, providing backup by senior staff with a behaviour management programme, wandering around and checking on children at manual or extension time, sharing resources and even at lunchtime:

"One teacher came in and asked who would be interested in watching the softball teams playing - Peter would appreciate some support. A few teachers said they would and left immediately."
(P. 15 2/3/89)

Perhaps the reason for it is summed up by one teacher:

"You have to support one another to survive here at Manuka." (P. 6 12/7/88)

These statements further support the sub-themes of teamwork and family feeling which were mentioned earlier (page 105) and intertwine with support. The principal and staff further enhance the value of teamwork by their integration of the manual teaching staff, who were fully involved in the Arts Festival (static art display, fashion parade displaying clothing made at sewing), the sewing teacher's integrated maths worksheet (which ties in with Trevor's maths unit on measurement) and inclusion in staff social functions.

However, the pressures of change and ideological battles of power within the cultural groups revealed some conflict amongst the profane values.

"A new teacher finds the staff here slightly clicky but friendly." (P. 6 10/2/89)

It seemed interesting from the interviews (refer to table VIa, VIb) that those within the cliques thought the staff were united but those on the fringes thought otherwise:

(Continued on page 112)

MANUKA INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PERSON	As a newcomer what would I need to know about Manuka?	How is this school different from other schools?	What do people say about this school?	What has changed at Manuka Intermediate this year?	Why do you think change has occurred?	How do you feel about the changes?	How do other people view it?	Who has it mostly affected? Why?	What else needs to be changed?
Principal	Decision making involves the staff School Council disciplines students	Beeby's philosophy second chance education/activate children/self-esteem & identity	all positive VG extension programme/teach Club, Sports Arts Festival better image school pride	composite classes organisation and teacher responsibilities, positive reinforcement Assemblies Special Needs prog.	recognition of REAL needs	very positive need to be fluid	majority see them as improvement	teachers happier school students; upgrading of classroom programmes	not too much more (saturated) different teacher-parent interviews
Part-time Teacher	openness of children accepting and supportive staff identified and support given	openness of children/ low SES area/ optional uniform	ill-informed are negative scared of 'naughty' children, concern about playground behaviour don't know	publicity of good things, change of leadership style better communication between teachers	open, positive principal/supportive staff on principal's side, back up with discipline	good; positive	supportive unsure how others view changes	students: smile, friendly, happy better informed teachers, school accepted in wider community great principal teachers - under stress	funding
Manual teacher	Supportive staff integrate manual diverse background of students improved school image/self-esteem	backup from senior teachers on discipline inadequate wet playground area	increased paper work increased pressure and stress syndicate meetings for manual staff	Increased paper work increased pressure and stress syndicate meetings for manual staff	Increased turn over aggression	watch against composite class more work for teachers, more subject integration	positive year one amazed at administrative details	children have benefited parents in growing inclusion in school professional growth for staff children	curtains needed concrete paths covered walkway
Senior Teacher	Policy statements routines emphasis on health and school climate ask for help join in together and help	changes in last 18 months, progressive staff, bigger school, poor parenting, inadequate wet area (playground)	positive - anyone who knows negative in wider community	composite classes openness, accessibility principal, computer extension programme sport, positive school image, good principal, staff willing to change	ready for it AR and Pilot designated health school, new teachers hardworking staff new cultural side integrated manual teachers principal	really good need to slow down	some see it as big workload need to slow down	children have benefited parents in growing inclusion in school professional growth for staff children	teacher-teacher communication visiting school teachers need to share more willingly
New teacher	new clients here then primary initial settling in difficulties good structured discipline	bigger school syndicates make it like smaller school	positive positive about Bill James talented staff general public negative	children themselves (standard of dress)	positive staff	good	good occasional	new resources everyday equipment: OHP, tape recorders	
Paul (CPI)	need to understand children at this stage of develop-	great caretaker beautification of grounds	power play between teachers children, special relievers enjoy	fewer 'difficult' children, special needs programme	Bill James fighting negative image attitude of principal			naughty children (Special Needs programme)	

Note:

Tables VIA and VIB summarise the formal interviews undertaken at Manuka Intermediate. A cross-section of staff members were sampled. Participants' values were derived from the data and provided support for the writer's observations.

Table VIb Manuka Intermediate Interview Schedule

MANUKA INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (continued)

PERSON	As a newcomer what would I need to know about Manuka?	How is this school different from other schools?	What do people say about this school?	What has changed at Manuka Intermediate this year?	Why do you think change has occurred?	How do you feel about the change?	How do other people view it?	Who has it mostly affected? Why?	What else needs to be changed?
Paul	Assemblies- pupil participation organisation of intermediates	Increasing supportive staff professionalism	Reflexing here	Disciplinary policy computers, maths programme, School Council	Bill Jones cares and listens to brought up to date				
Tina	Teamwork, support good socially work hard here give and take	Staff and principal discipline model and effectiveness good communication between staff	Bill-Informed think it's tough, informed parents think it's great, enthusiastic over sport	Extensions going really well really well informed organisation of school calendar, staff changes (more stable), lunchtime sports	School care organisation staff working really hard	positive improving all the time	Teachers- good children are pro Manuka informed people are positive	Staff working harder children- more opportunities variety and better deal	More PE equipment
Parent	Like seeing kids and teachers playing sport together, great ethnic and social mixing	School Council kids listened to open door policy teachers have a positive view	Positive from parents with children at school now negative from older community	Encouragement of parents to come (improved foyer) newsletters more often, better content, like their club, higher profile	Very friendly since Bill Jones taken over	good positive	positive feedback good feeling here	children - no glue sitting parents feel more comfortable perceptions like, staff friendly banter better Nelson at PTA meetings	break through glue sitting negatively parents feel more comfortable perceptions like, staff friendly banter better Nelson at PTA meetings
Helena	Best staff this is second year here all fit in well	Children within 2 year age span therefore teachers have more in common possibility why there friction caring, sharing improved	Better access to people, more stability, publicity, better than before	More stress- back-logs, professional jealousy composite classes inter-school visit	consciousness of change uncertainty of Tomorrow's Schools talented staff willingness to pool resources, Bill's support/backlog	It was needed butler	enthusiastic more open school, parents help more frequently	Bill - OK, learned more about process about staff have to join together	more about process about staff have to join together
Inspector	Good support Teachers fit in well, and help each other more goodwill	Principal feels deeply for the school, therefore teachers do too, high commitment to the job	Bill-Informed think it's the pits, people who are rare	Consultation of staff, stronger position to handle change	Bill wants change anything would be better (few staff) teachers want to see change too	good	don't know	pupils getting greater support a very good deal, and hence treating the school better	very good from consultants treating the school better

"Helen spoke about staff niggles at the moment...
"There are some nice people on this staff but there are little cliques who backstab ... I don't know why Trevor has to go to the parent meetings... The parents could just about run it themselves."

(P. 18 2/3/89)

At this stage Helen was feeling very stressed - torn between family commitments and professional obligations that Trevor and Cathy did not have. She thought, at times, there were two distinct groupings on the staff - those who were married and those who were single. The latter could devote endless time and energy to schoolwork and community involvement, which meant married teachers felt guilty and developed inferiority complexes. This flared up at times:

"Helen and Paul were talking and were obviously concerned about the setting up of computers and were concerned about Cecilia and her assumption that she had a free reign and they felt it was Bill's problem to haul her in." (P. 12 11/4/89)

The writer was sensitive to such occasions and did not attend those staff meetings although key informants and aside remarks conveyed significant information:

"He (Bill) went off to *quell the troops* and ask for less back-stabbing and more team spirit." (P. 1 21/2/89)

Much of this staff feeling was gleaned by Paul who passes it on to Bill. Paul is pretty much the storyteller of the culture (refer to his comments in the interview schedule), having been there for more than 10 years. As DP, Paul is free of a class and is in and out of teachers' rooms before and during school.

Sue: There's not much Paul misses - he susses things out pretty quickly when he goes around the classrooms." (P. 12 11/4/89)

Paul endorses this view himself,

"See me if there are important things to go on the board to tell everyone." (P. 4 30/1/89)

Paul has the responsibility of writing up the communication

chalkboard each week in the staffroom and planning the term's planner sheet.

Nevertheless, the Principal is in contact with teachers, pupils and parents. Bill James' desire to involve pupils in decision-making is seen in his establishment of a School Council, a group of children who have been democratically elected by each class as their representative. Each week these representatives meet with Mr James in the staffroom where friendly interchange of ideas takes place - Mr James asking them for views or decisions, and informing them:

Bill: Thanks for your note - painting footsteps to show people from the gate where the office is... Anything else?...

G: What about curtains in R_?

Bill: The PTA will continue the aim of building a good visual image for the school and hence are looking at curtains. Curtains and carpet are under Education Board control. We ask them for such things but they defer it if they haven't got so much money - we could fund-raise for it ... Would you like to make it a major issue or would you like something else instead? Tessa, what do you think?..

B: Can I bring up something different? Only room 10 are using the computers - it's in their room.

Bill: You need to put the acid on your teachers to put it in their programmes. I could run a staff meeting and get some of you to demonstrate what to do on it... ask your teacher and you might be able to use them in the extension programme.

B: It distracts Room 10 people - they should be put in the library so everyone can use it. If I get 0 in my test I'll go to Miss Jones' low group and I'll get a go on the computer.

G: Our class is on Mondays and we've all had a go..

G: What happened to the Computer Club?

B: Too many kids..

G: He could advertise in the shops and people might come and teach us...

Bill: OK we'll need to address that - I'll write it down - library, rotating computers, tutors...

B: Has Mr Kaipuke considered a skateboard ramp?

Bill: I've forgotten to ask him - my fault...

(P. 1-5 21/3/89)

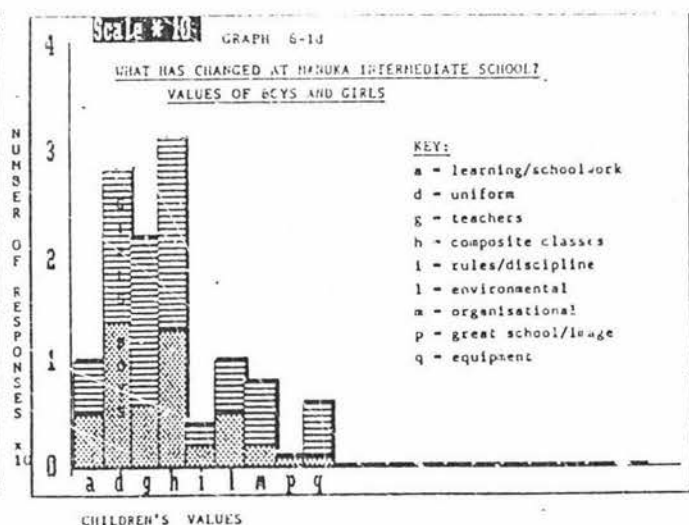
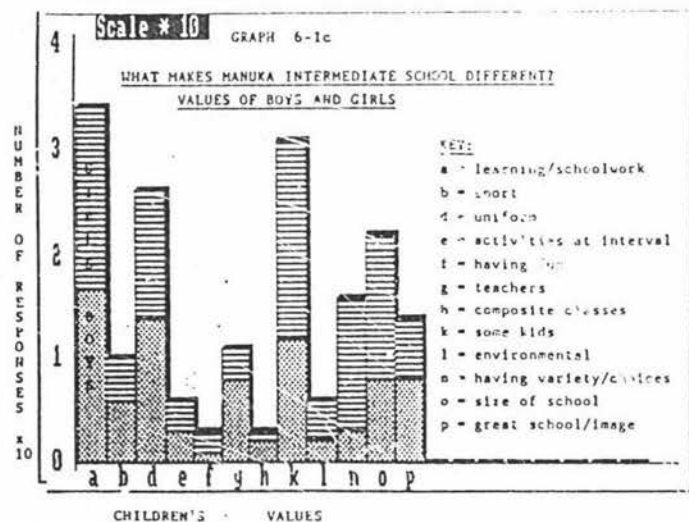
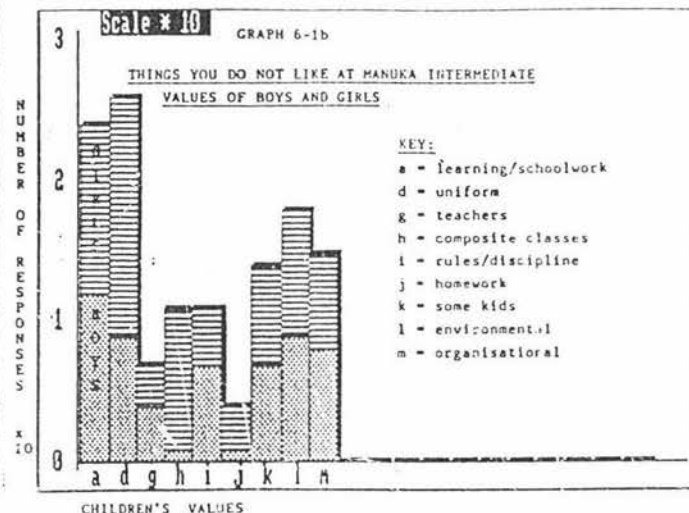
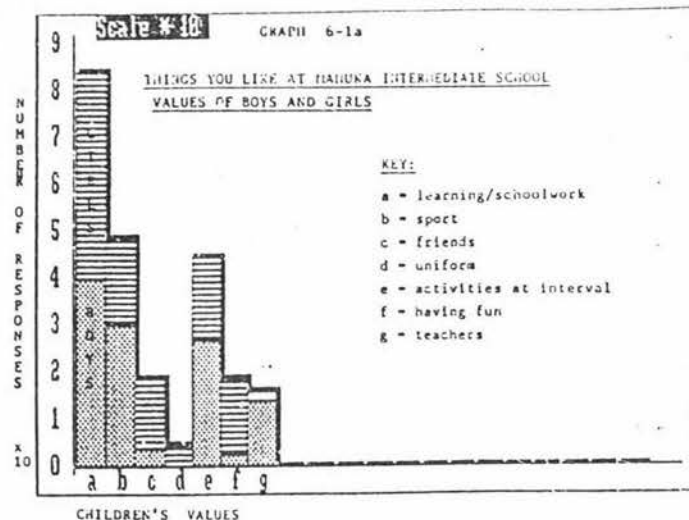
Mr James was very open in explaining reasons to the School Council and was genuine and respectful in listening to their

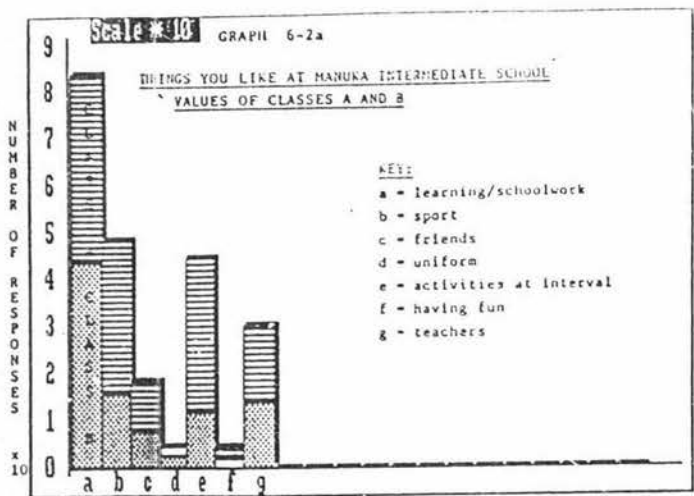
creative or enthusiastic ideas. The students certainly respect him as a person. This was apparent in the survey too:

Form 2 girl: This school has a great principal, some good teachers, and a great attitude. Manuka will go a long way.

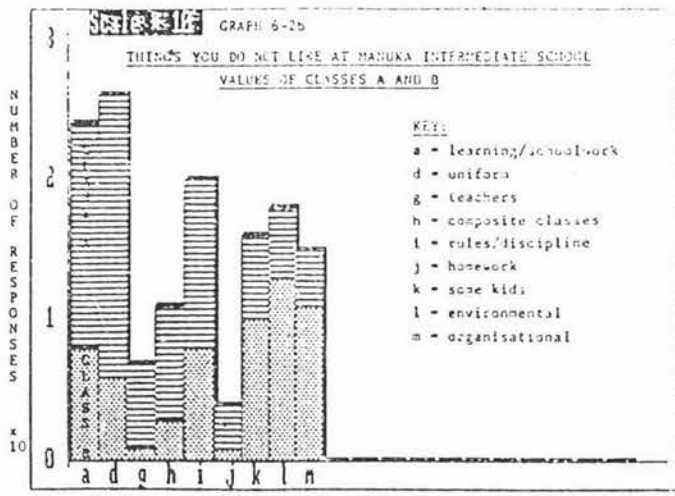
At this stage the reader should refer to the graphs on pages 115 to 117. The graphs summarise the values derived from the student survey. (Refer to Appendix I and II). Student values can be gleaned from these graphs. Each of the survey questions was analysed according to form 1/form 2 values, girls/boys values and classroom a/b (the classrooms observed in detail). In the form one and two analysis, it is interesting to see the socialization that occurs as school image, organisation and having choices figure more highly for form two; while schoolwork/homework, other children and teachers were of greater concern to form one pupils. The girls tended to mention values of friends and uniform more highly than boys, while the boys tended to concentrate more on sports and the variety of lunchtime activities. Apart from these values, there was minimal distinction between the genders. Finally, the comparison of values between two different classes revealed one class valuing sport more highly (their teacher is a sports' enthusiast (hero) and a representative rugby player), and organisational/image factors. Tim frequently reminds children about tucking in shirts and pulling up socks, while the other class was more concerned about environmental issues (their classroom is one of only four in the school without carpet; which irritates the children). Thus, there

(Continued on page 120)

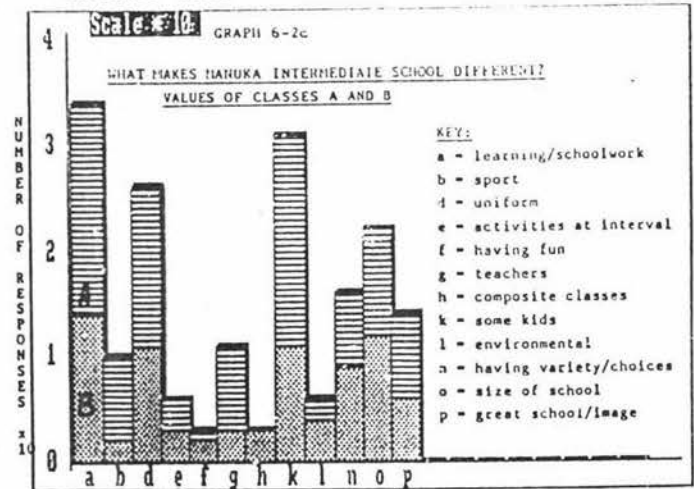




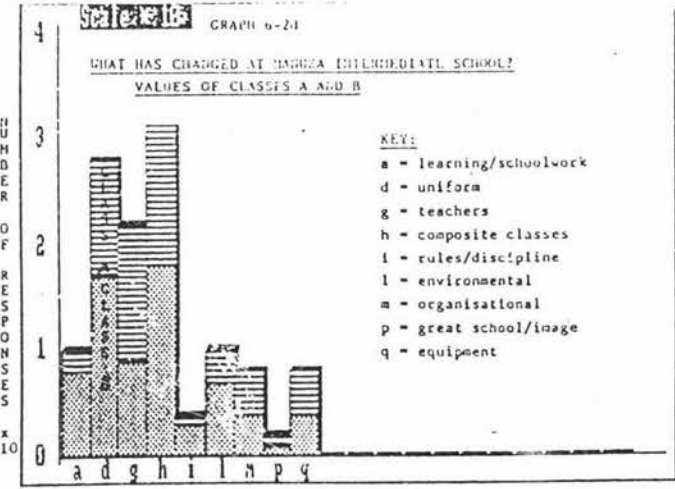
CHILDREN'S VALUES



CHILDREN'S VALUES

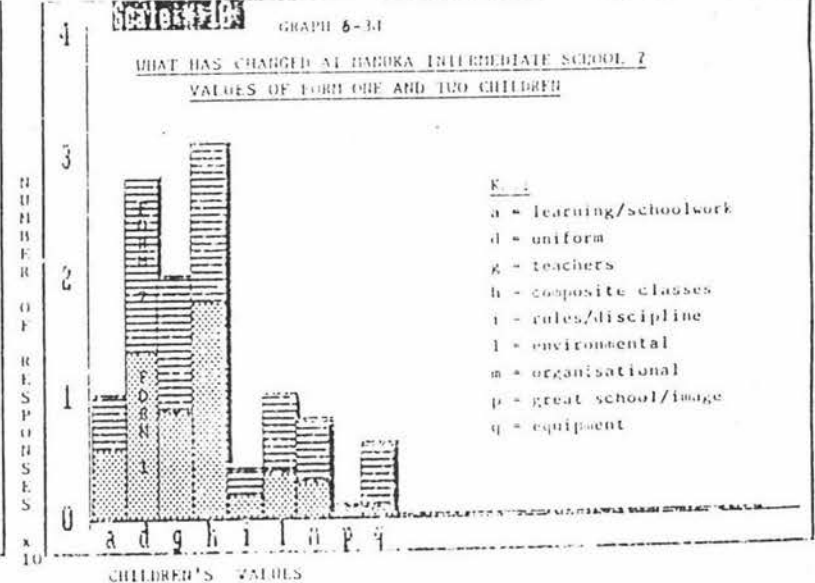
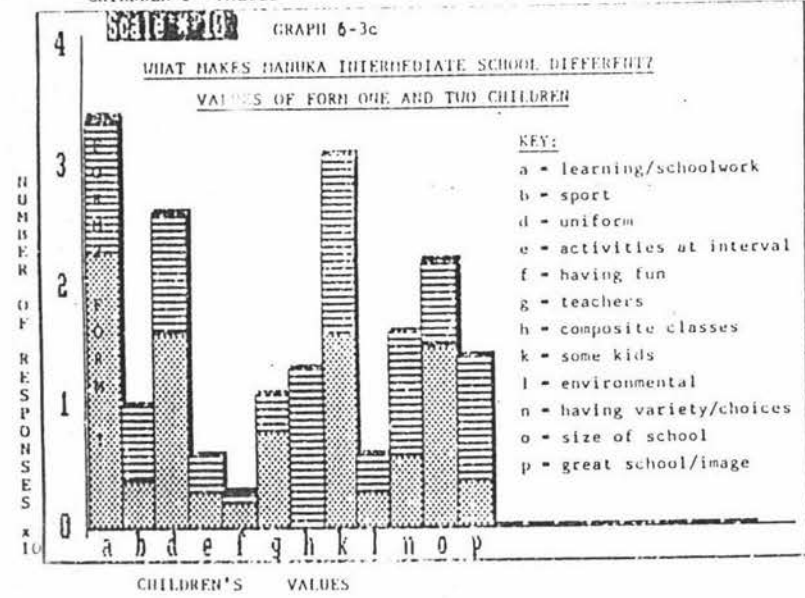
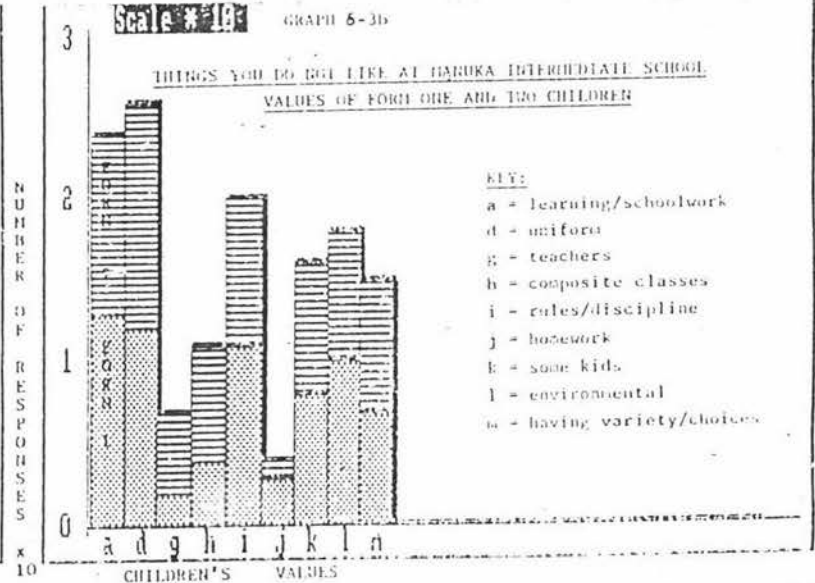
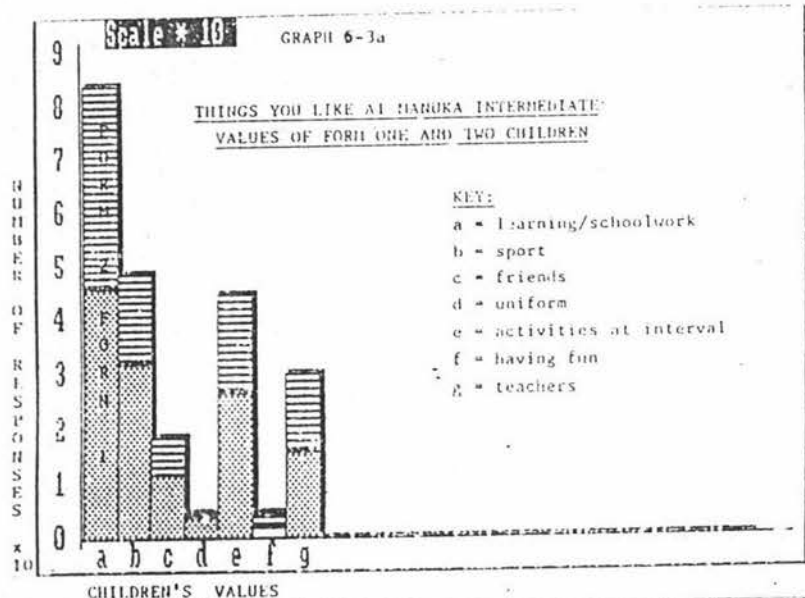


CHILDREN'S VALUES



CHILDREN'S VALUES

Note: Class A and B refer to the two classes observed in considerable detail by the writer. Class A is Tim's class, while class B is Helen's. (Both classes are composite form one and two).



MANUKA STUDENT VALUES

Figure 6-6

(derived from student survey)

MAKING

MANUKA

MATTER

HAVING CHOICES

manual
 extensions programme
 big school/many friends
 alternative uniform
 canteen
 mufti day
 short lunchtimes
 (home early)
 variety of interval
 activities
 size of playground
 sports - lunchtime
 and school time

PEOPLE

caring
 friendly
 kind
 nice teachers
 like principal
 Maoris at school
 having friends
 in own class
 students listened
 to

LEARNING

manual
 extensions
 Maori Club
 schoolwork
 library
 homework
 computers
 video camera

POSITIVE SCHOOL IMAGE

environmental
 trees, playground
 carpet in rooms
 Maori Club
 neat school

ORDER

sports houses
 lots of rules
 assembly
 discipline
 procedures

SENSE OF BELONGING

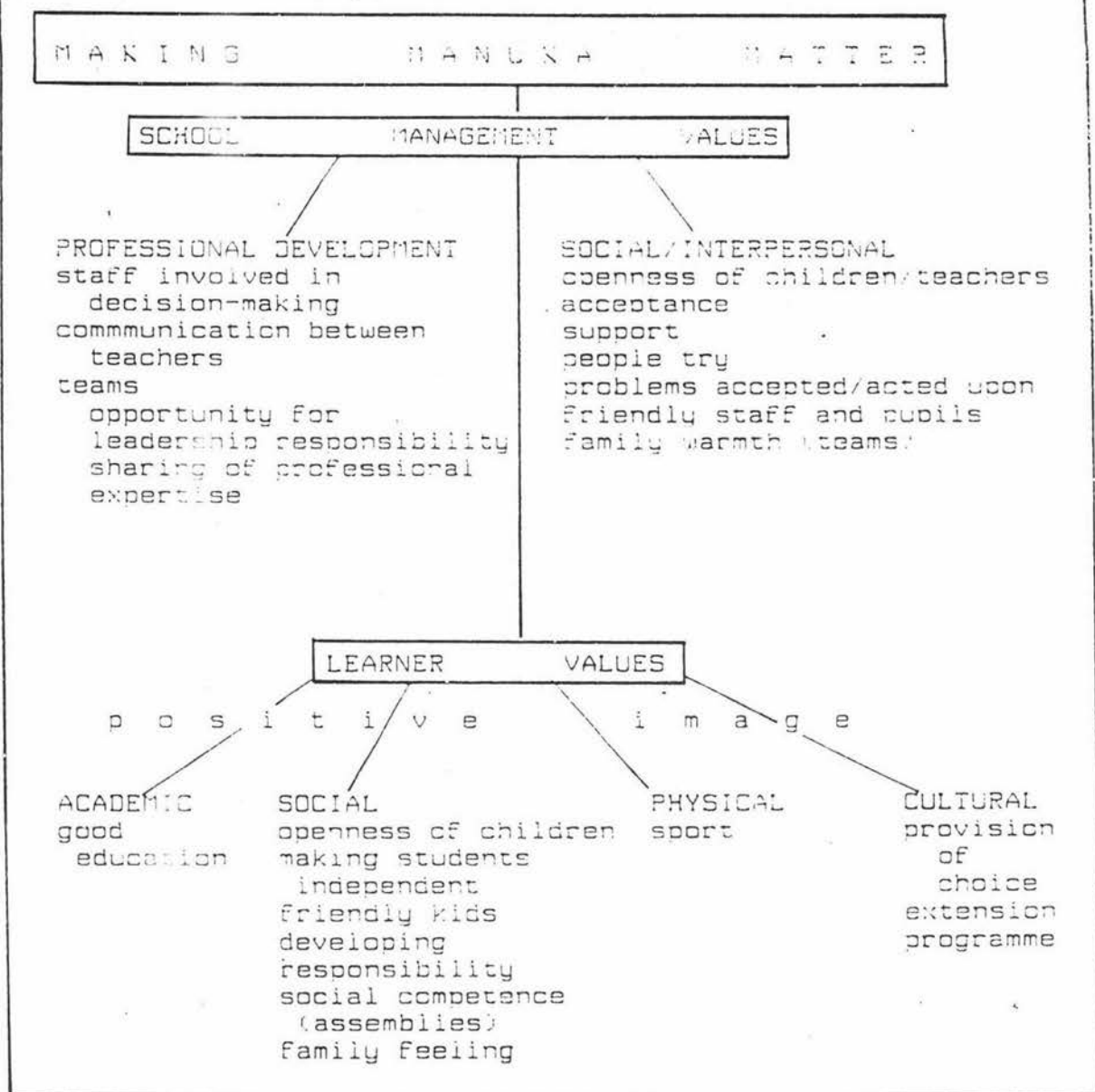
Maori Club

SPORT

swimming
 skateboarding
 houses - sport
 padder tennis

Note: Figure 6-6 summarises the values derived from the student survey (refer to Appendix II for a sample of the survey). The figure indicates activities and attributes that are important to form one and two pupils - some of which could not be obtained by observation alone.

MANUKA TEACHER VALUES Figure 6-7
(from interview and document analysis)



Note: Figure 6-7 summarises teacher values from the interviews and document analysis. The purpose of this figure is that it records the values from the participants' point of view, using their language and structures, rather than the writer's whose interpretation is shown in figure 6-5. (The overlap of the writer and participants' views are shown in the triangulation checkpoint on P. 56.

are pockets of value concentration. In other values the classes had similar divergence of views. Overall, the children valued variety and choice, particularly in lunchtime activities and the extension programme. These values were validated by informal interviewing of a small group of surveyed children.

Valuing variety is evidenced in the alternative uniform, an idea originating from the School Council. Children have the option of wearing a turquoise sweatshirt and wet weather clothing to supplement their otherwise plain grey uniform. The implementation of this decision is evidence that the principal considers and actions children's ideas...

Bill: I'd like to involve kids in it - in fact many of our positive things have been pupil-sourced.
(P. 13 2/5/85)

Not only pupils are involved in decision-making. A school review which included a parent survey in September 1988, resulted in parent interviews occurring earlier in the year and more regular reporting. Bill James listens to 'real' negative comments, accepting the criticism of bullying and gangs and implemented a behaviour management model. The model works because teachers feel they are supported by senior staff while parents are involved in several stages of the model. However, Bill James considered that to be not enough,

"It's the representative aspect that bothers me most - to keep us in balance with our community. We need to consult these people before we charge ahead..." (P. 2 7/2/89)

Such consulting and informing is often done informally,

"While we have a parent here, could we get some parent feeling on things?" (P. 5 10/2/89)

Involving parents and the wider community in promoting the value of putting people first leads to acceptance of different ethnic cultures. Acknowledgement and acceptance of things Maori is seen in the Maori Club performing at any school function where visitors are welcomed to the school (eg. Arts Festival, inter-school visit), at assembly and in the playground where children mixed freely in and out of various racial groups. The Maori Club is highly valued,

Trevor: That Maori Club did heaps for the self-esteem of children." (P. 9 30/1/89)

Even the PTA wanted the Maori Club to perform at the Meet the Teacher Evening. The writer saw *waiata* being taught and bilingual posters on classroom walls. However, concern was expressed by some staff members about *tangata whenua* in the Charter:

Helen: The impression you get is you have to teach Maori - it gets my back up. (P. 15 10/2/89)

Some parents are also uneasy with the bicultural concept,

Trevor: Our community is multi-racial... some people comment on our Maori Club and wonder why we haven't got a Samoan Club - we need more community help there and it would foster more involvement... It ultimately depends on teacher's strengths. (P. 11 10/2/89)

Therefore, biculturalism is a controversial concept which is accepted as long as individual differences are tolerated and teachers are accepted at their level of ability.

A picture emerges, then, of a school culture actively promoting people first in its slogans, attitudes, symbols, cultural ceremonies, heroes, storytellers and general way of life. Closely linked is the value of aiming for excellence.

Excellence

"Our aim is for excellence - we need to build an image and put ourselves on a pedestal." (Bill James P. 4 12/7/88)

Such excellence is promoted in public performances, like the Arts Festival:

"The powhiri was impressive - unified and tuneful singing, red costumes... they received a tremendous applause... the fashion parade conveyed an amazing atmosphere with the music and appropriate modelling choreography..." (P. 1 24/8/88)

In staff meetings the principal encouraged teachers to be good role models for children,

"He want to make this the number one Intermediate in our Education Board..." (P. 1 30/1/89)

Excellence was promoted in the classroom as well:

"I looked in a couple of spelling books and saw comments like:

Is this your neatest?

Hell Done Daniel (with a 'Very Good' sticker)

I also looked at a few maths books. All are set out with columns for example numbers; space for answers and a column on the right for 'working out'. Work is done in pencil and marked in red pen.. Neatness is even symbolised in the beautiful chalkboard writing and the teacher's use of a range of colours, amusing graphics..." (P. 2 11/4/89)

The school's organisational file reinforced the value of excellence:

"Programmes of work will be designed at multiple levels to ensure the pupils can ACHIEVE a measure of SUCCESS. Self-esteem follows on from this. Above all, Manuka Intermediate is about encouraging GROWTH for all children in many fields: academic, physical, cultural, social." (Making Manuka Matter, P. 1)

To achieve excellence, a 'hard work ethic' prevails. Many teachers spend long hours at school; Peter is reportedly there from 5.30 am, while many others are there by 7.30 am (spending hours constructing interesting wall displays and charts or creating interesting learning environments). Time at school is highly pressured:

Trevor: Hey, I'm at school by 7.30 am for sports practice, have a staff meeting after school, another sports session, and a meeting in the evening." (P. 16 2/3/89)

Time spent in the classroom is considered to be crucial; also implying a concern and high value on learning and teaching, as indicated on Teacher Only Day:

Paul: Everyone should be in their room by 8.30 am. Most people should be here 8am to at least 3.30pm. I don't think anyone should be in the staffroom before school - should be in the classroom or on duty... I don't think it's necessary to spend the whole lunchtime in the staffroom..." (P. 3,4 30/1/89).

The writer always found the staffroom empty before school! This ethic is even more pronounced in the classrooms. On the chalkboard in Tim's classroom was a cartoon and slogan, *Be prepared to work hard*" (P. 3 2/3/89) and he reinforces this:

Tim: "Right who's been working hard?" and selected a few people to go off to computers.
(P. 12 2/3/89)

Similar incidents were observed in other classrooms:

"Excuse me. Groups one and two shouldn't have any talk at all. Work that isn't finished will be done in your own time... Get on with your work Andrew."
(P. 8 15/3/89)

Teachers were seen working hard in their classrooms at lunchtime and even practising assembly items in the hall. Conversations often related to addressing individual learning needs, an area which was supplemented by the school organisation with a Remedial Reading Teacher and Special Needs programme. Hard work is rewarded in rituals and symbols:

"It was now time in the assembly for the weekly Principal's Award. Mr James explained he'd found a class with their *'noses to the grindstone'* even though the teacher was temporarily out of the room and thought they did really well to work so

independently. Two boys shook hands and exchanged the shield. Students then came forward for merit awards. They were awarded for: positive work habits, work presentation, improved reading and general classroom behaviour..." (P. 3 28/4/89)

Even the Principal worked hard, according to teacher and pupil comments, but - as seen earlier (page 112) - this has led to problems of pressure and difficulties in interpersonal relationships, with the principal urging teachers not to overcommit themselves and to ease off the workload in term two.

Facilitating the aim of excellence is a pervading theme of orderliness and organisation. This was observed in staff meetings, (Tim and Rewi had PE and manual organized on day one, Paul had the stationery orders ready to go), in the staffroom (with term planners and weekly events on the chalkboard), in the school generally with daily notices read out in every classroom each morning and various school organization sheets. Orderliness prevailed even in the classrooms:

Tim: Remember manual is after interval - be back here straight away ready. After lunch we'll write out your best captions. Very quietly pack up, stand behind your desk... He waited for silence and stillness...You may go quietly. (P. 6 11/4/89)

Children sit in quiet and orderly lines in assembly and even in the playground they queue in orderly lines at the canteen. Much of the orderliness is seen in patterns of behaviour, 'the way things are done around here', although some organizational details are symbolised in written memos and planning.

The aim for excellence is inextricably linked with Manuka's

image building.

Image Building

Bill James: He must try to sell ourselves...a positive image where and whenever... (P. 2 30/1/89)

and, thus, he uses his community contacts (one parent is an editor of the local newspaper). Bill James organized a display board to be rotated around the contributing schools in order to publicise what happens at Manuka (sports, extension and manual arts programme - showing their values of learning and teaching, people, excellence and promulgating the 'wide and diverse experiences at intermediate schools'). Further publicity was gained from the Arts Festival, alternative uniform (front page of the newspaper) and in efforts of the PTA:

"PTA Chairman: Our objective in 1988 was to give Manuka more of a high profile - that's why the calendars... we hope to keep the school in high profile again..." (P. 4 9/2/89)

Attention to symbols is seen in the planting of shrubs to improve the school environment, a shoe rack outside the library for tidy storage while students use the library, an alternative uniform, a new netball uniform (favourably commented on by many parents), a tidier school (which one teacher attributes to decreasing vandalism and violence), and new carpet recently being laid in the entrance foyer and principal's office.

To further promote the school image, the principal has encouraged staff and children to be more open:

"He declare this an open school - people as open to teachers, parents and pupils as is practical and wise... He have a suggestions book for you to write in anytime..." (P. 1 30/1/89)

Bill James, therefore, believes that more parental contact is beneficial to the school,

"Electives programme... the more you use parents in working with you and children, spreads our good name." (P. 3 30/1/89)

At the moment few parents are involved but those who participate do have extensive involvement. For instance, the School Committee Chairman was seen at other meetings, on school trips and camps, in an extension programme option and informally at the school at lunchtimes.

Parent: The problem is those who want to aren't free to come. (P. 8 10/2/89)

Another parent had further reasons:

"Most of the community are ready to accept what you're doing. They really don't know what's going on. What's required is mainly informing them." (P. 16 7/11/88)

One teacher sends home a class letter each week to parents for this purpose, while further effort was expended in trying to contact the newspaper and send out more frequent newsletters. In connection with the Curriculum Review Project they also established a network of parents to act as field officers - or small discussion forums to encourage less literate parents to forward their views. The PTA supported the school's aims in helping to organize a Meet the Teacher Evening at the beginning of the year for informal mixing of parents and teachers over a sausage sizzle.

These efforts seem to be spreading to the community:

Trevor: Manuka is going from one high to another. Parents say they are impressed with Manuka. 'He like what you are doing and we don't want to get involved'. He like what we see... (P. 2 10/2/89)

It appears that word has infiltrated the community about Manuka's emphasis on 'putting people first, aiming for excellence and the promoting of a positive image. As this thesis is being written, a local (also international) company has sought partnership with the school. In the company director's words.

"We heard in the community of the good changes going on here, the similar aims you have to us, and in the light of Tomorrows' Schools we'd like to seek partnership with you, offering you some finance and some personnel skills to encourage and enable you to become the best school in New Zealand." (P. 6 2/5/89)

Conclusion

The complex culture of Manuka Intermediate school has been explicated above by examining three predominant cultural themes: people first, aim for excellence and image building. In providing excerpts from the fieldnotes, surveys, interviews and document analysis, the writer has endeavoured to show the reader how inextricably connected are the themes and their supporting 'sub-themes'; but, in such highlighting, some glimpses have been revealed of the processes and evolution of culture and change which are addressed in chapter seven.

Significance of the Two School Cultures

The reader may recall, in chapter five, that various hunches were derived from the cultural slices in 1988. The discussion returns briefly to those hunches and views their connections to the cultural values derived in this chapter.

Bilingualism

Morning tea rituals observed in Kowhai School in 1988 suggested that bilingualism may be a central focus of the school staff. Further observations in 1989 revealed that bilingualism was a sacred value to which numerous activities were directed (eg. professional development, phrases in school newsletters, classroom programmes). Figure 6-1 showed in the analysis how other school values radiated from the bilingual emphasis.

At Manuka Intermediate bilingualism was not identified in the early observational stages but at school assemblies and school events like the Arts Festival and Meet the Teacher Evening where the Maori Club performed, a concern for bilingualism was implied. Students valued the Maori Club for promoting a sense of belonging, building the school image and as a valuable learning experience (refer to figure 6-6).

That both schools had bilingualism as a cultural value suggests a genuine care for people but also suggests that a willingness to incorporate other peoples' values may facilitate change. Thus, the hunch concerning the importance of bilingualism proved to be a useful guide to detailed

observations in 1989. This idea will be explored further in chapter seven.

Concern with learning and teaching

Chapter five depicted Kowhai School principal, Greg Brown, as an instructional leader who assisted the teaching team. The Teddybears' Picnic also revealed learning to be important, particularly enjoyable learning. Earlier in this chapter the value of learning and teaching was shown to form an integral part of Kowhai School's rituals, symbols, slogans and patterns of behaviour. The value was also implicit in the portrayal of bilingualism in the professional development of staff and classroom programmes. The hunch, therefore, evolved to become a significant feature of the school.

Manuka Intermediate also placed great value on learning and teaching although this was not identified in the cultural slices from 1988. Figure 6-5 shows how concern for learning and teaching is inextricably linked to discipline, school organisation, school programmes and promoting excellence. The student survey revealed that learning is of paramount importance to students (refer to graphs 6-1 to 6-3 and figure 6-6), while teachers placed emphasis on learner values in the interviews (refer to figure 6-7).

Significance of the central concern for learning and teaching in both school cultures is intimated from chapter two where the literature review indicated that effective schools place great emphasis on learning and teaching. The

emphasis on learning and teaching in the two schools here suggests that they appear to be on the way to school effectiveness. Enhancement of this central value of learning and teaching may be due to teamwork.

Teamwork and Shared Decision-Making

Teachers appearing to work as a team was indicated in the Teddybears' Picnic at Kowhai School and was implied in Mr Brown's maths lesson. The hunch was developed further in the early part of this chapter and was validated by teacher interview results where teachers valued the supportive and friendly staff and staff working together. (refer to table V) Greg Brown was shown to be the hero in embodying the value of teamwork, seen particularly in the inclusion of ancillary staff during shared decision-making at the staff meeting.

Similarly, at Manuka Intermediate the hunch of shared decision-making as a potentially significant factor in creating a climate for change was supported by the data. Observations, teacher interviews (refer to table VI) and the student survey confirmed that students, parents and teachers are listened to and involved in decision-making. Teamwork was symbolised in the school organisation (syndicates are organised into teams of five teachers and composite classes). Teamwork was also reinforced in school rituals, such as assemblies and, incorporated in patterns of behaviour and vocabulary used eg. "family rules".

Implications of teamwork and shared decision-making as

cultural values in school change will be examined in chapter seven.

School Community Relationships/ Open School

Reference to the Kowhai School burglary in chapter five suggested that the principal prized highly the relationships of the school with the community. This hunch was saturated by observational data cited in the description of Kowhai School's culture, where parents were encouraged into the school. Parents were invited to view school programmes and their views resulted in changes to school organisation. Consequently, parents and teachers viewed the school as being more open and friendly (refer to table V and appendix VII).

The 1988 'cultural slice' on image building at Manuka Intermediate implied emphasis on visible symbols to inspire or influence the school community. As noted in chapter two, Renihan and Renihan (1984) define this image building as 'conscious attention to school climate'. Image was emphasized throughout 1988, as seen in appendix V; a chart compiled by a senior teacher and the principal as a review of the year's activities. The link between building school image and community relationships was epitomized in the business company's sponsorship of the school.

The literature review noted Ramsay et al (1987) as discovering that good school-community relationships are a common factor of successful schools. The factor's presence

in Kowhai and Manuka Intermediate School has implications for change and school improvement - the topic of chapters seven and eight.

Positive Reinforcement

The hunch identified in the maths lesson at Kowhai School of praise and positive reinforcement was extended into symbols (stickers and certificates), language and rituals (senior singing) in chapter six. Similarly, its predominance was observed at Manuka: in school notices, assemblies, certificates, PTA meetings and in the classrooms.

As with other values discussed above, positive reinforcement infiltrates the whole way of life of both school cultures, interweaving with other values as the reader will have gleaned from the fieldnote excerpts. The value of positive reinforcement is consistent with research cited in chapter two, such as the Renihans' (1984) factor of positive motivational strategies - a key characteristic of successful schools. The significance of positive reinforcement in school change is examined in chapter seven.

Divergent Values

One hunch from Kowhai School, that the community seem to support fund-raising and social events but tend not to support educational experiences still remains a hunch and was unable to be substantiated. However, other hunches were derived and corroborated. Flexibility, informality and admiration for the principal were confirmed at Kowhai School; while orderliness, a high degree of organisation and

a hard work ethic were revealed at Manuka Intermediate. The significance of these cultural differences in school change is explored in chapter seven.

Cultural Analysis

Deal and Kennedy (1982) maintain that cultures have heroes, priests, gossips, storytellers and whisperers; but in the relatively new and informal cultures described above, these characteristics were not to the forefront to the same extent as cultural values, rituals, symbols and slogans. Deal's "cultural personalities" may emerge with more time spent in the field but, alternatively, perhaps may not evolve until the cultures become even more firmly established.

The writer's cultural description emphasized the underlying values which were most evident in the cultures described. The ethnographer portrays the culture as it is observed. The situation cannot be manipulated to reveal cultural players when they are not evident.

Conclusion

This chapter has developed the hunches from chapter five and expounded them into cultural values for each school. A picture emerged of Kowhai School having a central value of bilingualism which was interrelated with threads of informality, concern for people, teamwork, value of learning and teaching, communication, open school and positive reinforcement. Manuka Intermediate School had three main values of putting people first, promoting excellence and image building. The hunches therefore provided a critical

guide to detailed observations in 1989. The discussion now turns to chapter seven where the identified values from the school cultures are compared and analysed, forming the key to grounding a theory of cultural change.

CHAPTER SEVEN: TOWARDS A THEORY OF CHANGE IN SCHOOL CULTURE

Introduction

This chapter returns to the questions posed in chapter one:

1. What aspects of the school culture are changing? Why?
 - a) What behavioural regularities can be observed?
 - b) What modifications are occurring?
2. What aspects of the culture appear to facilitate change?
3. What cultural factors inhibit change?
4. How are these changes perceived by the school community?

In endeavouring to answer the questions, the cultures of Kowhai School and Manuka Intermediate School are central to the discussion and are incorporated with knowledge gained from chapters two and three, the review of relevant literature and methodology. Subsequently, a theory of the *how* and *why* of change in schools is derived.

What aspects of the school cultures are changing?

In chapter one, two components of this question were identified. What behavioural regularities can be observed? What modifications are occurring? Chapter six addresses this first component in describing the two school cultures, and so our attention is now focused on the modifications that are occurring.

Because an ethnographer endeavours to portray the culture from the participants' point-of-view, the writer first

considers the participants' ideas on what has changed; as has been derived from the interviews and children's survey.

Table VII		CHANGES INSTITUTED IN 1989	
KOWHAI SCHOOL		MANUKA INTERMEDIATE	
L	fewer staff changes	few staff changes	
E	tighter programmes		
A	more relevant programmes	Special Needs Programme	
R	(bilingual)	Extensions	
N	more meetings	Syndicate meetings (Manual)	
I	cross grouping (reading)		
N	improved playground behaviour	better playground behaviour	
G	increased self-esteem		
	(especially Maori children)		
	structure of classes	composite classes	
	working towards discipline	discipline policy	
	computers	computers	
		lunchtime sports	
		interschool visit	
		<u>positive reinforcement</u>	
M	smooth start to year		
A	(organized/planned 1988)		
N	cleaner school grounds		
A	school more secure so		
G	fewer burglaries		
E	more meetings	syndicate meetings	
M	less migration to other		
E	schools		
N	change in buildings		
T	change in gardens		
		teacher responsibilities	
		assemblies	
		publicity of good things	
		better communication	
		between teachers	
		more paperwork	
		accessible principal	
		staff willing to change	
		rules	
		earlier parent interviews	
		prospectus	
		alternative uniform	
		<u>more newsletters</u>	
C	change in atmosphere		
U	more relaxed; happier		
L	more organized and		
T	settled		
U		more stress/pressure	
R		openness	
E		better image	
	LG= 10	LG= 11	
	M= 7	M= 13	
	C= 3	C= 3	

It is clear from the participants' perspective that changes at Manuka Intermediate contribute towards *Making Manuka*

Matter, with an emphasis on image building and pursuit of excellence; while Kowhai School changes are directed at, or result from alterations in the wider bilingual programme, learning and teaching, and a concern for people. These features were embodied in the values which were illustrated and discussed in chapter six. Successful change seems to arise from the sacred values.

The emergent grouping of the changes in Table VII suggests that management and attention to learning and teaching are concurrent activities in schools undergoing change. The higher proportion of management activities at Manuka Intermediate is noteworthy. How much of that is due to it being a larger school and to the complexity of the timetabling with manual is difficult to determine. Complex timetabling considerations may necessitate more formal management than the informality which is characteristic of Kowhai School; but the differences could well be the result of leadership style, or the particular school culture. The writer considers that an element of each is a possible explanation. Ruddock (1984), implies that it is the culture of the organisation that determines and is determined by the style of leadership and patterns of interrelationships. The appropriate leadership style is negotiated at the site and, the way these negotiations are made, determines the success and idiosyncratic nature of the leadership. Apparently the previous principal neglected the management of people and so Bill James feels obliged to attend to this facet.

However, the chart does not reveal the sources or strategies

of change. Chapter six revealed in considerable detail in both schools the response to parents' views (and pupils, especially at Manuka Intermediate) and the shared decision-making that was characteristic of most decisions made. Accordingly, the writer suggests that in these two schools the source of change derived from multiple sources: pupils, teachers and parents (eg. uniform change from pupils, behaviour management - a shared concern of pupils, parents and teachers). The desire to seek their views and inform parents was shown in both cultures, particularly Kowhai with their parent survey and discussion meetings. The most successful strategies appeared, then, to be involvement of all and informing all. This will be further elaborated in the next section.

When considering what modifications occurred, it is necessary to examine the source, strategies and initiation of change. The openmindedness, accessibility and popularity of the two principals seem to be strong contributing factors for facilitating change. Both principals responded to people's suggestions, sought further information by consulting with other teachers (eg. the whole staff talked about the shortened lunch hour at Kowhai; Manuka enabled other teachers to lead sections of professional development staff meetings) and, where appropriate, (ie. affecting them) consulted parents and pupils.

Interestingly, McMahon (1986) developed similar conclusions - that it must be more than the principal who wants a school review; that there needs to be a degree of mutual trust and

confidence, a share in the decision-making and confidence in the principal to take seriously any recommendations staff make, and a willingness to work collaboratively. Bill James particularly, seemed to be 'in touch' with the staff feeling, facilitated by his storyteller and at the end of the term was urging his staff not to overcommit themselves - as a hard work ethic is an integral part of the culture. this could be difficult.

Attention to learning needs seems to be a significant feature of both school cultures (an important value in each). Kowhai interviewees mentioned in particular the effects of the bilingual programme on the self-esteem of children, and attributed the decline of playground violence to more relevant programmes.

Teacher: At least we don't have as much blood and punching as at the beginning - perhaps because our programmes are more organized now." (P. 8 21/2/89)

The bilingual programme had been surveyed with the community and teachers and, providing there was choice, they were supportive of it. Children were more ambivalent about it, as shown in chapter six. A similar thing happened at Manuka with a Special Needs programme to which interviewees attributed students' higher self-esteem and improved playground behaviour. Again, this was the result of the whole school community (pupils - who have the choice to opt into it, their parents and teachers) being involved.

It is interesting that in both schools pupils initiated changes, were listened to, and the changes were implemented (eg. Kowhai children being allowed to skateboard on the

school driveway, opening and closing the gate when teachers arrived; and at Manuka the alternative uniform and change to the computer organisation). In accordance with their orderliness and organisation, the students at Manuka had a set time with the principal each week for class representatives to put forward their views. At Kowhai where the 'way of life' is more informal, the skateboarding practice appeared to evolve and be tolerated. The involvement of children in decision-making epitomizes the teamwork and participatory values of both cultures and may well be a factor in effective change. Other factors promoting change are now considered.

What aspects of the culture appear to promote change?

The question posed to interviewees in the two schools was:

Why do you think change has occurred?

Tables V and VI, summarise their responses. To make sense of this data, responses were collated and factors mentioned in both schools were extracted:

1. The Principal wants change
2. The Principal is a leader of change
3. Staff and principal have a shared goal
4. Staff who work well together
5. Recognition of the need to change
6. Hardworking staff (prepared to put the time and effort in)
7. New staff
8. Willingness to share and pool resources
9. Clear communication

From the writer's observations she would endorse all the above factors as mentioned by the interviewees; and hence the following propositions on the process (how and why) of change are grounded in the data.

Consistent with other research (eg. Renihan and Renihan 1984, Fullan 1985, Holdaway 1988, Caldwell and Spinks 1988), is the predominance of the principal seen in the first three factors. McMahon (1986), argues that the principal needs to be a change agent: which is apparent in the cultures of Kowhai and Manuka presented in chapter six. The principal wanting change is important as an exemplar, ie. the effort put in by him/her can inspire the staff to do likewise. Even more importantly, the principal is the person who makes decisions on school organisation (whether it be by participatory or autocratic decision-making) and who seeks to make structural alterations to facilitate change (such as support with release time and an easing of the workload).

Inkson et al (1987), would argue that the principal is the keyholder who enthuses and influences others to strive willingly for company goals, by exhibiting qualities of commitment, energy, vision and communication. The participants endorse this with their acknowledgement of a leader, probably because a leader is one who commits people to action, who converts followers into leaders, and who may convert leaders into agents of change (Bennis and Nanus 1985). A leader also needs to conceptualize the change process and final outcome.

Related to this point and of significance in both school cultures, was the value of teamwork; people being prepared to share resources and work together towards a common goal which was facilitated by involvement in the decision-making

process. Alexander (1985) endorses this finding. The importance of teamwork is probably due to several reasons: from such inevitable communication and information people have a clearer understanding of the reasons for change (consistent with Bushnell (1971) and Alexander's (1985) study of change) and the proposed process and outcome. Other reasons would include the support and companionship of others undergoing the modifications and stress at the same time and, a vital factor surmised by the writer, is the recognition of staff's efforts. In both cultures the principals praised their staff and acknowledged their efforts. Interestingly, Peters and Waterman (1982) agree with this practice:

"it is the tradition of treating every individual with consideration, respect and recognizing personal achievement that creates a climate of success." (P. 244)

At times the principals themselves pitched in to help ease the workload, such as when Greg Brown assisted with maths teaching and offered to do wet day duty.

Recognition of the need to change (referred to as 'need-sensing' by Quinn, 1986), is probably enhanced in both school cultures by the arrival of new staff who have minimal ownership with past ways of doing things, and hence are more willing to change.

"With our present staff we can take on all this (community involvement, curriculum changes). He couldn't have last year." Bill James 10/2/89

This is also seen in the new principals who initially could see the changes needed with a more objective eye. They set the changes in motion and are now beginning to ease the pace. McMahon (1986, P. 104) argues that,

"the most successful examples of change occur when leaders are replaced with new leaders with different characteristics and a mandate for change."

In light of this point, it interests the writer that both Greg and Bill managed to 'dispose' of an incompetent teacher, using a combination of gentle persuasion and professional means. Is this a key to their management style - attracting only those teachers who will comply with their vision, and encouraging those to leave who will not mould into the team? In both cases the influence on staff (and community morale) was significant.

Moving on to observations in the field, the writer believes that, for change to occur there is a need to reduce the appearance of a heavy workload.

*"People need to realize that it's not going to be hundreds of hours of work", commented Greg Brown.
20/10/89*

Teachers expressed concern about the time and energy that needed to be expended in a change. This could be another reason why teamwork is successful in implementing change since the workload is lessened by sharing.

"I believe the community should be doing the consulting... Teachers can't be everyone... most staff don't live in Kowhai." (P. 1 16/11/88)

Greg is intimating that involving a wider range of people reduces the workload pressure. It also means that the same people are not overburdened and there is a wider understanding of the change. This idea leads to a further proposition that teachers need to be convinced of the reasons for change,

"The staff are not anti - but if you can sell it today to them it would be good." (P. 4 29/9/88)

says Greg to the Developer, asking him to convince the staff of the need to consult with parents. Teacher understanding grew with later involvement in meetings and planning the school's consultative strategies with parents, and hence teacher resistance diminished. This is partly because teachers tend to rationalize change as being a modified form of what they are already doing,

*Teacher: It's what we're already doing basically.
It's just a matter of writing it down."
(P. 7 29/9/88)*

This comment reinforces Sarason's (1971) belief that the more things change, the more they stay the same.

The idea of a trial seems to make change more acceptable:

*Bill: We will trial composite classes throughout
1989 and review it in September..." (P. 2 30/1/89)*

This point was received without protest from the staff (they had been involved in earlier discussions on it). A similar acquiescence (reported in chapter six) was seen at Kowhai School when it was agreed to trial the shortened lunch hour, especially when the decision was deemed to be flexible and likely to be reviewed. Bill's mention of a school review, which he instigated last year and intends repeating each September, had the advantage of making the staff aware of how much they had achieved (refer to the 'Image' chart in appendix V). The 'image chart' allowed them to reflect on the process and realize why they had felt so tired. A New Zealand study by Robinson (1984) similarly highlighted the benefits of 'awareness raising' in schools undergoing reviews.

Flexible school organisation seems to be another key to

allowing change and improvement to occur:

Greg: He can't put things in concrete - we'll change the organisation as it's needed." (P. 31 13/4/89).

Both schools changed the organisation of classes this year (composite classes: separate New Entrants). Flexibility was seen at Manuka in the implementing of a pubertal change programme throughout the school. Teachers were paired up for support, which was made possible by the D.P. relieving in classes, two part time teachers being redeployed and a modified timetable being provided for several other teachers. Such flexibility allowed the programme to proceed smoothly. Fullan (1986) indicates that change results in increasing need for reorganisation - that is, in further change! However, more importantly for Manuka, the pubertal change programme and change in school organisation symbolized the principal's endorsement of the change and, again, the power of teamwork.

The involvement of parents added a further dimension to change in the school cultures of Kowhai School and Manuka Intermediate. The first stage of change with the community seems to be informing. The teacher who sent home weekly newsletters informing parents of her programme had the highest proportion of involvement from parents in the school. The writer's research paper, (Poskitt 1988) incorporating views of parents from Manuka Intermediate, suggested that parents who felt they were well-informed about the school's programme were more likely to be involved. A teacher found from his own personal experience that parents change when they are informed:

Trevor: One parent has been transformed - I spent

time with her and she came and visited the school and now she's yakking positively around the place." (P. 20 2/3/89)

Once informed, parents seem to need a specific task to warrant their time and effort in being involved at school. Kowhai School had an open School Committee meeting inviting parents to join a consultative committee to liaise between school and parents with parent views on school matters; but the vagueness of the task meant few people volunteered their services. Greg invited parents to act as a catalyst group to make things happen but confusion prevented the committee's formation. Deal and Kennedy (1982) claim that the argument for change that a principal advances must be credible, otherwise s/he will never convince anyone to change.

However, as a school becomes involved in the wider community (as Manuka did with its field officer system),

"the school seems to be recognized as a focal point; we hadn't had interaction before like that with the Hhnanau centre, community centre..." (P. 4 10/2/89)

"Trevor invited a parent to come next week during manual time and meet the staff, so a couple of parents are coming. It's valuable." (P. 20 2/3/89)

Thus, once teachers have taken the initiative and gone out to meet parents, a positive spiral seems to occur.

Finally, effective change seems to require a balance between the demands of the change and the maintenance of educational programmes:

"I'd love to do it without the class," said Cathy.
(P. 20 2/3/89)

Cathy explained her experiences of conflicting demands between launching into consulting with parents while still

preparing lessons and fronting up to the class during the day. A balance seemed to be achieved at one stage at Manuka for Paul said,

"I haven't had to organize relievers this year except for courses, so the staff is really good and obviously coping." (P. 20 2/3/89)

He then went on to say that teachers who weren't coping with their classes tended to phone in 'sick' more often than other teachers. However, the cumulative effect of conflicting demands and pressure was seen in chapter six with the Manuka staff; especially at the end of the term when Bill, the principal, urged them to slow down and have 'bread and butter' programmes that would not over-commit them.

On that note it is pertinent to consider inhibiting cultural forces.

What cultural factors inhibit change?

In accordance with Fullan's belief that change always takes time and involves anxiety and uncertainty; the writer found that too much change too quickly is ineffective:

"I phoned Bill James this afternoon endeavouring to arrange some classroom observation for Friday or next week. Bill said he was 'boshed' ie. really busy and tired - he understood the reasoning and need for classroom observation but felt it would be better to wait until at least next week because the teachers were feeling very stressed at the moment and a few on the verge of tears. He mentioned that the framework the group had set up last Friday (10/2) had left the group feeling quite pressured so he didn't want to add any stress to them at this stage..." (P. 1 15/2/89)

In spite of the principal's consideration towards teachers, the stress, pressure and anxiety engendered by change

reduced teachers' ability to cope. The Manuka Intermediate staff were going through a period of low morale and comparing themselves with others - 'backstabbing' at this stage. Maybe inferiority and anxiety are prerequisites for change, stimulating the search for alternative ways or better ways to cope (Bill urged them to slow down and rescheduled their meetings). Alternatively, anxiety could be an inhibition to change with low self-esteem reducing the confidence of people to change. Nevertheless, the acknowledgement of stress did slow the rate of change, aroused the support networks. (teachers were given 'mental health days') and statements of justification. ('It's all right for them to do it - they've got no kids to look after at home').

Because of stress, Greg Brown at Kowhai School also wanted to slow down all the changes. The pressure at Kowhai meant the staff had plenty of ideas but little real action or fundamental change occurred as teachers were overloaded.

"The staff's minds are exploding," said Greg
(P. 3 29/9/88)

Teachers, then, worry about the time and energy involved, and are hesitant to launch into change:

Trevor: There's the ethical problem of how often you can leave your class." (P.8 10/2/89)

At a staff meeting Cathy urged teachers to select an easy topic for term two as they were all exhausted from implementing pubertal change in term one. Change, then, will be slow and inefficient without support.

"Maria and Gretchen have changed class levels and are still adjusting routines and trying to establish programmes in week 4. Gretchen said she doesn't know how to set up her reading programme -

has no idea with this younger age group." (P. 6 21/2/89)

The antithesis of this feature was seen in chapter six with the support and time given to promoting bilingual programmes and pubertal change teaching.

Involvement in school change affects immediate day to day concerns:

Terry: It screws up your class" (referring to being absent and having relievers) (P. 10 24/2/89)

Greg: It sounds all right - but we're pretty busy at the moment... (P. 13 24/2/89)

Nevertheless, they managed to reduce this disruption by taking one out of each pair of teachers for discussions so that one teacher was left for continuity of programmes, and by using regular relievers:

"Our relievers know our programmes, the kids and how we go." Lisa (P. 12 24/2/89)

Although the communication to staff was good in both school cultures, teachers who were not involved in planning meetings did not always understand the significance of brief report-back statements of 'change agents'; and, when the implications of decisions made were realized, people felt offended, confused or jealous:

"Cecilia didn't understand why the staff were surveying parents,
"He'll be attacked again this year. It was asked last year. He'll get negative feedback. Morale is low enough as it is with Curriculum Review and Picot. Can we as a staff cope with being attacked again?" (P. 4 7/3/89)

The reader is also advised to refer to the interview schedule (chapter six) for further comments.

The fundamental problem of 'slogging the willing horses' (that is, not sharing the workload) meant some staff talent was left untapped, and resulted in exhaustion for those people directly involved. Such exhaustion is exacerbated by the absence of time and resources (time was offered, but teachers were reluctant to have relievers due to the reasons outlined above) and inadequate recognition of the effort made. Failure to change was, as Sarason (1971) argues, partly due to the failure to consider a universe of alternatives.

Contributing to this state of affairs is the dilemma between continuity of change (ie. keeping the same few staff involved, such as the three key people implementing pubertal change) with the risk of isolation and jealousy; or allowing everyone to have a say and hence diffused change may occur (eg open School Committee meeting described earlier). Koller and Schlesinger (1986) argue that the position of the initiator to the resistor is critical for effecting change. They say the common mistake is to move too quickly, to involve too few people. This causes problems in organisational change, which is exactly what happened at Manuka Intermediate.

Why have the changes occurred?

Overall then, in answering Sarason's (1971) challenge in chapter two, to 'marry the change process to the site' it seems that the culture at Kowhai School, in tending to be more flexible and informal, resulted in the staff feeling

less pressured than at Manuka Intermediate, but change occurred at a slower rate. Change that was compatible with, or did not conflict with promoting biculturalism, concern for learning and teaching, and teamwork seemed more likely to be instituted (refer to list of changes given at the beginning of the chapter). Some difficulty was signalled by Greg with more than half the staff not living locally, inhibiting attendance at evening meetings and extra activities. (P.3 29/9/88) Having a higher proportion of older and married staff when compared with Manuka Intermediate may also be a factor in moderating change. Nevertheless, Peters and Waterman (1982) say that an organisation,

"thrives on intense communication, on the family feeling, on open door policies, on informality, on fluidity and flexibility, on nonpolitical shifts of resources. This constitutes the crucial internal focus: the focus on people." (P. 323)

This comment succinctly describes the cultures and reasons why change has occurred at Kowhai School.

At Manuka Intermediate successful change appears to occur when the changes are compatible with the values of putting people first, promoting a positive image and aiming for excellence, such as the introduction of a brighter alternative uniform. Possibly because the staff tended to be younger than that of Kowhai School, changes were greeted more enthusiastically and, in the more organized and structured culture, change was more visible, but it was at the cost of pressured staff. Although with a larger staff there are more people to share the load and effect change there are more people to inform. Discussions at staff

meetings involved many people but not everyone. When compared with the Kowhai staff meetings. This could suggest that the sacred value of teamwork is being challenged and is a possible site of ideological and cultural change. It may be more likely that the size of staff necessitated several teams (the school is structured into 5 teams of teachers) who, in a power play, are struggling to exert influence on the dominant culture. Common (1981), asserts that.

"teachers and change agents want control and power to influence and change other persons and that power is the chief motive producing changes in organisations." (P. 82)

Thus, particular schools may be faced with conflicts resulting from being bound 'vertically' to the requirements of the dominant culture and 'horizontally' to the requirements of the local culture. (Bates, 1987)

How are these changes perceived by the school community?

Formal and informal interviewing of participants revealed that, when asked what changes had occurred at their school, participants frequently replied, "*Oh, lots of changes*" but found it difficult to specify them. The writer's proposition, then, was that once a change is implemented it tends to be accepted; the culture adapts and the change soon becomes taken for granted 'in the way of life'. This phenomenon is possibly a profound indicator of truly successful change in any given culture.

On a different level of acceptance, those changes that were recalled were generally perceived as 'positive or good' (refer to tables V and VI) by the interviewees. Some felt

they were needed; while others felt the rate of change needed to be slowed down. It was generally stated that people who were informed liked the changes.

Most interesting was the fact that every interviewee at Kowhai School believed that children were the ones most affected by change. Changes seemed to be in accordance with their sacred bilingual value and its subsequent modifications to the learning and teaching programmes (the ultimate purpose of a school). All interviewees included 'curriculum' matters as still needing change. Levin (1986) argues,

"it is clear that it is micro-level processes - teaching and learning in classrooms which are critical to quality... improving quality and effectiveness requires focusing on instruction" (P.3)

That is, what happens in the classroom should overrule organisational or structural concerns. (Tentatively shown at the beginning of the chapter in the Table of Changes) With the exception of three interviewees. Manuka Intermediate also concentrated on students. It tended to be those most 'overloaded' who forgot about the children. What is interesting here is the greater recognition (naturally) of teachers. However, their consciousness of community involvement was reflected in three people mentioning the parents and wider community as benefitting from the changes. Whether Manuka's programmes are refined, or that the consciousness of image and excellence are to the fore, is difficult to distinguish for the majority of changes sought by Manuka people were environmental or physical; not educational.

Levin (1986) maintains that in most matters of public policy, perception is at least as important as fact. Both Greg and Bill, particularly the latter, as the result of surveying parents in third term of 1988, have made changes to written and oral reports to parents. Both principals have increased the frequency of newsletters and consciously publicized the 'good things' happening at the school. It appears that the emphasis on the positive (a sacred value and ritual instigated in both schools) has influenced the wider school community perceptions. Informal interviews revealed some interesting comments:

"Mainly attitudes have changed - children are now proud to come here." (Manuka parent 10/2/89)

"The school life has changed considerably - so the community's perceptions would too." (Manuka teacher 10/2/89)

"One lady said what a neat school and what a change in it" (Manuka)

"Greg has made the school more open and parents feel more welcome here now. Parents are beginning to talk more favourably about the school and the school is becoming more popular... with fewer children passing the school to go to the other primary school...there's a nicer feel at the school." (Kowhai parent 13/4/89)

Interestingly, Peters and Waterman (1982) state that excellent companies "are obsessed about widely sharing information and preventing secrecy". (P. 258) It appears that Kowhai School and Manuka Intermediate are taking notice. The point was made in the literature review by Cuban (1984) that the concept of school effectiveness ignores wider educational outcomes prized by parents such as sharing and developing self-esteem. Such changes at Kowhai and Manuka Schools, perceived as important to parents, have been

publicized by the schools with the result that parents view their school as not only having changed but also having improved. Comments from one of many people interviewed probably sums up the situation.

"The ill-informed think it's the pits, people who are more aware think it is very positive."

Conclusion

If, as Hopkins (1984) asserts, "that a goal of school improvement is an ability to handle change" (P. 13), then it would appear that Kowhai School and Manuka Intermediate are beginning to embark on the journey towards school improvement. Significant changes have occurred because both schools have implemented changes compatible with their school cultures - they have viewed the school as a whole, an 'ecosystem of mutual dependence' (Eisner, 1988).

The school changes cited by participants in table VII (P. 136), are seen by the following regrouping to be compatible with the 'sacred values' of the cultures.

Table VIII - Linking culture and change

<u>Cultural Values From Kowhai School</u>	
<u>Bilingual Emphasis</u>	<u>Informality</u>
more bilingual programmes	
increased self-esteem of Maori children	
<u>Concern with learning and teaching</u>	<u>Concern for people/teamwork</u>
fewer staff changes	more meetings
tighter programmes	improved playground
more meetings	behaviour
cross-grouping	working towards
structure of classes	discipline
computers	cleaner school
smooth start to year	secure school
	less migration to other schools
<u>Open School</u>	
change in atmosphere	
more relaxed/happier/settled	

Cultural Values from Manuka Intermediate

Putting people first

few staff changes
 Special Needs programme
 lunchtime sports
 better playground
 behaviour
 composite classes
 discipline policy
 syndicate meetings
 positive reinforcement
 teacher responsibilities
 assemblies
 better communication
 between teachers
 accessible principal
 staff willing to change
 earlier parent interviews
 alternative uniform
 more newsletters
 openness
 more stress/pressure

Promoting Excellence

extensions
 computers
 lunchtime sports
 positive
 reinforcement
 assemblies

Image Building

discipline policy
 lunchtime sports
 assemblies
 publicity of
 good things
 prospectus
 alternative uniform
 more newsletters
 openness
 better image

Table VIII thus indicates the critical nature of the cultural values in school change, for participants' stated changes, are grouped above according to the 'sacred cultural values'. One could argue that the importance of the value is discerned from the greater number of changes cited for particular values but,

"No single element of school effectiveness can be considered in isolation from all of the others, or from the total situation in which it is found"
 (MacKenzie, 1983)

How do these cultural changes relate to the concept of school effectiveness? It is possible to compare the 'successful factors' which facilitated change in the two cultures with the effectiveness factors outlined in chapter two.

Table IX Comparison of Cultural Factors with Effectiveness Factors

SUCCESSFUL CHANGE FACTORS	RENIHAN'S FACTORS OF EFFECTIVENESS
Principal wants change —————	Leadership
Principal is a leader of change —	Leadership
P. and staff have shared goal —	Leadership/sense of mission
Teamwork	
Recognition of need to change —	Attention to sc. climate
Hard working staff —————	Great expectations
New staff	
Willingness to share resources	
Clear communication	
Acknowledgement of staff efforts —	Feedback/positive motivational strategies
Disposal of incompetent teachers —	Leadership
Reduce workload appearance —	Attention to sc. climate
Involve a range of people	
Understand reasons for change	
Rationalisation of change.	
Proposal of a trial	
Flexible school organisation —	Leadership
Involvement of parents in change	
Specific tasks for parents	
Balance demands of change and maintenance of programmes —	Academic focus

The writer has identified some factors from this study which do not fit into the Renihans' schema. Other researchers cited in chapter two alluded to a few of these items; eg. Ramsay et al (1987) with community relationships. The grounding of a few other theorised factors may well be the contribution that this study makes to educational administration. "Each school must implement successful factors in unique ways, within a culture of mutually reinforcing expectations and activities" (MacKenzie, 1983 P. 8). The subtle strategies and differences in the schools outlined in this chapter are testimony to that view.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Introduction

Chapter eight ties together the multiple strands from the thesis: the review of the related literature, the thick descriptions of the two school cultures, the grounding of a theory of the processes (the how and why) of change and, thus, what facilitates school improvement. The realities of using the particular methodology are reconsidered, the potential usefulness of the study is briefly examined and suggestions are made for further research.

Linking the Strands

The review of the related literature indicated some conflicting evidence in that factors common to successful change in many situations were violated in others. The literature indicated that understanding the nature of change in schools seemed to require more than conditions, with some researchers suggesting the importance of successful leadership and management. Cuban (1987) argued for the need to examine dominant patterns over time to determine what was durable and what was transient - implying the need to study school culture (i.e. the school as an on-going entity). The generation of a climate for change was believed to be the most critical component of change according to Russell et al (1973). The problem is that it is also the most elusive component to describe, since it manifests itself in many ways and, consequently, minimal research has been done on

how and why change occurs. (Fullan, 1985) The increasing need for reorganisation and the importance of interpersonal relationships was implied by Russell et al, but somehow a balance needed to be achieved between theory, interpersonal skills and knowledge of cultures. The writer concluded that knowledge of change processes alone was insufficient. Change must be dovetailed into the complexities of the organisation to which it is being applied.

The literature on culture suggested there may be multiple sub-cultures within a school (Erickson, 1987) and that culture arises through social conflict. The key, according to Beardsmore (1985), is to have an appropriate balance between the solid core values which provide stability, and strategic flex which allows exploration, experimentation, and questioning, but he does not say how to achieve that balance.

The detailed descriptions of two school cultures in chapters five, six and seven revealed some 'sacred values' such as: bilingualism, concern for learning and teaching, concern for people, teamwork, aiming for excellence and image building. When these were examined in the light of change and the factors that facilitated change, it was discovered that the real changes in the two schools supported the sacred values. Such change may possibly be linked to the need to adapt to environmental forces, and the continual adaptation and readjustment of this fine balance suggested by Beardsmore. Such enhancing and strengthening of the culture could be why the values are sacred.

However, it was found that the cultures consisted of interconnecting networks of sacred values which contributed to a whole culture. Within the network 20 propositions were derived as factors facilitating change:

1. The Principal wants change,
2. The Principal is a leader of change,
3. Principal and staff have a shared goal.
4. Staff who work well together (teamwork),
5. Recognition of the need to change,
6. Hardworking staff (prepared to put the time and effort in),
7. New staff (especially the Principal),
8. Willingness to share and pool resources,
9. Clear communication,
10. Acknowledgement of staff effort
11. Removal of incompetent teachers.
12. Need to reduce appearance of workload,
13. Involve a wide range of people,
14. Understand reasons for change,
15. Rationalization of change by teachers as being a modified form of what already doing,
16. Proposal of a trial makes change more acceptable,
17. Flexible school organisation,
18. Involvement of parents in change,
19. Specific task needed for parents to warrant their time and effort in involvement,
20. Need to balance the demands of change and maintenance of educational programmes.

and factors inhibiting change:

1. too much change too quickly is ineffective,
2. change is slow and inefficient without support,
3. involvement in school change affects immediate day to day concerns,
4. people not involved in change process can feel confused and resentful,
5. failure to consider a universe of alternatives inhibits change,
6. dilemma between few people being involved and continuity of change, and many people being involved and diffused change.

Note: These propositions were generated from the fieldnotes. Refer to pages 54-57 for descriptions of the process.

The differences of approach to change intimated in chapters six and seven indicate the importance of marrying the change process to the cultural site; that all factors need to be

considered as being interconnected and contributing to a whole. Although many of the factors may be identified in other schools, the particular combination of factors are peculiar to the two schools studied in this thesis. Through the detailed study of two particular contexts it is still possible to clarify relationships, to pinpoint critical processes (as shown in chapter six) and to identify phenomena common to both (chapter seven).

It is hoped that the reader has seen that school cultures and the process of change tend to be fluid, emerging and consisting of multiple realities which are in constant negotiation. Woods (1977), goes so far as to say:

"There are no *truths* to be discovered, or *proofs* to be made: rather the aim is greater understanding of the social action in the situation under study."
(P.45)

It is intended that the reader appreciates the importance, and indeed crucial role that underlying sacred values play in a school culture in defining 'the way of life' and also in determining what changes will actually occur within the school. It was proposed also that people within the culture may negotiate the manifestation of the sacred value, but the essence of the value is steadfast. This could have substantial implications for principals and shapers of culture. Before one can implement change or improvement in a school culture, it seems essential to understand the culture and use this understanding in the method, pace and type of change being implemented if successful change is to occur.

Methodology Reconsidered:

With the benefit of hindsight the writer has several recommendations for further research.

Although the writer validated her survey findings by checking the values in informal conversation with children: in another similar study, she would validate further the survey values with a brief questionnaire asking children to rank the values in order of importance. This could be done also with teachers in the school after values were derived from fieldnotes, interviews and document analysis. Changes cited in interviews could be corroborated with all participants to determine their agreement and the extent of agreement with them. A similar strategy could be used to determine the cultural players; eg. "Who do you talk to if you want to know what's going on around here?"

The writer has proposed that changes occurring in the school be in accord with the sacred values. It would be worth investigating how generalised this finding is; how a school can modify its sacred values, when and how profane values actually become sacred values; whether, in fact, a longer period in the field would reveal further cultural players at Kowhai School, or whether the emergence of cultural players is a significant factor in a changing school culture.

Concluding Remarks

Change redefines what is and ought to be in a school.

Successful implementation of change requires knowing what changes are inherently compatible with the local culture, which ones are not and which ones can be negotiated to fit existing norms. Such knowledge can only come from understanding individual schools (Corbett et al, 1987) - from the inside of the classroom, through the school organisation to the outreaches of the community. Only then can successful change be implemented and perceptions of school improvement generated.

Appendix I

KOWHAI SCHOOL SURVEY

1. Write 3 things you *like* about being at Kowhai School?

.....

2. Write 3 things you *don't like* about being at Kowhai School.

.....

3. How is this school *different* from other schools?

.....

4. What has *changed* at Kowhai School?

.....

5. What do your parents say about this school?

.....

6. Is there anything else you would like to write about your school?

.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH !!

MANUKA

INTERMEDIATE

SCHOOL

SURVEY

1. Write 3 things you *like* about being at Manuka?

.....

.....

.....

2. Write 3 things you *don't like* about being at Manuka School.

.....

.....

.....

3. How is this school *different* from other schools?

.....

.....

.....

4. What has *changed* at Manuka Intermediate School?

.....

.....

5. What do your parents say about this school?

.....

.....

6. Is there anything else you would like to write about your school?

.....

.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH !!

Appendix III

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. If I was a new teacher here, what would I need to know about this school?
2. How is this school different from other schools?... the same?
3. What do people say about this school?
4. What do you notice that is/has changed at -- school this year? ... since you arrived here? (eg. people, image)
5. Why do you think change has occurred? (source, factors)
6. How do you feel about the changes?
7. How do other people view it? (improvement/waste of time)
8. Who has it mostly affected? (why has/hasn't it?)
9. What else do you think needs to be changed? Why?

29/9/88

Primary (1/2 day gp with J.C.)

a term 3 1988 planner was also on the staffroom wall.

Wane	Turci	Wenerci	Taite	Paraire
4 Staff Mtg	Syndicate Mtg	Exploratory Study Ep 1	Heathrow - Art Day	
7 Exploratory Study Ep 2 Staff Mtg	Syndicate		Pie - at J.C.	
26 Exploratory Study Ep 3 Staff Mtg	← Principals Sem	← Senior High →	Exploratory Study with J. Carlyn J.C. Canteen Mtg Stopover	Exploratory Study Canteen Happy hour at college
28 Staff Mtg	Syndicate Junior Cyn	Senior School Cyn.		
10 Staff Mtg	Syndicate Junior Cyn	Senior Cyn.		
17 Staff Mtg		Down Miller to see Irene		
Staff Mtg Labour Day	Syndicate Mtg	J.C. Canteen Mtg.	P.C.C.	
31 Staff Mtg			School Cate.	
7 Staff Mtg				
14 Staff Mtg				

Pinney, Warren + Caroline believed that their whole way of life at Primary is that of cultural identity - "we do heaps."

(Working through "Planting a Sense of Cultural Identity" booklet A. (SPB))

Moved over to the other gp: Stella, P., Irene, + Glen. They believed that the sc. env. indicated Maori identity by the planting of native plants + flowers on the edges of the playground, class names (Observer hasn't seen these except on the staffroom wall), sheds + walls. Betty + Tony's clm env. the school newsletter headmaster all convey the Maori language + culture. Morning tea in service run by Tony, + a new Maori phrase each day, further enforces the cultural dimension of the school.

They believed that the sc. has policies (not rules) to greet visitors in Maori + English, class protocol for special visitors: shoes off in the clm + library, + no sitting on tables. They allow clm to attend tangis when pertinent. The school also has a policy of a friendly visit to St. Peter's Church + other nearby scs for some cultural interaction.

from what I have observed this appears to be an accurate statement.

pervasive value

env. al symbol
fls, native plants

symbol (Maori value)

rituals (Maori)

(10) 29/9/88

Primary (1/2 day with J.C.)

Day to day interactions with & reflect cultural identity as far as each indiv. is able to, according to Stella's gp. They believed that Pawa + Irene do all these things all the time ('bilingual' N.E. class - chr from Kōhanga). They thought that songs they sing are communication eg. occasional sing-alongs at Health Camp, and the Polynesian Festival last term.

language
wāta

Stella's gp thought they emphasised good conduct-high standards. "if you have low expectations that's what you get." being consistent and praising for good

reinforcement

conduct when possible were considered keys to encouraging high stds. However, Stella was very into distributing such since in her mind they became meaningless and chr focus on the extrinsic, rather than intrinsic motivation. They believed it was important to encourage chr to be tolerant of one another, but maintained that the chr at school are very good at accepting one another + spontaneously kind-caring towards other chr.

some ambivalence
about symbolstolerance
culture; indiv
differencesacceptance
kind/caring (values)
sharing

The sc. org. provides ample opps for Maori gp to function, according to Stella's gp. The sc. has 2 senior lang. enrichment classes, and 1 junior class catering for chr from Kōhanga Lēo backgrounds. Bec. of this emphasis on language + culture they said that there was no longer need for a Maori club. pts of chr in senior classes had been given a choice as to where they wanted their chr to go (lang. enrich. or not) while entrants to the junior lang. class had to reach a particular assessment. (O.C. will need to check this one)

sc. org.
facilitates values

pt. al choice

They believed that per lg. coop. gp arrangement worked very well at the sc.

sc. org.
intention gp's
scaffolding
negotiating over
this org for next
year?

In communicating with pts, culturally sensitive

educational value
 "Over the last few weeks all of you have been involved in speech making. Unfortunately we have to choose a winner, although I know there have been many good speeches. I hope you have enjoyed the experience. Today we will hear the speeches of 5 people - one from each syndicate. Ms Stephen will give you comments later about it and I will mark the winner. Good luck - I hope you enjoy it, - we will certainly enjoy the entertainment."
 He read out the contestants' names and their order.

Order lines organization
 student participation in school assembly
 The speeches were about the year 2000, school, words, school camps and second languages. All contestants spoke for 3-5 minutes; spoke clearly, were audible, (I sat at the back of the hall), contained some humour and were well executed. The one on Words was done by a girl who stressed positive thinking "I can" rather than "I can't as kids at Manuka say. You should be like Mr James who always says at assembly Manuka is good at this, and that, and how proud he is." (Bill sat at the back by me and laughed).

After the speeches, Paul asked students to applaud them. Ms Stephen came forward and congratulated them all on their fine performance. I can't remember her exact words, but she concentrated on the positive features of their speeches and gave no criticism. She gave a couple witty replies to some of their speeches. (treating students as people.)

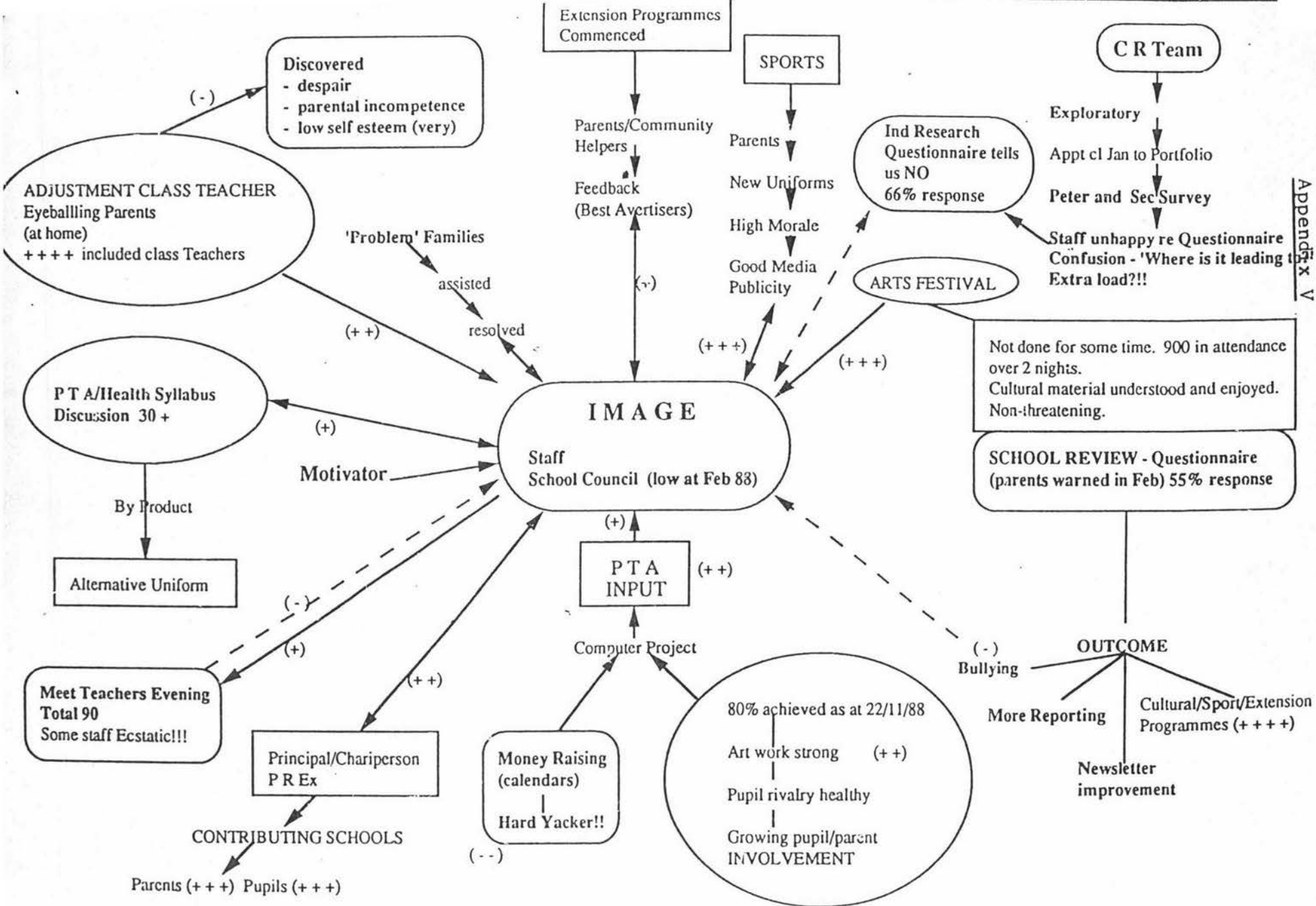
Then Paul came forward and said the winner would be having a special dinner with Mr James at the Rotary meeting (where other speech contestants will also be competing). "The winner is Linda."

family feeling school spirit
 There was a spontaneous applause from the audience and a few enthusiastic "Yahoos" from her syndicate. Linda had given a lively and entertaining (by body language and intonation) speech about schools, and asking for greater say and choice by students as to what was taught...

excellence
 Next Paul asked syndicate leaders to come forward to present merit awards. Awards were presented for overall work improvement, a new person settling in, lead role in drama (extension programme) and for being a considerate class member. Students were applauded. Then Paul urged girls especially, to offer to take billets when Oxford come to play sport against Manuka and to see him afterwards, gave a few sports notices, and then Mr James came forward and spoke, +ve

friendliness honest
 "I have a confession to make - I haven't got the Principal's award this week but I am delighted with your behaviour this week. Can I say those speeches were magnificent. I'm over the moon about them - such a high standard. Well done people. I'm over the moon."

Paul then told classes to go with their teachers. Students filed out quietly. (P.1-2 10/3/89)



Appendix VITE PANUI NO TE KURA OSCHOOL NEWSNOTE!!!!

29 March 1989

E Nga matua, tena koutou.

Dear Parents,

TE WAKA TAPU O TAKITIMU TRUST

Te Waka Tapu O Takitimu Trust presents "Kahurangi" a group of young and youthful entertainers, who have received full training under our Performing Arts School Hastings.

The "Kahurangi" Troupe specialises in presenting the best of cultural heritage of specific ethnic races through educational programmes, that will stimulate interest in the "Voyage of the Takitimu canoe to Aotearoa-New Zealand". Through song and dance "Kahurangi" brings to life the cultural heritage of the Polynesian people from all the different islands.

1989 presents yet another year of excitement based on tribal history called "Kahungunu ki Heretaunga". These productions have already been presented to many schools throughout the North and South Island from 1985-86-87-88, and has received response from many people.

This production will be performed at the Hall on Friday 31st March from 1.30 - 2.30 p.m. The cost per pupil is \$1.50 family rates 2 or more is \$3.00. Parents are welcome to attend if they wish at the cost of \$1.50. If you wish your child/ren to attend please send the money along to school tomorrow.....

SURVEYS

At the moment we are processing the questionnaires returned so far.....however it is not too late to send yours back to school if you haven't already done so! We would appreciate these being returned and feel they are vitally important with regards to "Tomorrows Schools". This includes those people who wish to make a nil or part return.

Please! if you have these forms lying around at home.... can you pop them into the school or send along with your child. Again our sincere thanks to all those families who have returned these already!

PETTY THEFT

Over the Easter holiday period some children entered Rooms 3 and 4 while the school was being cleaned. They took a supply of incentive stickers, childrens felt pens, pencils, pens, science equipment e.g. test tubes, magnifying glasses, magnets.

Over the same period the trampolines locks were smashed off by persons unknown. If anyone has any information or can assist would they please contact either myself or Phone

PRINCIPAL

Appendix VI

School

3/3/89

E Nga matua, tena koutou.
Dear parents:

During the past year we have made many changes to this school.
Some have been physical... such as the remodelled buildings.

Some organisational... for example the establishment of Maori Language
Enrichment Classes in the Senior School.

Some have been to do with our vision of this school's roll in
including our Open School Policy.

We need to survey our school's parent and pre-school community to
gather an accurate impression of your ideas, wishes, opinions and
hopes for your childrens education at School.

To assist us in this please find enclosed two survey forms. This
survey has been made up by the group of parents and teachers who were
selected at the meeting held in 1988 to report back on the first
questionnaire.

We have given each family two copies of the survey because we believe
that there may be different expectations within families. Feel free
to use both forms.

Some concern was expressed about the surveys coming directly back to
the classroom. To help protect your confidence you could ask your
child to place completed surveys in the school' mailbox or in a
special box in the foyer.

If you could complete the Questionnaire by the 23 March, then we,
along with some parents, will summarise the findings and draw some
initial conclusions. These will be reported back to you on the 6
April. We will then hold four meetings, at school on the 13 April. (at 10.30am, 1pm, 3.30pm, and 7.30pm) More Details will come out with
the summary.

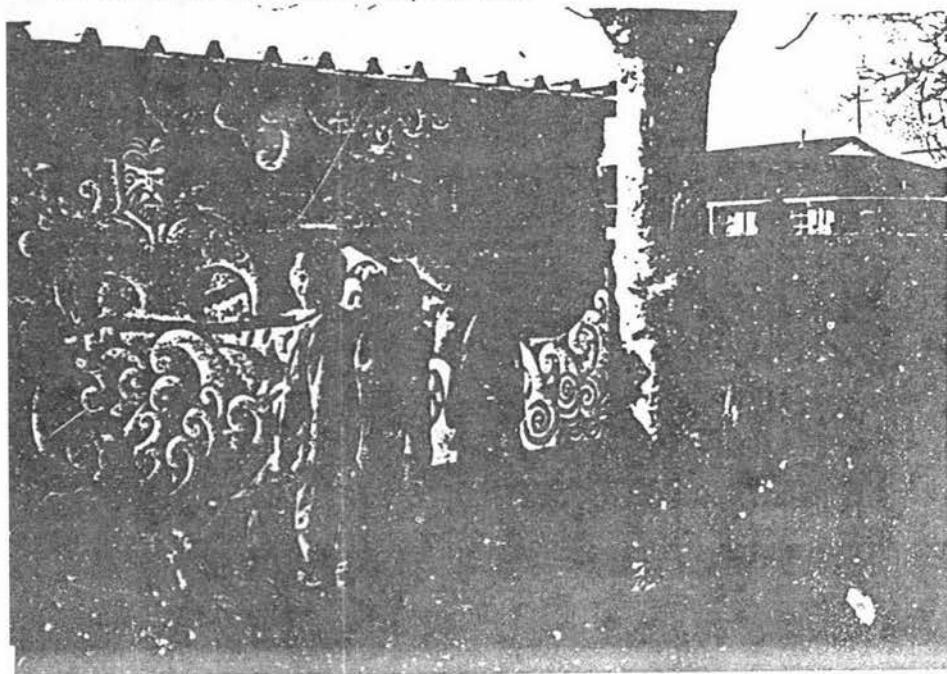
If you have any enquiries, please contact me at school or home

oho ora mai

Principal

with their child's education:-

- participate in classroom activities
- by extending their schooling at home
- by being supportive and encouraging their child and their children's teachers
- by following up any problems that occur at school
- by teaching manners, respect and confidence at home
- by stressing the importance of education
- by attending meetings and parent interviews
- by encouraging curiosity
- by providing a stimulating environment
- by being up to date with what their child is doing
- challenging them
- by treating their children with respect and dignity
- ensure that they are getting enough sleep
- to promote selective Television viewing
- to broaden childrens experience



res replies to the survey were received by the school. These have been analysed and the "conclusions" reached are in this booklet.

The replies recieved represented the families of approximately 180 children and although this is a great response we were very wary of using specific statistics (e.g. turning them into percentages) as they would have been meaningless and open to manipulation.

Much in this report will be of no surprise, but there may be issues that you would wish to explore further, before the Board starts to write [redacted] School's charter. To help with this we cordially invite all parents to our meetings on the 13th April (next Thursday). These will be held in the Staffroom at 11.00 a.m. 1.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m. and 7 30 p.m. (and will take up only 1 hour).

There will be no committee to join. Just an informal discussion over a cup of tea. If you have pre-schoolers we can cater for them. If you have questions, further suggestions, matters you want clarified - Great! come along! If you just want to sit and listen to others, fine..... There will be no agenda, hidden or otherwise!

Finally I wish to sincerely thank all of you who thought about the issues raised; for the honesty and frankness of your answers. This feedback will be very useful in assisting us to plan for your childs needs.



There was substantial, strong support of the Bilingual/Maori language programme presently available for those children who choose this option. The key issue seemed to be the one of choice for parents and pupils. Reservations expressed included:-

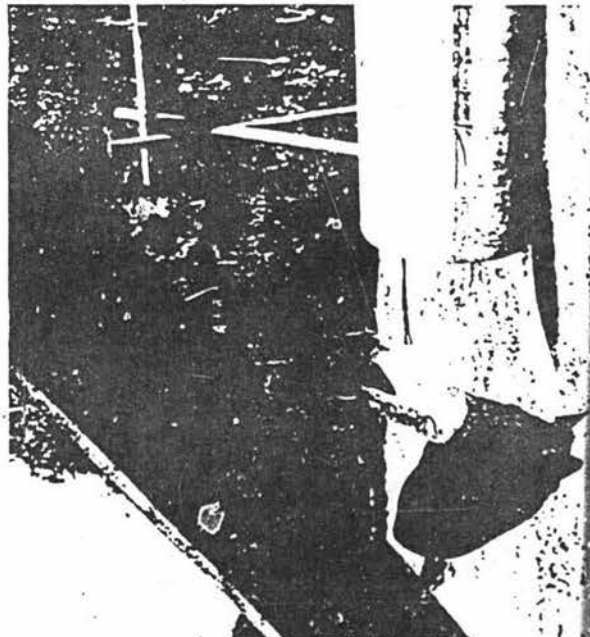
- (i) concerns of separatism of Maori and Pakeha students who chose this course would not do as well in the basic subjects
- (ii) students should learn other languages instead

NOTE: A few people felt that Maori Language was of no value and therefore had no place in the school.

The development of the school's programme which increases knowledge and tolerance of others' cultures were generally seen as being of value. Especially our community, New Zealand and the Pacific region.

CONCLUSIONS

- (i) that with most of the parents this is not an issue as long as there is choice built in.
- (ii) A policy needs to be made by the Board of Trustees. All parents should know what that policy is.



Most parents gave general support for the balance of the school programme. However many commented on particular areas they thought were understressed or emphasised. These broke down into three main groups:-

- (i) The Basics Reading, Writing and Mathematics
- (ii) Art/Drama/Music/Computers
- (iii) Values and Attitudes, both Maori and Pakeha

CONCLUSIONS

A large number of parents are unaware of the current balance and/or content of this school's programme. The school needs to demonstrate, inform and educate parents of the current position.

The question regarding cross grouping and co-operation between Senior and Junior School children appeared to be evenly split between those who wanted more mixing and those who didn't. There was a variety of reasons given to support each case. These included:- (i) FOR:-

- to give the older children responsibility
- to get a caring, gentle attitude
- to promote good role models
- to help with sports, reading, assemblies
- teaching young children in small groups

AGAINST

- that senior school is a training ground for intermediate/college
- little ones already have enough trouble settling in anyway without having to mix with older ones
- older children tend to dominate and bully the younger ones
- there was also a group of people who did not address the question

CONCLUSIONS

that some needs to be explored further with the community and that before a policy is made by the Board of Trustees.



Most parents feel that their child/children are treated fairly at school. Although some felt that we catered only for the Mid-Stream and that the very 'bright child' and children with learning difficulties were overlooked.

A number of people felt strongly that Maori children at the school had more opportunities than Pakeha children. A few people felt that as each child is an individual all children should not be treated in the same way.

The identification of specific needs and the use of Specialist Teachers, Advisors and extra staff was seen to be the best way the school could cater for children with special needs.

Close contact between home and school was seen to be very important, and it was felt that parents in general had an important role in extra helping on a one to one basis with children. Time spent with children was seen to be worthwhile, either as individuals or in small groups, and it was thought that other children in the school could help by providing good role models, support and friendship. Most parents recognise that there are children within the school who need special help and that a lot of suggestions were made as to how these needs could be met.

TEACHERS ROLE

The present system of newsletters was favoured as a way of communication between school and home, some form of oral contact was seen as necessary at least once a term.

Immediate contact by telephone was seen as desirable (when called for) by a great number of parents. Only a few people thought that a formal written report was the best way to keep in touch with how their child was progressing. A suggestion was made that class timetables and children's books could be sent home regularly, to keep parents informed as to what their children were doing.

The teachers' role was seen as providing a comforting, supportive environment, educating and setting standards for the children and developing them in all areas e.g. Socially, Physically, etc. for the future. A large group stated that all teachers could do was "their best" - To sum it up: "The school needs to formulate a definite policy on

Overall the children at [redacted] School appear to have a very positive attitude towards their education. A large number mentioned that they enjoyed the playground and outdoor activities.

Many also mentioned that they liked the formal learning situations, computers, physical education and injection of things Maori, visual aids, friends were also considered to be important by many.

The major area of concern for the children was the anti-social behaviour of some of the children towards each other.

Most parents seemed to agree that the best way of helping their child learn was through attentive, supportive, caring and well informed teachers. A quiet, stable working environment was felt to be important as was activity based programmes and small groups of children working together.

A small number of people mentioned discipline as being an important factor in helping their child learn.

In summary the school appears to be providing a caring, stable environment for children to learn in. More attention needs to be focussed on unacceptable behaviour.



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14 March 1989

Dear Parents

Thank you for supporting our Meet the Teachers Barbecue evening in such large numbers on Thursday, 2 March. We trust you were able to meet your child's teacher in an informal and relaxed manner and that this will be the beginning of a helpful association for the remainder of this year.

VISIT OF [REDACTED] INTERMEDIATE SPORTS TEAMS

Thank you to those parents whose own children are in [REDACTED] sports teams for this visit and have opened their homes for billets. However, we do require a few emergency back up billets (especially for girls) in case of illness or other unforeseen circumstances on the days. This is for the night next Wednesday, 22 March. Our guests would require a cut lunch for the return trip on the Thursday. Children will be advised who their billet is as soon as possible.

PARENT TEACHERS ASSOCIATION MEETING (This Thursday, 16 March)

Parents who left their names with staff or existing P.T.A. members at the Barbecue are invited to the first meeting this Thursday in the Staffroom at 7.30 p.m. However, we still have a few rooms not represented but wish to have any parent interested in working with this dynamic group to come along anyway. Your participation is highly valued by the staff.

MEASLES VACCINATIONS (Form I girls or any Form II's who have missed previously) are to take place this Thursday morning (16 March).. Only those girls with signed consent forms can be vaccinated. There will be no catch up vaccination this year.

"TOMORROWS SCHOOLS" - Election of Board of Trustees

At this stage 13 people have indicated a willingness to stand for election for Board of Trustees. Others have expressed interest but feel they need more information before allowing their name to come forward. Unfortunately information is very slow in coming regarding final Board responsibilities and the current T.V. advertisement does nothing to spell out details. I can say from recent courses I have attended that in my interpretations, as of today, that in broad terms:

[REDACTED] policy of 'open door' and open consultation is right on target with "Tomorrows Schools".

A Board of Trustees will be involved in policy discussion and formulation.

A Board of Trustees would be involved in financial management to implement their policies.

The Curriculum Review Field Committee which this school has had consulting with numerous groups in the community has already covered a vast amount of 'groundwork' which puts us in the forefront to make the change smooth and efficient. A School Charter will be up for perusal and comment next term.

The teacher/staff representative has to be elected on 6 April.

The postal ballot for 5 parent representatives takes place on 29 April.

The duly elected Board may co-opt up to four other members to ensure the needs of the community are represented.

Appendix VIII

177

What we don't know details of, is how well we will be funded. We do know that the Tasmanian model upon which the New Zealand scheme is being based, is a school almost identical in size to [REDACTED] and has an annual funding of \$1,330,000 not including teachers' salaries or maintenance of buildings. It has a teaching staff of 40. We do know that this school of nearly 500 pupils has funding for this year, under existing regulations, of less than \$30,000 per year which includes minor maintenance and includes the meagre grants for Manual classes. We have a teaching staff of 21 exclusive of the attached [REDACTED] Manual Training Centre.

Simple arithmetic will soon tell you that a New Zealand Intermediate school is currently trying to provide total facilities (teaching, administration, the works) for your child's education at something in the vicinity of \$60 per child. The child in Tasmania is funded on a basis \$2,660 per child!!! (excluding maintenance). We are very much at the mercy of politicians.

On that striking comparison, it seems appropriate that we should mention that:

FAMILY CONTRIBUTIONS (See School Prospectus) - are now due (\$25 per family). A receipt will be issued. Thank you to those parents who have already paid. In brief, every attempt is made to ensure parent or pupil raised monies go towards equipment for the school. During 1988 total acquisition was considerable, sports equipment, netball uniforms, five Apple IIe computers (4 from P.T.A. efforts), video camera, microwave for Cooking Room to name but a few major items.

COMING EVENTS

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 16 March | - Inter-Intermediate Swimming Sports, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Intermediate Normal School
Rubella Vaccination
P.T.A. Meeting |
| 22 & 23 March | - Visit of [REDACTED] Intermediate sports teams |
| 24 - 28 March | - Easter |
| 4 April | - School photographs |
| 6 April | - School Mufti Day |

[REDACTED]
PRINCIPAL

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