RECONSTITUTING MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: A CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AT WORK.

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To Jim Laughton, whom I never met, but would have liked to:

He pokeke uenuku i tu ai.

Against a dark cloud the rainbow stands out brightly.

Abstract

In the debates surrounding minority education, the demise of the previous policies of assimilation and integration has led, in their stead, to an advocacy for multicultural education. The promotion of multicultural education has been heralded as the means by which 'cultural pluralism' in schools can be fostered and the educational performance of minority children improved. It is argued here, however, that the rhetoric of cultural pluralism - most often associated with multicultural education - is not sufficient to change the position of minority groups within education. Indeed, it may serve simply to reinforce the disadvantages that such groups face. Rather, what is required of multicultural education, if it is to make a difference for minority children, is that it be guided by an 'informing theory' which links it to wider processes of social and cultural reproduction. When multicultural education is framed in this way - with an understanding of the wider reproductive processes that contribute to the structural disadvantaging of minority groups within schooling - it becomes clear that what is necessary in schools is *significant structural reform at school level*; that cultural pluralism needs to be tied to structural pluralism.

In the following account, Richmond Road Primary School in Auckland, New Zealand will be discussed, using the approach of critical ethnography, as an example of a school which has embarked on such structural reform. By reconstituting school organisation, along with the traditional school 'message systems' (curriculum, pedagogy and assessment) that serve to disadvantage minority groups, Richmond Road demonstrates how an informed theory of multicultural education can be successfully realised *in practice* for the benefit of minority children.

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Glossary of Maori Terms[1]

hangi -	traditional feast; literally, earth oven.
hui -	meeting.
kaiarahi reo -	Maori language assistant; literally, language *leader*.
kaiwhakahaere -	coordinator; director.
karakia -	prayer; chant. [In Maori protocol, a karakia always opens a formal meeting].
Te Kohanga Reo -	Maori language pre-school; literally, language nest.
mana -	power; influence.
Maori -	ordinary; indigenous people
mauri -	life force; the beginning; life principle.
Pakeha -	not Maori; European.
Ritimana -	[a transliteration of] 'Richmond'.
ropu -	group.
taha Maori -	things Maori; literally, the Maori side.
tangata whenua -	Maori; the local people.
tangi -	funeral; literally, to cry; weep; mourn.
tapu -	sacred; forbidden.
Tawhirimatea -	God of the winds and the storms.
tuakana-teina -	older sibling - younger sibling; literally, older brother - younger brother.
whakatauki -	proverb.
whanau -	family.

*   Unlike English, Maori nouns do not take the plural 's', although in popular New Zealand usage (as reflected in some of the interview transcripts) the 's' is sometimes added.

**   Maori words are not differentiated in the following text.

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[1] Literal translations are taken from Ryan (1989).

INTRODUCTION: RECONSTITUTING MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Freedom is not something given: it is something you conquer - collectively. (Bourdieu, 1990a: 15)

In current debates within ethnic minority education, much has been made of the possibilities which inhere for minority children in a 'multicultural' approach to education. Targeting previous assimilationist and integrationist policies as the cause of minority children's educational underachievement, advocates of 'multicultural education'[1] have argued in their stead for the fostering of 'cultural pluralism' at the school level as the most effective means by which this underachievement might be redressed. As Modgil *et al.* observe,

> multiculturalists have sought to establish a new educational consensus. Rejecting assimilationist and ethnocentric philosophies of the 1960s, many have argued for a form of education that is pluralist in orientation and positively embraces a multiethnic perspective. (1986: 1)

The field of multicultural education, however, is riven with theoretical inconsistencies and a seemingly terminal inability to translate its emancipatory intentions into actual practice. Much of this has to do with the theoretical dearth underpinning the multicultural education debate and its consequent failure to account for the broader processes of social and cultural reproduction which act within schooling to disadvantage minority children. Accordingly, the 'benevolent' or 'naive' approaches to multiculturalism (Gibson, 1976) which have largely resulted emphasise the importance of cultural and ethnic *identity* as the major feature of a pluralist society (and education system), but fail to consider what it is that determines successful negotiations for ethnic minority groups in their interactions with the dominant group(s) in society, and within education (Bullivant, 1981). Benevolent multiculturalism also tends to

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[1] Proponents have employed a wide variety of terms to describe these educational initiatives (see Chapter 2). However, 'multicultural education' has come to predominate and is used here accordingly.

be realised in educational programmes which are simply additional to an already prefigured (and monocultural) curriculum, and these programmes, as such, do little to challenge or change the cultural transmission of the dominant group within schooling. As Olneck observes:

> multicultural education as ordinarily practised tends to merely 'insert' minorities into the dominant cultural frame of reference ... to be transmitted within dominant cultural forms ... and to leave obscured and intact existing cultural hierarchies and criteria of stratification ... (1990: 163)

The result is an emphasis on *lifestyles* rather than *life chances* in multicultural education. Enloe comments, 'the discrepancy between democratic ideology and ethnic reality is resolved by reducing ethnicity to style.' (1973: 61) And Birrell similarly argues:

> The 'one big happy family' ideology ignores [the] reality of class and cultural dominance .... There is no apparent imperative to change the existing arrangements and lofty multicultural sentiments are hardly likely to effect such a change. (1978: 107)

Multicultural education as ordinarily practised may be, arguably, more benign than its assimilationist and integrationist predecessors but, beyond its well meaning rhetoric, it is no more effective. The net result of its endeavours, in fact, may actually work against the life chances of children from minority backgrounds. The valuing of cultural differences, while appearing to act solely for the best interests of ethnic groups, simply masks the unchanged nature of power relations to which minority groups are subject within the normal processes of schooling.

If multicultural education is to be effectively reconstituted, then, to address the issue of differential power relations as it affects the educational achievement of minority children, the prominent advocacy for *cultural pluralism* associated with the field must be complemented by a recognition of the additional need for *structural pluralism* - that is, structural or institutional change within the school. Such recognition takes cognisance of the power relations that are mediated through the school system and any effect of cumulative disadvantage which might result for minority students and posits, as such, the multicultural education debate within an 'informing theory' (Mallea, 1989) of social and cultural reproduction. In so doing, it is able to locate, as Cummins observes,

> the pathology within the societal power relations between dominant and dominated groups, [the] reflection of these power relations between school and communities, and [the] mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms. (1986: 30)

When cultural pluralism is tied to structural pluralism in this way, the emancipatory intentions for minority students so often associated with the rhetoric of multicultural education may finally achieve some semblance of reality. However, such an approach - requiring, as it does, significant structural

reform at the school level - necessarily places significant demands on schools, and may well explain why so few schools, as yet, have attempted it. Some, in fact, might not think it possible but what follows is an account of a school - Richmond Road School in Auckland, New Zealand - which has successfully undertaken such reforms in order to establish an approach to multicultural education which *is making a difference* for its minority children. In so doing, the school has applied a critical macro-sociological conception of schooling to its educational practice. By addressing the social and cultural processes of reproduction which underlie school structures and, consequently, affect the educational life chances of minority children, and by changing them at the level of the school in order that these processes might begin to be reversed, Richmond Road stands as an example of what *can* be achieved by an informed approach to multicultural education.

Given the example of Richmond Road, the structure of the following account may now be outlined:

In Chapter 1, the various theories in the sociology of education concerning the role of schooling are discussed. The debates are charted from the earlier structural-functionalist and liberal-democratic conceptions of schooling - which emphasise the egalitarian nature of education and its function in 'preparing' individuals for the roles they assume in society (without exploring what might influence the allocation of those roles) - through to more recent conflict theories. Conflict theories, influenced principally by the emergence of the new sociology of education, posit schooling, in contrast to the earlier structural-functionalist and liberal-democratic accounts, within the wider framework of societal power relations, and suggest that these relations are reflected in the transmission of a particular version of knowledge within schools - that of the dominant group. The varying access different groups have to this knowledge code contributes to their *differential* allocation within society and schools, as such, come to be seen - not as egalitarian institutions - but as sites of social and cultural reproduction. Bourdieu's theory, in particular, is suggested as perhaps the strongest exposition of these hegemonic processes at work within schools. The subsequent critique of conflict theory by resistance theorists (particularly Giroux) for its apparent determinism is also discussed. It is suggested that resistance theorists have overstated this determinism in certain conflict accounts and have also failed to provide, as yet, a viable emancipatory alternative for those disadvantaged within education. *Effectively* combining the notion of agency with an agenda for social change is, it seems, no easy task.

In Chapter 2 the issues arising from Chapter 1 are discussed in specific relation to the area of minority education and, in particular, the current debates surrounding the efficacy of multicultural education (see above). Previous policies in minority education are briefly discussed, but the principal focus of the chapter centres on exploring the limitations of multicultural education, as popularly conceived, and the possible avenues by which these limitations might be ameliorated. The conclusion reached is that the

notion of cultural pluralism, most often associated with advocacy for multicultural education, needs to be tied in with significant structural reform within schools if multicultural education is to make a difference for minority children.

Chapter 3 outlines the critically ethnographic nature of this study. Critical ethnography has been chosen as a methodology because of its concern to explore the dialectical and reciprocal relationship in education (as outlined in Chapters 1 & 2) between institutional or structural constraints and the relative autonomy of human agency (and the possibilities therein for resistance). Its recognition of power relations and its exploration of the nature of the intersection between choice and constraint seem particularly suited to an exploration of the emancipatory approach to multicultural education practised at Richmond Road.

Chapters 4-8 constitute the specific account of Richmond Road School. Chapter 4 provides the background to the school, and (in line with critical ethnography) the theoretical framework within which the school is discussed. Chapters 5-7 are loosely demarcated along the lines of the school 'message systems' (curriculum, pedagogy and assessment) outlined by Bernstein (1971; 1990), and with the addition of school organisation. Jim Laughton, Richmond Road's previous principal, who was largely responsible for implementing the structural changes now apparent within the school, features prominently throughout these chapters in the recollections of those who knew him. Chapter 8 discusses Richmond Road's development since Laughton's death in 1988 and the particular issues and changes which the school currently faces.

Chapter 9 attempts to tie in the theoretical concerns (and dilemmas) outlined in the first four chapters with the subsequent account of the school, and suggests, in conclusion, that Richmond Road provides us with a working model that (in large part) *successfully* addresses these concerns, and offers us, as such, a way by which multicultural education might proceed.

CONSENSUS, CONFLICT AND RESISTANCE: THEORIES IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, with the knowledge and power they bring with them. (Foucault, 1971: 46; cited in Sheridan, 1980: 127)

It is almost axiomatic now, in the sociology of education, that schools are viewed, to a greater rather than lesser degree, as sites of social and cultural reproduction. Marx's statement in *The German Ideology* (1976) that '[t]he ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas' has, consequently, often been linked with the school curriculum as an instrument of middle-class imperialism (Burtonwood, 1986).

The 'Liberal-Democratic' View of Education

This particular view of schools has, of course, not always been held. The 'liberal-democratic' view of education, which held a firmly entrenched position in educational discourse up until the 1970s, rested, in contrast, on the principle of the political neutrality of education; of education as a key to change. Education was seen as a liberating force, allowing all pupils equal opportunity to succeed irrespective of social or cultural background. The onus for achievement in school was deemed to be the responsibility of the learner and the focus of school evaluation centred on the determination of the variables that impacted on an individual's, or group's success or failure in school (Apple, 1979). The liberal-democratic conception of schooling led, in the 1960s and 1970s, to the development of compensatory models of education. These attempted to redress the variables, such as social and/or cultural background, which were seen to hinder educational achievement. The standard implied in such programmes was middle-class and competitive (Bee, 1980) and the result was that those who were in social and/or cultural groups other than that of the middle-class were deemed to be 'deprived'.

Moreover, these social and cultural groups were 'compared not with middle-class reality but with middle-class ideals' (*ibid*: 53), further accentuating perceived differences.

These compensatory programmes were established in an attempt to ameliorate the educational inequalities faced by particular groups within education (particularly the working-class and ethnic minorities). The Education Group at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies has described the rationale underlying this process, in relation to the British context at the time, and with particular reference to the concerns over working-class educational achievement:

> The key problem was variously described: achieving 'equality of opportunity', 'differential educability', stopping up, in the usual plumbing metaphor, 'the leakage of talent'. Since all the statistical series showed that 'wastage' was heavily concentrated among children of 'the manual working-class', the problem was how to explain and to prevent working-class educational 'failure'. (CCCS, 1981: 133)

If there was any agreement about this problem of educational failure, such agreement converged on two key sources of influence: the 'family background' of pupils; and the internal functioning of schools. It was these two factors, and the relationship between them, which became the focus of subsequent inquiry and concern, and the basis of compensatory programmes. Within the sociology of education at that time, then,

> homes and schools rather than the society as a whole were seen as the sites of problems and pathologies. What was demanded of schools and of homes, what kind of society was in fact being produced, was not the subject of deep questioning. Direct social criticism was limited to a politics of 'status' and to the search for a fairer, more open society within existing social relations. (CCCS, *op cit*: 138)

The results of this saw, as CCCS conclude, a sociology of education which 'recognized that working-class children were systematically disadvantaged at school [and which] also recognized that the wider society was deeply stratified. Yet the fuller connections between these two sets of observations were not made.' Consequently, a stress on 'family background' (or for that matter, the practices of teachers) simply 'displaced attention and blame away from an unequal society and on to the principal sufferers.' (*ibid*) In so doing, personal rather than structural constraints were emphasised and the location of power was rendered unproblematic. The liberal-democratic view of education failed to recognise that the educational process is, in fact, a key form of social and cultural reproduction which is linked to the more general reproduction of existing social relations (Williams, 1981). It failed, in effect, to develop a theory of reproduction in which to place its more particular 'educational' findings because it concentrated on family-school relations and largely neglected the relation between school and adult society and the processes of political and cultural domination this involved. No wonder, then, that the results of the compensatory programmes, founded on this view, seemed to regularly produce (despite

their best intentions) the same or similar educational outcomes for those they were designed to help. This was because the structural power relations which operate in the stratification of the wider society, and which are reflected to a considerable degree in the processes of schooling, were simply not addressed.

Structural-Functionalism

Perhaps the principal reason why the sociology of education in the 1960s and 1970s was constrained to an individualised account of school failure was because it rested primarily on a structural-functionalist view of society.[1] Structural-functionalism, as Mallea describes it,

> adopts the view that societies can persist *if total system needs are satisfied*. System maintenance, therefore, is the primary function of public institutions and structures [like schools], selective emphasis being placed on characteristics such as conservation, stability and predictability. (1989: 9; my emphasis)

Durkheim

Structural-functionalism has originated largely from the work of the sociologist, Emile Durkheim, in the last century. Central to Durkheim's philosophy is the notion of the primacy of society over the individual; that is, the need for moral order (the *'conscience collective'* or social 'mind'). Given this need, he argues that society requires its agencies (such as the education system) to be shaped by the basic principles of the common moral order (whatever that might be), to function so as to ensure that these principles are put into practice and obeyed, and to allow for behaviour which fails to conform to these principles to be defined, explained and controlled (Meighan, 1981). For Durkheim, education, as a pivotal agency in the inculcation of the *conscience collective*, is essential, both for meeting societal needs and for reinforcing societal structures. He states:

> Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child, from the beginning, the essential similarities that collective life demands. (Durkheim, 1956: 70)

Similarly, he argues elsewhere that education can be viewed as an opportunity for

> the elders [of a society] ... to intervene, to bring about themselves the transmission of culture by epitomizing their experiences and deliberately passing on ideas, sentiments and knowledge from their minds to those of the young. (1973: 189)

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[1]. Structural functionalism is an ideology (see the section on Althusser for further discussion on the nature of ideology) and, as such, reinforces and is reinforced by the discourses of society (such as the liberal-democratic discourse of schooling) and the discursive practices in which they are sited.

Such a view of education presupposes that the primary function of education is the socialisation of the individual into the collective mores of society; the specific aspects of that socialisation being determined by each particular social milieu. Durkheim concludes:

> Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those who are not ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him [sic] by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he [sic] is specifically destined. (1956: 71)

At no point, however, does Durkheim ask to what extent the states 'required ... by the political society as a whole' are determined by, or serve the purposes of particular groups within that society (Lukes, 1973); advantaging, in the process, some groups over others. Neither does he recognise the possibilities of determinism inherent in his comment of 'the specific milieu for which [the individual] is specifically destined'; that education may in fact *determine* social destination. As Lukes comments, 'Durkheim saw education purely as *adaptation* (in modern societies to national and occupational demands); he was blind to its role in pre-determining and restricting life-chances.' (*ibid.* 133; emphasis in original) In Durkheim's conception, education comes to be seen, accordingly, as a conservative or integrating force with its emphasis on the (unquestioned) transmission of culture, or more specifically, the transmission and perpetuation of an *accepted* (or *acceptable*) culture.

Parsons

Talcott Parsons is, arguably, the most notable proponent, this century, of this particular view of education and society. For Parsons, culture is the motivational input behind society and education is the process by which 'individual members of society are brought to "know", "command", and/or become "committed to" important elements of the cultural tradition of the society.' (Parsons, 1970: 201) Parsons views society as an integrated, interdependent whole, which normally exists in a state of equilibrium. Accordingly, educational institutions and structures are seen to have two major functions within that society: student internalisation of basic societal values; and the allocation of young people to adult roles. Schools are seen by Parsons, then, as agencies of both socialisation and allocation (Parsons, 1961). Parsons argues that the socialisation functions of the school

> may be summed up as the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities which are essential prerequisites of their future role-performance. Commitments may be broken down in turn into two components: commitment to the implementation of the broad *values* of society, and commitment to the performance of a specific type of role within the *structure* of society. (*ibid.* 435; emphasis in original)

Because society is seen as a system of roles, schools are seen as agencies which require that pupils become committed to, and be capable of, successful performance of future roles as adults. On this view, the curriculum is seen, unproblematically, as a selection of culturally universal features, including

a common value orientation and more specialised aspects of culture concerned with the training for specific roles. Education is thus linked with the wider culture through functional prerequisites required by society (Burtonwood, 1986). Parsons also argues that the allocation of designated roles in society requires that schools establish differences between individuals. As he states,

> it is fair to give differential rewards for different levels of achievement, so long as there has been fair access to opportunity, and [it is] fair that these rewards lead on to higher-order opportunities for the successful. There is thus a basic sense in which the elementary school class is an embodiment of the fundamental ... value of equality of opportunity, in that it places value *both* on initial equality and on differential achievement. (*op cit.* 445; emphasis in original)

It is clear that the Parsonian view of schooling regards the school, in a similar way to the liberal-democratic conception, as a neutral institution designed to provide students with the knowledge and skills that they will need to perform successfully in the wider society. However, in so doing, it fails (or refuses to) interrogate the relationship between schools and the social order (Giroux, 1983a). What was to result is, as Mallea argues,

> the promotion of a competitive, individualistic philosophy in the schools, which were themselves organized to reinforce these values .... As differences among students emerged, the schools legitimated them on the grounds of equality of educational opportunity and open, meritocratic competition. Students frequently internalized these values and accepted the differences without complaint .... As a result, stability, equilibrium and consensus were reinforced. (1989: 17)

Functionalism, in effect, placed too much emphasis on consensus and equilibrium in society. Thus, while functionalists (like Durkheim and Parsons) may have provided a *description* of the relations between the education system and other social institutions, they failed to provide an *explanation* as to why these relations exist as they do and how they change over time. Moreover, while functionalists have tended to look at the socialisation process as one of those common *values* that hold a society together, they have not examined the *interests* that underlie these values, and how these interests are related to social class (and, as we shall also see, ethnic minority relations) as an intervening variable in educational achievement. Finally, and relatedly, because functionalists have often viewed the educational system as offering opportunities for *social mobility* (given that equality of access and opportunity is assumed), they have been unable to conceive the role of education as a means by which *structured social inequality* in the wider society is reflected and maintained (Karabel & Halsey, 1977). As a result, functionalist analysis has fallen into wide disrepute. It has been criticised for underestimating the importance of conflict and ideology and has been charged with a neglect of the *content* of the educational process (Karabel & Halsey, 1977; Young, 1971).

Conflict Theories of Education: The New Sociology of Education

The problem in both functionalist and liberal-democratic accounts of schooling is that the school comes to be treated as something like a black box. One measures inputs before pupils enter and outputs when they leave but seldom questions what goes on in between (Apple, 1979). This approach to the process of schooling has been rejected by conflict theorists of education. Conflict theory, in contrast, argues that the main functions of schooling are the reproduction of the dominant ideology of a society, its forms of knowledge, and the distribution of skills needed to reproduce the existing division of labour (Giroux, 1983b). Unlike liberal and structural-functionalist accounts, the assumption that schools are democratic institutions which promote cultural excellence, value-free knowledge, and objective modes of instruction is rejected, and the focus is instead directed to the use of power and its role in mediating between schools and the interests of a capitalist society (Giroux, 1983a). In this light, schooling is seen not as a process which serves to socialise its pupils into the collectively established consensual moral order, simply on the basis of a rule-governed interaction which operates between individuals, but rather as a process which is significantly related to the distribution of resources and opportunities in the wider society (Meighan, 1981). Conflict theory is based on the assumption of opposed group interests in society rather than some notion of consensual integration. It stresses the importance of competition, recognises the existence of differential power relations, and argues that contest and struggle rather than consensus and accommodation are the key elements in establishing, maintaining and reproducing the dominant social order in society. As Giroux argues, this change in the conception of schooling has meant that

> schools were stripped of their political innocence and connected to the social and cultural matrix of capitalist rationality. In effect, schools were portrayed as reproductive in three senses. First, schools provided different classes and social groups with the knowledge and skills they needed to occupy their respective places in a labour force stratified by class, race, and gender. Second, schools were seen as reproductive in the cultural sense, functioning in part to distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, language, and modes of style that constitute the dominant culture and its interests. Third, schools were viewed as a part of a state apparatus that produced and legitimated the economic and ideological imperatives that underlie the state's political power. (1983b: 258)

Following Giroux, the proponents of conflict theory can be broadly divided into two camps: those who have been principally concerned with the economic and political processes of reproduction as reflected in schooling; and those who have explored the notion of cultural reproduction in and through schooling. Both groups have been broadly located in the movement which has come to be known as the 'new sociology of education', although, as we shall see, there are some theorists, particularly Bourdieu, who would reject too close an association with it.

Theories of Social Reproduction: Base and Superstructure

Conflict theory draws heavily on a Marxian analysis of society, with Weber (1978) and Gramsci (1971) also being seminal influences, and the broad division between the two groups of conflict theorists arises, principally, out of the different emphases which have been taken from their various works. The association of schooling with economic and political reproduction, for example, has been drawn from Marx's conception of the base-superstructure model, where the economic base (or mode of production) is seen to have causal primacy in its relationship with the cultural superstructure. As Marx states:

> The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men [sic] that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. (1904: 10-11; cited in Burtonwood, 1986)

This perspective came to influence the sociology of education largely through the work of Althusser (1971) and Bowles & Gintis (1976), and has been termed the 'political-economy model of reproduction' (Giroux, 1983b).

Althusser

In his essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, Althusser distinguishes between 'Repressive State Apparatuses' (the government, army, police etc.), and 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (trade unions, churches, schools etc.) and suggests that the latter are important sites of class struggle and working-class subjugation. Moreover, he argues that of all the ideological state apparatuses, it is the school in advanced capitalist societies which has become the dominant institution in achieving these subjugatory ends. As he states,

> it is by an apprenticeship in a variety of know-how wrapped up in the massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class that the *relations of production* in a capitalist social formation, i.e the relations of exploited to exploiters and exploiters to exploited, are largely reproduced. The mechanisms which produce this vital result for the capitalist regime are naturally covered up and concealed by a universally reigning ideology of the School, universally reigning because it is one of the essential forms of the ruling bourgeois ideology: an ideology which represents the School as a neutral environment purged of ideology. (1971: 156; emphasis in original)

The notion of ideology forms a crucial part in this conception of schooling and its relationship to the economic imperatives of a capitalist economy. Ideology is defined by Althusser in two ways: as a set of material practices through which teachers and pupils live out their daily experiences (such as the seating arrangements in classroom which reflect the hierarchical relations established in schools between teachers and pupils); and as systems of meanings, representations, and values which are embedded in the concrete practices that structure the unconsciousness of pupils (that is, the

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unconscious operation and influence of ideology) (Giroux, 1983a; 1983b). Althusser argues that through the workings of ideology, schools carry out two fundamental forms of reproduction: the reproduction of the skills and rules of labour power; and the reproduction of the relations of production (Giroux, 1983b). In so doing, schools serve the political function of providing, not only the 'know how' deemed appropriate for the relations of production, but also the appropriate attitudes for work and citizenship. These attitudes include 'respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination.' (Althusser, *op cit.* 132) This would appear to be a deterministic conception of the process of schooling in relation to capitalist society although, having said that, Althusser does attempt to avoid the more vulgar versions of the base-superstructure model by advocating at least some autonomy for schools in this process. As Giroux describes it,

> schools, in Althusser's view, are relatively autonomous institutions that exist in a particular relation with the economic base, but that at the same time have their own specific constraints and practices. For him, schools operate within a social structure defined by capitalist social relations and ideology; but the social relations and ideologies that mediate between schools and the economic base - not to mention the state - represent constraints that are modified, altered, and in some cases contradicted by a variety of political and social forces. (1983a: 80)

Despite this recognition of a degree of autonomy for schools, the level of abstraction of Althusser's account fails to ascertain the concrete practices in schools which characterise them as such and so, as Giroux concludes, ideology 'collapses into a theory of domination' which is seen to act as 'an institutional medium of oppression.' (*ibid.* 82) Thus Althusser's notion of ideology ends up being reductionist, with little or no room in his description of the processes of schooling for viable human agency. Indeed, as Giddens observes, Althusser concedes that the 'true subjects' of his *mise en scene* are not the agents themselves but the 'places and functions' they occupy (1970: 180; cited in Giddens, 1979: 52). Giddens also comments that, given this, one could argue that Althusser's conception of human agency ends up being little different from the functionalism of Parsons. In both accounts, he argues, there is

> a blindness to the everyday fact that all social agents have an understanding, practical and discursive, of the conditions of their action. In both Althusserian Marxism and Parsonian sociology the reproduction of society occurs 'behind the backs' of the agents whose conduct constitutes that society. The involvement of actors' own purposive conduct with the rationalisation of action is lacking in each case: in Parsons's sociology as a result of the value consensus-norm-internalised need-disposition theorem, and in Althusser's writings as a consequence of his deterministic account of agency; hence the teleology of the system either governs (in the first) or supplants (in the second) that of actors themselves. (*ibid.* 112)

As Giddens elsewhere argues, human agents in both Parsons's and Althusser's accounts end up merely as 'cultural dopes' and, to the degree that individuals are reduced to being 'automatic parts' of a pre-given process, they may cease to be agents at all (1981: 18, 224).

Bowles and Gintis

Whatever objections may be raised against Althusser's conception of ideology, Giddens does concede that 'one of his most important contributions [has been] to stress that "ideology" should refer to the whole content of day-to-day "lived experience".' (*ibid:* 67) Althusser's failure, however, was to encase his theories in a level of abstraction which defeated his stated intention of relating theory to the concrete practices of schooling. In this regard, his work can be contrasted with Bowles and Gintis (1976) who, while sharing similar conceptions about the relationship of schooling to the capitalist economy, do actually attempt to locate the specific mechanisms of schooling which contribute to the logic of capital (Giroux, 1983a). Bowles and Gintis were concerned to elucidate how the social relations of the workplace were reproduced in the social relations of the classroom. However, instead of using ideology to explore this connection they posited in its place the notion of the *correspondence principle*. They argued that, in most schools, pupils from different classes were taught the kinds of qualities, skills, values, and personality characteristics that they would need to occupy the highly stratified and class- and gender-specific positions they would subsequently occupy in the labour force (Giroux, 1984). As they state:

> The educational system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe, through *a structural correspondence* between its social relations and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the type of personal demeanour, modes of self-preservation, self-image, and social identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy .... By attuning young people to a set of social relations similar to those of the work place, schooling attempts to gear the development of personal needs to its requirements. (1976: 131; my emphasis)

In other words, schooling tailored pupils' attitudes. Working-class pupils learnt how to be punctual, how to follow the rules, and how to cope with the alienating demands of menial work, whereas pupils of the upper classes learnt how to lead, think creatively, and work with a high degree of autonomy (Giroux, 1984). These attitudes were inculcated through both the overt curriculum which was taught in schools and, particularly, the 'hidden curriculum'. The hidden curriculum, which for Parsons was seen as a relatively benign means of socialising pupils into the shared norms of 'society' and the dispositions and rules required of it (Apple & Taxel, 1982), was reconceptualised by Bowles and Gintis to account for the underlying logic which determined why certain values (i.e, the values of the capitalist economy) became the dominant values in society and, thus, also in schools. As Bowles and Gintis suggest, the correspondence between schools and the workplace is able to be accomplished because the power of the capitalist class determines what is to be taught (overtly and implicitly) in schools. Moreover, this correspondence of social relations is reinforced by the class differentiated expectations of parents, with these expectations being in themselves a 'reflection' of class experiences in general (Liston, 1988). These two mechanisms of correspondence in Bowles and Gintis's model are seen to effect the reproduction of the capitalist social division of labour in schools; 'by providing skills, legitimating

inequalities in economic positions, and facilitating certain types of social intercourse among individuals.' (Bowles & Gintis *op cit*: 147) Accordingly, they conclude that the education system is implicated in this reproductive process 'in part, through a correspondence between its own internal social relationships and those of the workplace.' (*ibid*)

Correspondence theory did not survive, however, into the 1980s. Even Bowles and Gintis were subsequently (1980) to admit to reservations. The principle of correspondence may have been a more accessible mechanism than the ideology of Althusser to examine schooling in relation to the capitalist economy, but the framework of the base-superstructure within which it was situated continued to function as a deterministic straitjacket. Critics have argued that the interlocking nature of social relations in the schools and the workplace is not as constant as the correspondence principle would suggest and that, consequently, the social organisation of the classroom does not exactly mirror that found in economic life. Like Althusser, Bowles and Gintis are criticised for their inability to recognise the possibility of human agency in their account. Giroux comments that both 'have drawn accounts of schooling in which the logic of domination appears to be inscribed without the benefit of human mediation or struggle.' (1983b: 266) By failing to recognise that classroom relations are never static and that the presence of agents (in both teachers and pupils) always allows for the possibility of opposition and resistance, Bowles and Gintis end up advocating a primacy for the economy, in relation to schooling, which it cannot sustain. In so doing, they

> grossly ignore what is taught in schools as well as how classroom knowledge is either mediated through school culture or given meaning by the teachers and students under study. The authors provide no conceptual tools to unravel the problem of how knowledge is both consumed and produced in the school setting. What we are left with is a theoretical position that reinforces the idea that there is little that educators can do to change their circumstances or plight. In short, not only do contradictions and tensions disappear in this account, but also the promise of critical pedagogy and social change. (Giroux, 1983a: 85)

Theories of Cultural Reproduction: The Social Construction of Knowledge

Tying the processes of schooling to the nature of the economy has proved debilitating for conflict theorists like Althusser and Bowles and Gintis because, as Giroux's comments indicate, what is often left out is an explanation and explication of how the *knowledge* necessary for such a task is constructed, inculcated and, at times, resisted in the classroom. In order to redress this, conflict theory has had to turn to the work of Weber, and particularly Gramsci.

Weber

Weber provides significant insight into the impasse at which conflict theory seems to have arrived in adopting a base-superstructure model, by arguing that individuals are both actively involved in

constructing and maintaining meaning yet, at the same time, are constrained in these actions (Burtonwood, 1986). As King comments, concerning Weber's recognition of both freedom and constraint, '[t]o regard teachers and pupils as both bound and free does not make for simple explanations, but it is honest to the experience of what it is to be social.' (1980: 20) Collins, in possibly the most well known application of Weber in conflict theory, has also employed Weber's (1978) notion of 'status group' to argue that '[t]he main activity of schools is to teach particular status cultures, both in and outside the classroom.' (1977: 126) Status groups, in Weber's conception, struggle with each other for dominance in society, and thus, Collins suggests, '[i]nsofar as a particular status group controls education, it may use it to *foster* control within work organisations. (*ibid*: 127; my emphasis) He goes on to suggest that schools, on this basis, will be used by employers to select people with 'appropriate' cultural attributes. Thus, while still advocating the reproductive nature of schooling, the notion of 'status group' allows Collins to recognise the possibilities of contest and conflict that inhere in the term and, from that, the fact that cultural dominance is *fostered* rather than *determined* by elite groups in society. The advantage of such a conception is that it goes beyond the uni-dimensionalism of the base-superstructure accounts of schooling by suggesting that individuals are actively engaged in the process of education, even if the social and cultural forces arraigned against them may significantly constrain these activities.

Gramsci

Similarly, Gramsci, a major influence on the Marxists of the culturalist school, has argued against a strict economic determinism:

> The claim, presented as an essential postulate of historical materialism, that every fluctuation of politics and ideology can be presented and expanded as an immediate expression of the structure, must be contested in theory as primitive infantilism and combated in practice with the authentic testimony of Marx. (1971: 407)

For Gramsci, control by the dominant class is never total, it is always open to contestation. On this view, as Burtonwood argues,

> working-class culture is an accommodation to the needs of capital but at the same time it is not passive; there is an active element of resistance. Culture is a meeting-point for an intentional social action and conditioning context. (1986: 40)

Gramsci's explication of this process is encapsulated in his use of the term 'hegemony'. Hegemony, stated simply, is the organisation of consent (Simon, 1982). It means political and ideological leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularisation of the world view of the ruling class (Bates, 1975). Hegemony is, in effect, a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated or supportive of a single class (Livingstone,

1976). Gramsci's crucial idea is that hegemony acts to 'saturate' our consciousness so that the educational, social and economic world we see and interact with, and the common sense interpretation we put on it becomes the only world. It is a set of meanings and values which, as they are experienced, appear as reciprocally confirming and thus constitute a sense of reality for most people in society (Williams, 1976).

The concept of hegemony, and its subsequent development by Gramsci, has allowed conflict theorists to develop a theory of schooling which moves beyond a simple economic determinism to focus on the selection, organisation and interpretation of our common sense experience in education, within an effective dominant culture; what Williams has termed the process of 'selective tradition' (*ibid*). As Young (1971) argues, schools not only process pupils, they process knowledge as well. Within such a conception, knowledge comes to be viewed as a social construction which is deeply implicated in specific power relations, and the school curriculum comes to be recognised as a particular 'ordering of school knowledge' (Giroux, 1984) which recognises and values the knowledge of some groups but not others. This recognition allowed linkages to be made between economic and political power and the knowledge made available (and not made available) to pupils in schools (Apple, 1979) and resulted in schools being viewed as sites of cultural as well as economic reproduction. The contestability of hegemony, however, also includes the possibilities of agency, and the concentration on the construction of knowledge within schools was to lead to a combining of macro-sociological explanations of education with micro-sociological examinations of what actually went on in classrooms. This was a significant advance on both base-superstructure conflict theory and structural-functionalism, which, though antagonistic to each other, had both shared an inability to move beyond a macro-sociological account of schooling.

Bourdieu

It is the work of the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, which perhaps best explores and explicates how hegemony relates to the practice of schooling.[2] He argues (1974; see also: 1990a; 1990b; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Harker, 1990a; 1990b; Harker *et al.*, 1990) that despite appearances of equality and universality the pedagogical tradition in schools is only there for the benefit of pupils who are 'in the *particular position* of possessing a cultural heritage conforming to that demanded by the school.' (1974: 38; emphasis in original) He uses two terms which are significant to this argument: **habitus** and **cultural capital**. *Habitus* is the way a culture is embodied in the individual; Bourdieu uses

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[2]. Bourdieu did not read Gramsci until some considerable time after the formulation of his own theories. The independence of his thought from Gramsci, however, highlights the significance of the corollaries established between them. As Bourdieu comments, 'these days people wonder about my relations with Gramsci - in whom they discover, probably because they have read me, a great number of things that I was able to find in his work only *because* I hadn't read him.' (1990a, 27; emphasis in original)

the term 'dispositions' to capture its meaning. The relationship to schooling is established when it is understood that some *habitus* constitute cultural capital as far as the school is concerned and are reinforced with success while others do not. Bourdieu argues that schools have a certain cultural capital, the *habitus* of the middle-class, which they employ as if all children had equal access to it. This cultural capital is not explicitly made available to all pupils but is nevertheless implicitly demanded by the school via its definition of success; a definition which includes competence in the language and culture of the dominant group (Harker, 1984). Bourdieu argues that by taking all children as equal, while implicitly favouring those who have already acquired the linguistic and social competencies to handle middle-class culture, schools take as natural what is essentially a social gift; i:e (high status) cultural capital (Dale *et al.*, 1976). It is inevitable, he argues, that such a system becomes the preserve of those classes (and one might add, ethnic groups) capable of transmitting the family *habitus* necessary for the reception of the school's messages. Such a situation immediately places at a disadvantage all those children from groups other than that whose *habitus* is embodied in the school. As Bourdieu comments concerning this process:

> By awarding allegedly impartial qualifications (which are also largely accepted as such) for socially conditioned aptitudes which it treats as unequal 'gifts', [the school] transforms *de facto* inequalities into *de jure* ones and *economic and social* differences into *distinctions of quality*, and legitimates the transmission of the cultural heritage. In doing so, it is performing a confidence trick. Apart from enabling the elite to justify being what it is, the *ideology of giftedness*, the cornerstone of the whole educational and social system, helps to enclose the underprivileged classes in the roles society has given them by making them see as natural inability things which are only a result of an inferior social status, and by persuading them that they owe their social fate ... to their individual nature and their lack of gifts. (1974: 42; emphasis in original)

Having said that, Bourdieu also argues that this process, as demonstrated within schooling, is not a consciously manipulative one but operates at the level of the unconscious (as does hegemony). He states, concerning this:

> An action in conformity with the interests of the agent who performs it is not necessarily guided by the conscious and deliberate search for this interest posited as an end .... one of the privileges of the dominant, who move in their world as fish in water, resides in the fact that they need not engage in rational computation in order to reach the goals that best suit their interests. All they have to do is to follow their dispositions [*habitus*] which, being adjusted to their positions, 'naturally' generate practices adjusted to the situation. (1990a: 108)

This unconscious appropriation of symbolic capital becomes, however, symbolic violence 'when it is *misrecognised* in its arbitrary truth as capital and *recognised* as legitimate' (*ibid*: 112; emphasis in original), as is the case in schooling. The possession of the dominant *habitus*, then, in Bourdieu's terminology, becomes a form of *symbolic capital* and its legitimation as a natural rather than a social

gift becomes an exercise in *symbolic violence* by the school in its power to dominate disadvantaged groups.

Bourdieu examines this appropriation of symbolic capital and its use as symbolic violence from two directions: the attitudes of pupils and parents; and the 'learned ignorance' of the schools (Harker, 1990a; 1990b) and highlights a number of levels where inequalities are perpetuated. Firstly, he identifies a lower success rate for non-dominant children in schools and suggests that the expectations of children from these groups are adjusted downwards accordingly to become part of their *habitus*. Secondly, where some success is attained, parents tend subsequently to make the wrong option choices for their children.[3] Thirdly, Bourdieu highlights the notion of 'learned ignorance' which describes how the further up the system one goes in education the greater is the tendency of schools to only recognise those who recognise them. That is, schools reward with success only those students who acknowledge the criteria of that success, and the authority of the school and teachers to dispense it. Fourthly, there is a preference shown for style over content (particularly in the French school system with which Bourdieu is obviously most familiar) which ensures that the linguistic practices of the dominant group are privileged and preserved within schooling. And finally, Bourdieu identifies the process of credential inflation which shifts the criteria for success away from higher qualifications, when too many people achieve these credentials, to other factors determined by the dominant group such as style, presentation and language use. For Bourdieu, then, to understand what schools do, who succeeds and who fails, one must see that the culture of the dominant group - tacitly preserved in and expected by schools - contributes to the inequality outside of these institutions. Hence the cultural capital that schools take for granted acts as a filtering device in the reproduction of a hierarchical society.[4]

Bourdieu's conception of cultural capital is also particularly pertinent to the role of language as a legitimising agent of the dominant group within and via the curriculum. Language, and particularly language on display, is, after all, often central to the judgements made about children's educational ability (and potential ability). Teachers assume, argues Bourdieu, 'that they already share a common language and set of values with their pupils, but this is only so when the system is dealing with its own heirs.' (1974: 39) By acting as if the language of teaching is based on shared understandings which

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[3]. These two levels of inequality are also explored by Boudon through his distinction between 'primary effects' and 'secondary effects'. Differences in actual performance at school (Bourdieu's first level of inequality) are seen by Boudon as primary effects. Secondary effects are the decisions and influences which contribute to different destination preferences for students with similar ability and/or credentials, such as the limiting educational choices working-class parents make on behalf of their children (1971; cited in Nash, 1986; 1990a).

[4]. For a more extensive discussion of these levels, see Harker (1990b: 88-96).

any 'intelligent' pupil should perceive, teachers make academic judgements that they see as strictly fair but which actually perpetuate cultural privilege. Such judgements occur and serve to reinforce social and cultural inequalities, Bourdieu argues, because the notion of linguistic competence is too often confined to the coding and decoding of grammatically well-formed utterances and is thus divorced from the social and political conditions which legitimate its use and reproduce it as the dominant form of language (Thompson, 1984). Relations of force implicit in all communicative situations are simply ignored because language is analysed in isolation from the social conditions in which it is used. This allows the imposition of, in Bourdieu's terms, a *cultural arbitrary* in schools which only recognises the knowledge of the dominant group as expressed in language 'appropriate' to that group. As a result, the cultural arbitrary (reflecting the dominant ethnic culture within which the school is located) is confounded with what might be called the *cultural necessary*; the knowledge which schools believe they are centrally concerned with producing and transmitting (Nash & Harker, 1988; see also, Nash 1990a; 1990b). That this knowledge and its form of expression, as endorsed by the institution of schooling, is tacitly accepted, even by those who do not have access to it, allows for the exercise of symbolic violence through implicit consent.

Bourdieu offers a compelling account of how school knowledge and practice (including the requirements of school language use) operate to reproduce social and cultural inequality. However, he is not without his critics. He has, for example, been criticised for the social and cultural determinism implicit in his conception of schooling and is cited for his failure to acknowledge the importance of resistance, incorporation and accommodation in his analysis of cultural production and reproduction (Burtonwood, 1986; Giroux 1983a; 1983b, Mallea, 1989, Willis, 1983). Burtonwood suggests, for example, that education, in Bourdieu's account, 'is left with the task of transmitting cultural imperatives to pupils who are passively integrated into the social order.' (1986: 31) This emphasis on externality and constraint sees a system which operates independently of the needs and wishes of individuals and thus elevates culture to reality *sui generis* (*ibid*). Thompson also develops this concern in relation to the notion of symbolic violence by arguing that the reproduction of the social order depends less on the consensus between groups of what constitutes dominant values and norms, as Bourdieu would suggest, but rather on a lack of consensus among dispossessed groups which thwarts any political challenge to this state of affairs. In regard specifically to the use of language, Thompson also contends that Bourdieu overemphasises the significance of form or style at the expense of the content of what is said. This creates too narrow a conception because it suggests that language should be analysed 'as if the only thing of interest ... were its form, the particular way in which it plays with oppositions and distinctions and [its] relation to the system of social differences.' (1984: 65) The relationship between language and power, he argues, needs to be conceptualised as more than a simple authority bestowed on words by an institution, as Bourdieu would have it. Rather, a more satisfactory account of the link between

language and power would require a more systematic analysis of individual action and its relation to the institutional and structural dimensions of the social world (*ibid*).

There is, undeniably, a degree of pessimism in Bourdieu's account of schooling (particularly with regard to the elusiveness of cultural capital for the disenfranchised) but notwithstanding this, the criticisms of Bourdieu's determinism may be misconceived. Bourdieu does, after all, offer some solutions for the unmasking of the hegemonic process in schools. For example, he advocates the need 'to relate structured systems of sociologically pertinent linguistic differences to equally structured systems of social differences.' (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1975; cited in Thompson, 1984: 51) Such an approach would be able to place the social positions of speakers and reflect the quantities of linguistic capital they possess (or do not possess), thus exposing the language hierarchies in operation within the school. More pertinently, however, Bourdieu is, in fact, often critical of the deterministic constraints of structuralism. In *The Logic of Practice*, he clearly states:

> If the dialectic of objective structures and incorporated structures which operates in every practical action is ignored, then one necessarily falls into the canonical dilemma ... which condemns those who seek to reject subjectivism, like the present-day structuralist readers of Marx, to fall into the fetishism of social laws .... [this] reduces historical agents to the role of 'supports' (*Trager*) of the structure and reduces their actions to mere epiphenomenal manifestations of the structure's own power to develop itself and to determine and overdetermine other structures. (1990b: 41)

Given this, how is it that Bourdieu's analysis of schooling is so often seen as deterministic? Perhaps it is because what is most often used as a basis for critique, particularly by resistance theorists like Giroux and Willis, is Bourdieu's early work on education (written predominantly in the 1960s and translated into English in the 1970s). In so doing, such critics have failed to keep up with the development of Bourdieu's thought. Giroux, for example, argues that 'the notion of *habitus* is based on a theory of social control and depth psychology that appears to be fashioned almost exclusively in the logic of domination.' (1983b: 271) Similarly, he argues elsewhere that Bourdieu's theory

> is a theory of reproduction that displays no faith in subordinate classes and groups, no hope in their willingness to reinvent and reconstruct the conditions under which they live, work and learn. (1982; cited in Harker, 1990b: 102)

This misconceives, however, Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* which, when taken in the context of his extensive ethnographic work over thirty years and the continual reworking of his theoretical formulations in light of this research (including the development of his other concepts of 'strategies' 'fields' and the 'feel for the game', all of which are linked with *habitus*, and of which *habitus* forms a part) is by no means as reductionist as Giroux would have us believe. As Bourdieu clearly states:

> How could a philosophy of consensus be attributed to me? I know full well that those who are dominated, even in the education system, oppose and resist this domination (I introduced the work of Willis into France) .... [Rather] the model I am putting forward ... supplies us with the only rigorous way of reintroducing individual agents and their individual actions without falling back into the amorphous anecdotes of factual history .... Notions like that of habitus (or systems of dispositions), practical sense, and strategy, are linked to my effort to escape from structuralist objectivism without relapsing into subjectivism. (1990a: 41, 46, 61)

Bourdieu rejects the often posited dichotomy between agency and structure as absurd and sees the notion of *habitus*, in particular, 'as social life incorporated, and thus individuated' (*ibid* 31), as a means of transcending it. He goes on to suggest:

> In fact, my whole effort aims at explaining, via the notion of habitus ... how it is that behaviour ... takes the form of sequences that are objectively guided towards a certain end, without necessarily being the product either of a conscious strategy or of a mechanical determinism. Agents do to some extent *fall into* the practice that is theirs rather than freely choosing it or being impelled into it by mechanical constraints. If this is how it is, it's because the habitus, a system of predispositions acquired through a relationship to a certain field, [e.g., education] becomes effective and operative when it encounters the conditions of its effectiveness, that is, conditions identical or analogous to those of which it is the product. (*ibid* 90; emphasis in original)

Harker reiterates this often missed complexity in Bourdieu's formulations when he argues that

> a careful reading of Bourdieu's ethnographic work adds a dimension not readily discernible from the educational writing. It provides for a theory of practice which incorporates social change ... and human agency ... as well as an examination of the structural limits within which they must work. (1990b: 102)

Bourdieu's 'method of inquiry' (Harker, 1990b), then, (a more accurate depiction than the completed theoretical project some of his critics wish to foist upon him) remains a powerful (perhaps the most powerful to date) explanation of the processes of hegemony in relation to schooling. It is clear from his analysis that the school does function to reproduce social and cultural inequalities but not in the mechanistic way so often ascribed to it (and characteristic of earlier base-superstructure accounts). As Nash comments,

> Bourdieu does not ... argue that the school is merely a passive instrument for the reproduction of family acquired *habitus* which 'objectively' certifies the dominant cultural code of society .... [In contrast] it is clear that the role of the school is acknowledged as active, and not merely passive in its 'legitimation' of family acquired *habitus* .... Bourdieu's theory does, therefore, and contrary to the views of certain critics, recognise the school as the productive locus of a particular *habitus*. (1990a: 435; see also 1986: 123)

Bourdieu argues that schools operate *within the constraints* of a particular *habitus*, but also that they react to changing external conditions (economic, technological and political) (Harker, 1990b). Bourdieu

seeks to explain, by this, social practices in terms of objective structures (Nash, 1990a), but without excluding the possibilities of agency, and, as his ethnographic work in many other areas of social life attests, this project is by no means confined to an analysis of education. There remain, admittedly, some ambiguities surrounding the nature of agency in Bourdieu's account. It may be a 'dynamic functionalism' (Harker *et al.*, 1990) but the needs of the system continue to dominate, and this, along with a certain political agnosticism, militate against a socially transformative conception of education. However, as Nash (1990a) points out, the real value of Bourdieu's work is likely to be seen in both its thematic concerns and the breadth of attention paid to the processes of social and cultural reproduction which operate, not only in and through education, but in all facets of social life.

Bernstein

Basil Bernstein has also, in recent times, come to be closely associated with the work of Bourdieu (see Harker & May, 1991[5]). Indeed, many commentators and analysts equate the two quite explicitly (Atkinson, 1985: 80-1, 181; Blackledge and Hunt, 1985: 169; Burgess, 1986: 90; Burtonwood, 1986: 29-30; Gibson, 1984: 124; Gorder, 1980: 335; Sadovnik, 1991: 48; Whitty, 1985: 32). Bernstein's early notoriety as a deficit theorist, particularly among linguists, arose from the conceptual confusions surrounding his advocacy of 'elaborated' and restricted' codes. But more recently, the broader structuralist intent of his work has come to be recognised. Atkinson's (1985) account of Bernstein's work proved to be instrumental in uncovering his structuralist account and, as Edwards comments of it, was 'a defence of Bernstein's work against the many misrepresentations which have arisen from carrying it out of its proper sociological context and making it into either a contentious contribution to the educability debate or a rather curious species of socio-linguistics.' (1987: 238)

In Bernstein's most recent publication (1990), he has reiterated (in a similar way to Bourdieu) his concern to establish a link between micro and macro analyses in his research. He argues:

> Behind the research is an attempt to create a language which will permit the integration of macro and micro levels of analysis; the recovery of the macro from the micro in a context of potential change. The project could be said to be a continuous attempt to understand something about the rules, practices, and agencies regulating the legitimate creation, distribution, reproduction and change of consciousness by principles of communication through which a given distribution of power and dominant cultural categories are legitimated and reproduced. In short, an attempt to understand the nature of symbolic control. (1990: 112-113)

In order to achieve this aim, Bernstein has employed the notion of *code*, together with his concepts of *classification* and *framing*, *visible* and *invisible pedagogies*, to pursue in a relentlessly analytic manner,

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[5]. The following section is a revised (and abbreviated) version of this paper, presented to the *New Zealand Association for Research in Education* (NZARE) Annual Conference in November, 1991.

the way that symbolic control is exerted over the educational system. For Bernstein a code is a 'regulative principle which underlies various message systems, especially curriculum and pedagogy.' (Atkinson, *op cit.* 136) The code theory articulated by Bernstein posits that

> there is a social class-regulated unequal distribution of privileging principles of communication, their generative interactional practices, and material base with respect to primary agencies of socialization (e.g. the family) and that social class, indirectly, affects the classification and framing of the elaborated code transmitted by the school so as to facilitate and perpetuate its unequal acquisition. Thus the code theory ... draws attention to the relations between macro power relations and micro practices of transmission, acquisition and evaluation and the positioning and oppositioning to which these practices give rise. (1990: 118-119)

What Bernstein is attempting to do via the notion of the code is, as Atkinson observes, 'to account for the differential positioning of persons (*subjects*) within the division of labour. Such positioning is a function of power, and the coding of power is implicated in language.' (1985: 101, my emphasis) The concept of code presupposes legitimate and illegitimate communications, and a hierarchy in forms of communications and in their demarcation and criteria (Bernstein, 1987). Class relations generate, distribute, reproduce and legitimate these differentially located code modalities and education acts to confirm this process since, '[i]n as much as the relations *within* and *between* education and production are class-regulated, then code acquisition regulates cultural reproduction of class relations.' (Bernstein, 1990: 21; emphasis in original) Codes in this sense are not to be misunderstood as sets of performance rules, nor as descriptions of particular language varieties, but should be seen as 'principles of structuration' which regulate which cultural elements it is appropriate to select in any given circumstance and how these may be combined into 'permitted arrangements.' (Edwards, 1987)

The selection of the curriculum into such arrangements is determined by the construction and maintenance of its boundaries, a process which is similar to William's notion of 'selective tradition' and which Bernstein refers to as the *classification* of school knowledge. The combination of educational content, or the context of the pedagogic encounter, arises from the curriculum's internal differentiation, and this is described by Bernstein via the notion of *framing* (Atkinson, 1985).

From these principles of classification and framing, Bernstein identifies two curricular types. A *collection* code consists of a strongly classified and framed curriculum (where subjects, for example, are clearly demarcated) and implies didactic teaching. An *integrated* code, in contrast, sees a more relational curriculum where the locus for teaching and learning rests with the expectation of self-regulation by pupils (*ibid*). These codes, in turn, are used as the basis for developing Bernstein's distinction between *visible* and *invisible pedagogies*. Visible and invisible pedagogies are distinguished by 'the methods by which explicit or implicit systems and modes of control are regulated in the pedagogic encounter' (*ibid.* 157). Bernstein outlines three rules as constitutive to these two pedagogic practices. Rules of

hierarchy, which he suggests are dominant (or *regulative*), establish the relationship between the transmitter (teacher) and the acquirer (pupil) in any pedagogic relationship. They are essentially rules of conduct, determining the conditions for order, character, and manner and delineating the space available for negotiation between the teacher and pupil. Rules of *sequencing* determine the progression of what is to be acquired (and are tied to rules of pacing which determine the timing), and *criterial* rules delimit what is to be regarded as legitimate or illegitimate within the process of acquisition. These latter rules are seen by Bernstein as instructional or *discursive* rather than regulative. On the basis of these rules, and whether they are explicitly or implicitly constructed in relation to the acquirer (that is, whether they are explicitly made available to the pupil, or implicitly required from the pupil), the visibility or invisibility of pedagogic practices is established.

For Bernstein, these pedagogic practices can be examined via the various message systems which he sees as underlying schooling. With the addition of evaluation, curriculum and pedagogy are considered to be, he suggests, the message systems which constitute the structure and processes of school knowledge. As he states:

> Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realization of this knowledge on the part of the taught. (1971: 47)

Opposition and resistance may be present as well in this process, Bernstein argues, since codes are also seen by him as 'sites of contradictions, challenge and change' (1990: 111), although as we shall see, this conception is contestable.

Given this development of code theory, and its realisation in classification and framing, and visible and invisible pedagogies, it is understandable that Bernstein's work could be seen as paralleling that of Bourdieu, and particularly his notion of *habitus*. Bourdieu, after all, is also concerned to link macro and micro analyses and has been particularly interested in exploring the notion of symbolic violence (commensurate with Bernstein's notion of symbolic control) in and through education as well as (and unlike Bernstein) in many other aspects of social life. Blackledge and Hunt (1985: 166), for example, directly equate *habitus* (which they call master patterns) with Bernstein's concept of codes. Atkinson (1985: 80-1) also equates Bourdieu and Bernstein, and describes Bernstein's project in terms that *appear* equally applicable to Bourdieu. For example he argues that while

> the cultural resources needed to control and manipulate the content of schooling remain implicit ... only those already endowed with the relevant capacities can decode the culture of the school. (*ibid*)

This is very similar to formulations by Bourdieu, except that there is a crucial 'slippage' in word use here. Atkinson seems to be equating *code* with *habitus*, and cultural resources with being able to decode implicit rules. This is far too simplistic and hides many very real differences between the two conceptual strategies.

Bernstein, himself, gives us an indication of what may constitute a major difference between code and *habitus* when he comments:

> The concept of code bears some relation to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The concept of habitus, however, is a more general concept, more extensive and exhaustive in its regulation. It is essentially a cultural grammar specialized by class positions and *fields* of practice. (1990: 3; my emphasis)

For Bernstein, Bourdieu's *habitus* is used to describe the regulative principle that underlies *all* cultural practices. On the face of it, code could be used in the same way, but has not been so used by Bernstein in any major way. Bernstein's is a much narrower focus which he has not followed into other 'fields' such as art, housing, photography, museums, food, cinema etc., in the way that Bourdieu has.[6] Bourdieu has also long ago abandoned the idea of 'rules' as a way of describing social practices (see especially 1986), and to the extent that rules underpin the idea of codes (as determiners of practices), then it is unlikely that they can do the job prescribed for them by Bernstein. To focus on the rules as constructed by the analyst (Bernstein's 'rules of hierarchy', 'rules of criteria' etc.) is, according to Bourdieu, to fall

> into one of the most disastrous fallacies in the human sciences, which consists in taking, according to the old saying of Marx, 'the things of logic for the logic of things'. (1986: 111)

And elsewhere:

> To slip from regularity ... to a consciously laid down and consciously respected ruling ... or to unconscious regulating by a mysterious cerebral or social mechanism, are the two commonest ways of sliding from the model of reality to the reality of the model. (1990b: 39)

Bourdieu's solution in developing the idea of *strategy*, where instead of obeying rules, people have a practical sense, a 'feel for the game', breaks with objectivist, structuralist accounts (such as Bernstein's), making possible the merging of structure and agency as two sides of the same coin - what Bourdieu calls *generative (or genetic) structuralism*. Bernstein's formulation of *explicit* versus *implicit* rules does not avoid the problem, for two reasons: Firstly, implicit rules of pedagogic practice are

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[6]. Although Mary Douglas in social anthropology has attempted to apply Bernstein's model to the processes of consumption (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979: 39-40), with results not unlike that of Bourdieu.

hidden only from the acquirer (or would-be acquirer), not from the transmitter (to produce visible and invisible pedagogies); And secondly, the fact that the acquirer may have 'rules' to cope with the opacity of pedagogic practices (cf. 'the lads' in Willis's, 1977 account) seems to have no place in the analysis - i.e., agency is bracketed out. In addition to this, Bourdieu also points out that 'the rule' is the obstacle par excellence to the construction of an adequate theory of practice. By spuriously occupying the place of two fundamental notions, the theoretical matrix and the practical matrix, it makes it impossible to raise the question of their relationship.' (1990b: 103)

In linking the various pedagogic practices derived from his rules, to social class, Bernstein's discussion is certainly similar in some respects to that of Bourdieu. But it is Bourdieu's effort to break away from the legalism of rules 'in order to found an adequate theory of practice' which contains within it 'the principles of a theoretical questioning of the social conditions of possibility ... and the essential effects of that legalism which it has been necessary to combat in order to construct the theory' (Bourdieu, 1990a: 86), which, in the end, fundamentally distinguishes their accounts. Moreover, Bourdieu has, in so doing, been more successful in combining macro and micro analyses. Bernstein, despite his stated aims to the contrary, has continued to predominantly work at analysing education at the micro level, a project shared in common with Bourdieu in the 1960s. To the extent that he has moved to the macro level, he has utilised a Durkheimian structuralism which does not allow him to realise the potential of the concept of *code* in anything like as fruitful a way as Bourdieu has used *habitus* because (and again, despite his claims) it fails to incorporate a meaningful conception of agency. Where Bourdieu can talk about 'socialised agents' (1990a: 9, 132), Bernstein can only talk about 'subjects', and even then only rarely. The possibilities of contradiction, challenge and change in the code theory are not as apparent as Bernstein would have us believe. Rather, as a general social theory, Bernstein's formulation is marred by the inflexibility of the concept of code, the difficulty of generalising it, and hence suffers from an overall structural determinism. However, having said that, his analysis of the 'message systems' of the school has proved to be a useful heuristic device for further uncovering how knowledge is validated and transmitted within and through education. For, as Bernstein argues:

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. (1971: 47)

Resistance Theories

Willis's (1977) *Learning to Labour*, which examined the social practices of a group of working-class 'lads' towards schooling, is recognised as the first significant attempt to introduce the concept of resistance into the new sociology of education. In his study, 'the lads' recognised (at least to some

extent) the reproductive processes involved in schooling and resisted them through a variety of oppositional practices. However, the informality of their opposition and its susceptibility to appropriation meant that in the end they were unable to change their educational positions and, consequently, their work destinations. In fact, as Willis concludes, their opposition was to *consign* them to the inevitability of the 'shop floor' on leaving school. Individual resistance and even collective resistance to the dominant practices of schooling are not necessarily sufficient, it seems, to alter such practices. While resistance theory has subsequently emerged and been promoted as just such an emancipatory vehicle, particularly in the writings of its most consistent advocate, Giroux (see; 1981; 1983a; 1983b; 1984), this caveat needs to be borne in mind.

Giroux

Giroux has been particularly critical of the apparent absence, in both functionalist and conflict accounts of schooling, of the forms of resistance that can be adopted by disadvantaged groups to resist the processes of social and cultural reproduction. In discussing the latter, he suggests that neo-Marxist theory needs to be combined with ethnographic accounts (such as Willis, 1977; Corrigan, 1979) which explore the notion of resistance, 'in order to illuminate the dynamics of accommodation and resistance as they work through oppositional youth cultures both inside and outside of schools.' (1983a: 98) What can result is a theory of resistance which clarifies its theoretical basis from the point of view of all the actors involved. In so doing, Giroux argues,

> it celebrates a dialectical notion of human agency that rightly portrays domination as neither a static process nor one that is ever complete. Concomitantly, the oppressed are not viewed as being simply passive in the face of domination. The notion of resistance points to the need to understand more thoroughly the complex ways in which people mediate and respond to the interface between their own lived experiences and structures of domination and constraint .... inherent in a radical notion of resistance is *an expressed hope, an element of transcendence*, for radical transformation - a notion that appears to be missing from a number of radical theories of education that appear trapped in the theoretical cemetery of an Orwellian pessimism. (Giroux, 1983a: 108; my emphasis)

While the charge of determinism levelled by Giroux may be true for some theories of social and cultural reproduction, it is clear that Giroux also ranks Bourdieu among those sent to an early Orwellian grave, and this, as has already been discussed, is to be contested. Moreover, Giroux's attempts to elevate the primacy of the 'lived experiences' of students (1981), in place of what he perceives to be the structural emphases in reproduction theories, has problems of its own. Wexler, for example, while somewhat overstating the case, is critical of this 'individualistic idealism' (1983: 23). And Senese, drawing on Gramsci, argues that promoting alternative individual 'discourses' as a means to student empowerment may, in fact, have the reverse effect of further marginalising such students from the educational process since it could deny them 'necessary' educational knowledge. As he states:

'"dialectal" radical pedagogies threaten to retreat from knowledge structures that are the basis of requirements for intellectual power.' (1991: 15) In relation to working-class children (although one can also include ethnic minorities here), Senese goes on to argue:

> the terrain of working-class possibility may be argued to center squarely on the effort to equip working-class children with the linguistic and cultural power contained in the power codes of traditional academic studies .... to win for the marginalized and working-class children the right to the class codes and skills which the privileged pass on to their own. A lack of commitment to this goal leaves any theorist of possibility [i.e resistance theorists] open to a more insidious possibility - development of anti-intellectuals who know not enough, nor how to, demand more of the world .... [These theorists] have perhaps rightly indicted the Reproduction theorists for using theory to explain away the schools' failure to alleviate suffering. Yet, as it stands, their theory fails too, if for different reasons. It abandons traditional education wholesale, replacing this with sketchy references to varieties of 'discourse'. As such it becomes something like Esperanto, inclusive, well intentioned, yet with the potential to misequip any student who might otherwise gain the only tools for which public schools are ever likely to be held accountable. (*ibid*: 16, 21)

Strategies of individual resistance, advocated by resistance theorists like Giroux, may be overstated in their ability to provide the positive basis for a critical response to the ideologies being resisted (Gilbert, 1987) and, in fact, as Senese suggests, could conceivably exacerbate them. Giroux's attempts, through the formulation of resistance theory, to return 'an expressed hope, and element of transcendence' (1983a: 108) into the analysis of schooling, while commendable, seem unable to offer a guide to concrete action which might confront the processes of reproduction. The reproductive processes of schooling, it seems, remain formidable, and the problems associated with effectively incorporating agency to contest such processes, unresolved.

And yet, having said that, we have seen that hegemony can be contested,[7] so it must be possible to effectively harness that contestability in some way in order to forge an emancipatory educational approach. The question is how might this be done? Again, and to this end, it is perhaps Bourdieu who offers the clearest and most closely elaborated account of the possibilities of social practice within the broader processes of social and cultural reproduction. As Gilbert summarises it:

> Bourdieu's theory suggests an explanation of the regularities of social practice as structured by the relations between, on the one hand, an objective set of historically produced material conditions, and on the other, historically produced definitions of those conditions and predispositions to act in certain ways in any historical conjuncture. The notion of habitus, while recognising conscious intention, need not inflate it in explaining action, nor relegate the dynamic of social action to an ineffable consciousness. Further, the theory offers an explanation of human understanding and action which goes beyond individualism, but does not resort to abstract social forces, functionalist mechanisms or reified institutions as agents of social practice. Finally it allows us to see how ideologies through their symbols and

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[7] See the earlier discussion on Gramsci.

representations are part of the objective presentation of the contexts of practice, the means for defining a situation, and the medium in which past and present practices are installed in the interpretive and generative operations of the habitus. (*op cit*: 40-41)

Gilbert goes on to argue, on the basis of Bourdieu's notion of social practice, and drawing also from Willis's (1977) conclusions on the limits of informal strategies of resistance (see above), that:

> the need is *to develop a critical practice in a formal mode* to articulate and carry forward the informal practices by which the less powerful express their discontents. What does the concept of practice lend to the task? Initially it requires a commitment .... An emancipatory practice must be constantly and centrally aimed at enhancing the material welfare and expressive capacities of all human beings. Further, practices are conducted by groups, and *a formal anti-hegemonic practice in education must be a group activity*, where the interests of the group ... are sought, defined and promoted, both hypothetically, in critique and reflection, and actually, in classroom and school social relations. (*ibid*: 52; my emphasis)

The emancipatory possibilities that inhere in such an approach, as applied specifically to the education of minority children (and the surrounding debate on multicultural education), and the difficulties involved in achieving them, are the subjects of the next chapter.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AND THE RHETORIC OF PLURALISM

> Multi-culturalism *in its present form* is little more than a masking ideology with which an artful and ruthless capitalism protects itself. (Bagley, 1986: 57; my emphasis)

The debate in the sociology of education on the reproductive and productive functions of schools within (most often) a capitalist society has come down firmly, it seems, in favour of reproduction. Agency is not ruled out, but structural constraints are clearly recognised as significant and not easily overcome. Resistance theorists such as Giroux, who have been critical of this structuralist emphasis and have advocated in its stead for the rehabilitation of the notion of individual agency, have themselves been criticised for their inability to offer *practical* solutions at the level of school practices. Effecting an educational approach at the level of the school which allows for the promotion of agency *and* provides an agenda for social change is, it seems, enormously difficult. This difficulty is no more clearly demonstrated than in the area of ethnic minority education.

From Assimilation to Multicultural Education: Solutions to the Ethnic Minority 'Crisis' in Education

The changing conceptions outlined in Chapter 1 on the role of schooling in society are clearly reflected in the various practices which have been advocated over time towards ethnic minority groups within education. Along with working-class children, ethnic groups have been singled out as a cause for concern in many western countries because of their relative (and continued) underachievement in relation to majority group children. Initially it was thought that the language(s) and culture(s) of minority children were the cause of the educational difficulties many of them seemed to be facing and the policy of assimilation, with its emphasis on incorporation into the dominant culture and language, was championed as a means of redressing this. As John Porter, one of the great advocates of assimilation in Canada has argued, the benefits of such an approach were that it placed

> emphasis on *individualistic* achievement in the context of a new nation with *universalistic* standards of judgement ... it meant forgetting ancestry and attempting to establish a society of equality where ethnic origin did not matter. (1975: 293; my emphasis)

The unquestioned endorsement of individualism (a specifically western cultural conception), and the assumption of universalism apparent in Porter's comment, betray the ethnocentricity of the assimilationist account. The rhetoric of nationhood also clearly situates assimilation within a structural-functionalist conception of society (see Chapter 1) where the nation is seen as a unitary whole, politically and culturally indivisible and that, as such, minority groups should be absorbed into that nation's culture (assuming it, of course, to be that of the dominant group) in order to be able to fully contribute to the creation and maintenance of society (Mullard, 1982). As Mullard argues, in a British context:

> the assimilationist perspective was seen ... as one which embodied a set of beliefs about stability. The teaching of English along with a programme of cultural indoctrination and subordination ... would help in short to neutralize sub-cultural affinities and influences within the school. A command of the dominant group's language would not only mean [B]lacks could 'benefit' from the 'education' provided in school, but, more significantly, it would help counter the threat an alien group apparently poses to the stability of the school system and, on leaving, to society at large. Closely related to this viewpoint, as both a political and educational strategy for implementation and as a further base assumption of the assimilationist model, rested a notion of coercion and control (*ibid*: 123-124)[1]

In the 1960s, however, the influence of the liberal-democratic ideology and the associated notion of equality of educational opportunity, saw a move away from assimilation to an advocacy for an integrationist model of education.[2] Integration attempted to recognise rather than exclude aspects of minority cultures in the curriculum but while it was less crude than assimilation in its conceptions of culture, a continuing cultural hierarchy underpinned the model. The influence of deficit theory, popular at the time (see Chapter 1), also resulted in the continued perception of minority groups as educational 'problems'. As Mullard again comments:

> The assumptions, then, of cultural superiority, social stability, and shared values and beliefs still figure prominently in [integration] .... All the integrationist model affords, as possibly distinct from its predecessor, is that, while immutable, these dominant values and beliefs can in effect be reinforced through following a policy of mutual tolerance and reserved respect for other cultural values and beliefs. (*op cit*: 127)

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[1]. In New Zealand it has been the indigenous Maori who have borne the brunt of assimilation (in contrast to the British assimilation policy described by Mullard, which was directed primarily at Black and, subsequently, Asian immigrants). Maori were in fact the only minority group for which a specific policy was developed in New Zealand since the immigration of so-called 'coloured' persons was strictly controlled until the 1930s and non-British immigrants were simply expected to conform to Pakeha (see glossary) cultural norms (Metge, 1990). Assimilation was formally endorsed as an educational policy for Maori from the time of the Native Schools Act, 1867, and was pursued with little deviation until the early 1960's.

[2]. In the New Zealand context, the Hunn Report (1961) marked this change.

The overt ethnocentrism of assimilation simply became a covert aspect of integration (Irwin, 1989), thus making the latter policy's associated advocacy of equality of educational opportunity for minority groups somewhat ironic. Equal opportunity, in practice, meant equal opportunity only for those whose ideas and values conformed to the dominant group's middle-class culture (see Chapter 1) and integration's short lived educational tenure suggests that minority groups were quick to see the inconsistency. More durable, however, has been the subsequent promotion of cultural pluralism, and particularly its most popular form of expression, multicultural education.[3]

The Multicultural Panacea: Claims and Counter Claims

A central reason for the discarding of assimilation and integration is that both policies did little to change the position of minority groups within education. Minority pupils remained educationally disadvantaged in relation to their majority peers. As a result, multicultural education has been subsequently advanced as the means to improving the educational performance of minority children.[4] Assimilationist and integrationist policies have been targeted by advocates of multicultural education as the primary reason for minority failure in western education, and the notion of fostering 'cultural pluralism' has been adopted in their stead. As Modgil *et al.* argue,

> multiculturalists have sought to establish a new educational consensus. Rejecting assimilationist and ethnocentric philosophies of the 1960s, many have argued for a form of education that is pluralist in orientation and positively embraces a multiethnic perspective. (1986: 1)

The British School Council's view of multicultural education, as outlined by Craft, is typical of such a view:

> In a society which believes in cultural pluralism, the challenge for teachers is to meet the particular needs of pupils from different religions, linguistic and ethnic sub-cultures .... All pupils need to acquire knowledge and sensitivity to other cultural groups through a curriculum which offers opportunities to study other religions, languages and cultures .... At all stages this may enhance pupils' attitudes and performance at school through development of a sense of identity and self-esteem. (1982; cited in Crozier, 1989: 67-68)

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[3]. The terms 'cultural pluralism' and 'multicultural education' are not synonymous, although the promotion of cultural pluralism is often advocated by exponents of multicultural education, and distinctions between the terms consequently become vague. The conceptual overlap of these terms is characteristic of the terminological vagary associated with the field (see below).

[4]. While focusing primarily on the plight of ethnic minorities, the term in North American discourse has also come to include, for some protagonists, members of all marginalised groups, although what constitutes the basis of marginalisation is not always made clear (see Banks, 1988; Banks & Lynch, 1986; Gibson, 1976; Sleeter & Grant, 1987).

Banks, in discussing the North American scene, makes even bolder claims for multicultural education when he argues:

> As long as the achievement gap between Blacks and Whites and Anglos and Hispanics is wide, ethnic conflicts and tensions in schools will continue. Improving the academic achievement of ethnic minority students and developing and implementing a multicultural curriculum that reflects the cultures, experiences, and perspectives of diverse ethnic groups will help reduce the racial conflict and tension in U.S. schools. (1988: 12)

It seems, as Bullivant (a leading Australian writer in the field) observes, that '[f]or the time being educationists in ... pluralist societies have adopted, or are moving into, multicultural education as the claimed panacea to cure the ills that beset their educational systems.' (1986: 33)   Olneck, another North American commentator, argues along similar lines that 'multicultural education is characterized by ringing proclamations celebrating differences and endorsing the cultivation and maintenance of distinctive cultural identities...' (1990: 158) as the means to effecting educational change for minority students. Such proclamations have drawn criticisms from conservatives and radicals alike. As Parekh observes,

> for the conservative critics, it represents an attempt to politicize education in order to pander to minority demands, whereas for some radicals it is the familiar ideological device of perpetuating the reality of racist exploitation of ethnic minorities by pampering their cultural sensitivities... (1986: 19)

Given Parekh's observation, one might ask which of these opposing interpretations best represents what goes on under the rubric of multicultural education? Should conservative critics justly fear the formation of a new ideology which is significantly different from previous assimilationist and integrationist commitments? Or is multicultural education, despite its best intentions, little different from these previous ideologies of pluralism which were, after all, each posited in their own time(s) as *the* solution to the problems surrounding the education of minority children, only to have had their weaknesses subsequently exposed and to have been superseded by another (Bullivant, 1986). Moreover, if the latter is the case, and multicultural education simply continues to perpetuate, in another guise, a system of education which disadvantages minority children, can it be sufficiently reconceptualised to enable the establishment of an emancipatory educational approach (as outlined in Chapter 1) which might finally be able to achieve some commensurability for minority children?

In answer to the first question, it would appear to be that the radical conception is a more accurate picture of multicultural education, as popularly conceived. Multicultural education may be, arguably, more benign than its assimilationist and integrationist predecessors but, beyond its well meaning rhetoric, it is no more effective. This ineffectiveness rests with the theoretical dearth which underpins much of the multicultural debate. Mallea (1989), writing on multicultural education in Canada, has

suggested that while much may have been written about multicultural education (or education for a multicultural society) it has only rarely been informed by theory. The need for an 'informing theory', he argues, is clearly evident.

In attempting to develop an informing theory concerning multicultural education, however, one of the first difficulties to be overcome is the conceptual confusion which characterises much of the surrounding debate. Gibson, an early commentator on the multicultural debate in North America, comments to this end:

> In reviewing the literature on multicultural education, we find that program proponents have provided no systematic delineation of their views, and that all too frequently program statements are riddled with vague and emotional rhetoric. (1976: 16)

The populist rhetoric associated with multicultural education, it would seem, obscures definitions. As Sleeter and Grant state, in their more recent review of multicultural education in North America, '[o]ver the years it has become clear that it means different things to different people.' (1987: 421-422) Similarly, conceptual confusion, ambivalence and, at times, outright antagonism have characterised the debate on multicultural education and its possible variants (most notably, 'anti-racist' education) in Britain. Distinctions of terminology have, consequently, featured prominently as a means of delineating the various factions in the British debate (see, for example, Fenton, 1982; Jeffcoate, 1984; Modgil *et al.*, 1986; Mullard, 1982; Nixon, 1984). Likewise, in New Zealand education, discussions on multicultural education throughout the 1980s, particularly with regard to the much vaunted initiative of taha Maori (see glossary) have proved to be disparate and inconclusive (see Hingangaroa Smith, 1986; 1990; Irwin, 1988; 1989; Simon, 1986; Tait, 1988).[5] As the New Zealand Department of Education noted, somewhat prophetically it would seem, in a report written at the beginning of the 1980s:

> in identifying research in multicultural education as one of the priorities for educational research, the Department is conscious that it is seeking to plant something in ground whose potential is by no means fully understood or appreciated. (1981; cited in Irwin, 1989: 6)

And such would still seem to be the case, both in New Zealand and elsewhere. Banks has summarised these concerns in his observation that multicultural education remains 'an inconclusive concept used to describe a wide variety of school practices, programs and materials designed to help children from diverse groups to experience educational equality.' (1986a: 222) Bullivant (1981) has taken this further

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[5] Taha Maori attempted to formalise the inclusion of aspects of Maori culture into New Zealand's common curriculum. The initiative quickly foundered, however, because of the demonstrated ambivalence of both Maori and Pakeha towards it, albeit for different reasons. The former were ambivalent because of its exclusion of Maori language, its additive approach to the curriculum (see below) and its peripheral position in most schools. The latter viewed it, more often than not, as a threat or at least a distraction from the 'real' concerns of Pakeha education.

by going so far as to suggest that the proliferation of definitions ascribed to the terms 'multiculturalism' and 'multicultural education' has led, not only to confusion about what the terms mean, but to a questioning of whether they retain any generalisable meaning at all. As such, and as the debates in various countries prefigure, the claims of multicultural education, and particularly the notion of cultural pluralism with which it is most often associated, need to be examined more closely.

'Benevolent Multiculturalism'

If a consensus can be reached on what constitutes the *raison d'etre* of multicultural education (and, in light of the above discussion, this would seem to be no easy task) it would appear to centre around the rhetoric of cultural pluralism. Three somewhat dubious claims emerge from this rhetoric:

that learning about their own cultures will enhance the self esteem of ethnic minority children and will consequently improve their educational achievement;

that ethnic recognition in the curriculum will lead to greater equality of educational opportunity for ethnic minority children and;

that learning about other cultures and traditions will reduce discrimination within, and eventually outside of the classroom (see Bullivant, 1981).

Crozier has argued for a similar 'common code' in her discussion of multicultural education in Britain. She suggests that four common aims can be identified in the British literature:

1. to promote and develop tolerance;
2. to improve black children's self-identity, to develop 'cultural pride';
3. to break down the ignorance of white children and through this to put an end to 'racism' which is (sometimes) fostered by ignorance; and
4. to give value and respect to 'their' [minority] cultures. (1989: 67)

And Metge (1990), summarising the debates which have occurred in New Zealand, identifies three broad principles of: a promotion of a positive view of cultural diversity; encouragement of cross-cultural communication and understanding; and acceptance by majority as well as minority group members of the responsibility for change.

Admirable as these aims might appear, they have led to the dominance of what Gibson (1976) has described as 'benevolent' or 'naive' multiculturalism. Benevolent multiculturalism is often translated pedagogically into an 'additive' approach to the curriculum where an 'ethnic' component is tacked on to an existing syllabus, and is usually intended to boost the education of children from minority backgrounds rather than form the basis for a common course taken by all children at the school (Bullivant, 1981). Such an approach emphasises the importance of cultural and ethnic *identity* as the

major feature of a pluralist society (and education system) but fails to consider what it is that determines successful negotiations for ethnic minority groups in their interactions with the dominant group(s) in society, and within education (*ibid*). In so doing, pluralism is confused with diversity and, as Olneck observes, what results is that

> multicultural education as ordinarily practised tends to merely 'insert' minorities into the dominant cultural frame of reference ... to be transmitted within dominant cultural forms ... and to leave obscured and intact existing cultural hierarchies and criteria of stratification ... (*op cit.* 163)

Hulmes, a British commentator, argues along similar lines that

> pluralism [construed as simply diversity] does not extend the right to choose in matters of most serious consequence, and multi-cultural education (however well-intentioned) tends to conceal this limitation. In important issues such as the content of the curriculum, teaching methods, assessment, the transmission of values from one generation to the next and the induction of the young into the adult community, the educational questions have already been answered. The comprehensiveness of constituent cultures is subordinated at critical points to the practical judgement of an established educational philosophy which is assumed to be logically prior to all others. The voices of minority cultures are effectively ignored, except when they speak at other levels of cultural activity such as music, dance, cuisine and social customs. (1989: 13)

The result is an emphasis on *lifestyles* rather than *life chances* in multicultural education. As Enloe comments, 'the discrepancy between democratic ideology and ethnic reality is resolved by reducing ethnicity to style.' (1973: 61) Birrell similarly advocates:

> The 'one big happy family' ideology ignores [the] reality of class and cultural dominance .... There is no apparent imperative to change the existing arrangements and lofty multicultural sentiments are hardly likely to effect such a change. (1978: 107)

And Bullivant clearly reiterates both preceding commentators when he argues:

> selections for the curriculum that encourage children from ethnic backgrounds to learn about their cultural heritage, languages, histories, customs and other aspects of their life-styles have little bearing on their equality of educational opportunity and life-chances. (1986: 42)[6]

It seems that when questions of power come into the analysis the equation of diversity with equality begins to look doubtful. Furthermore, when attention turns from lifestyles to life chances the rhetoric of cultural pluralism loses its veneer of liberalism and is exposed as ethnic hegemony (Burtonwood,

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[6]. An emphasis on life-styles in multicultural education has seen the rapid development of 'heritage' approaches to culture and cultural difference(s). As Bullivant argues, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with such approaches as long as their limitations are realised. Heritage approaches tend to emphasise the expressive over the instrumental in conceptions of culture; emphasise the histories of ethnic groups but have little to say on their current circumstances and concerns within society (and the real nature of that society), and in so doing; promote the preservation of a fossilised view of the culture(s) of ethnic groups in the minds of both minority *and majority* groups.

1986). The assertions - that raising the self esteem of minority children will result in their educational emancipation, and that programmes highlighting cultural difference will ameliorate the structural disadvantages that minority children face - prove to be hollow in a benevolent multicultural education. The net result may actually work against the life chances of children from minority backgrounds. The valuing of cultural differences, while appearing to act solely for the best interests of ethnic groups, simply masks the unchanged nature of power relations.[7]

There would appear to be, it seems, an irreducible gap between the utopianism associated with the emancipatory conception of multicultural education as cultural pluralism, and the realities of school practice(s). As Bullivant observes, concerning such naive egalitarian intent, 'the optimism of continued reduction of inequality [for minority groups] is tempered by the realization that the cultural reproduction thesis and its variants ... still holds.' (1986: 36) Moreover, the failure of pluralism to give voice to minority opinion *in practice* cannot be indefinitely concealed, nor can it be dismissed as unconstructive (Hulmes, 1989). While recognising that multicultural education is only one dimension of a societal response to cultural and democratic pluralism and that both it and the school are limited in their ability to effect social change[8] (Lynch, 1986) it becomes clear that if multicultural education is to have any effect at all it needs to be reconstituted in such a way as to situate the notion of cultural pluralism within a *realist* conception of society that takes account of the processes of social and cultural reproduction inherent within it. As Olneck argues:

> If pluralism is to have any distinctive meaning or to be authentically realized, it must enhance the communal or collective lives of the groups that constitute a society and must not be limited to the expression of differences among individuals in heritage, values, and styles. Pluralism must recognize in some serious manner, the identities and claims of groups *as groups* and must facilitate, or at least symbolically represent and legitimate, collective identity. It must enhance the salience of group membership as a basis for participation in society and ensure that pedagogy, curriculum, and modes of assessment are congruent with valued cultural differences. (*op cit.* 148; emphasis in original)

Olneck's observation, while specifically related to multicultural education, bears a remarkable resemblance to Gilbert's (1987) advocacy for a critical school practice which moves beyond individualism to effect social change (see Chapter 1). Sharp and Green, in discussing the related context of progressive education, underline a similar need to move beyond the individual and situate attempts at educational reform within wider social and cultural processes. In a telling comparison with Matthew Arnold's efforts in last century's Britain, they argue:

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[7]. An emphasis on cultural differences as a means of educating *all* children, rather than reducing racism and discrimination as is its intention, may in fact act to confirm them by entrenching the perceived differences between 'us' and 'them' (see Bullivant, 1986; Crozier, 1989).

[8]. For a discussion of the constraints placed on the school as an agency of social change, see Chapter 1.

Without some clearer conception of the character of industrial societies and the limits on effective intervention that are imposed one can only depict progressive educators as utopian. The failure to consider the social preconditions for the effective institutionalization of their moral ideals which would involve a trenchant analysis of the social parameters of the educational system, reduces the progressive educator to little more than an unwilling apologist of the system and his [sic] utopian solutions ineffective. He [sic] is in the same dilemma as Matthew Arnold ... [who] sought the solutions to the social crisis, brought about by industrialization, through the transformation of the individual through culture, an idealist solution which failed to provide an adequate account of the causes of the crisis .... If the lack of culture is the cause of our social crisis, then merely to advocate culture to cure the crisis ignores the reasons why culture was absent or had become so degraded in the first place .... it is not enough merely to assert that the individual matters but to attempt to transform the character of the institutional framework. (1975: 226)

Beyond Benevolent Multiculturalism: Effecting Structural Change at School Level

In answer to the second question posited earlier, then, as to whether multicultural education can be effectively reconstituted (and, in so doing, move beyond its utopianism, and the naive and individualised conception of culture, and cultural difference, that this has involved) - it must incorporate, as Sharp and Green suggest, institutional (or structural) change. Similarly, one can assume that the enhancement of minority children's educational performance can also best occur in those schools where cultural pluralism is recognised *within the structures of the school*. Such recognition takes cognisance of the power relations that are mediated through the school system and any effect of cumulative disadvantage which might result for minority students and posits, as such, the multicultural education debate within an 'informing theory' (Mallea, 1989) of social and cultural reproduction. In so doing, it is able to locate, as Cummins observes,

> the pathology within the societal power relations between dominant and dominated groups, [the] reflection of these power relations between school and communities, and [the] mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms. (1986: 30)

Returning to Bourdieu (who, arguably, offers us the most powerful informing theory to date; see Chapter 1), and his conception of cultural capital, the populist rhetoric surrounding the multicultural education debate can be effectively unmasked. If 'cultural pluralism' simply means the practising of a benevolent multiculturalism in schools, the threat to the accumulation of cultural capital in favour of the dominant group is not a great one. While we have a curriculum organised around the knowledge code of the dominant group, there will always be educational inequalities attributed to social and ethnic origin in a mixed society (Harker, 1990a). As Hulmes argues,

> this is partly because, in practice, it turns out that multi-cultur[al] education does not reflect the variety of approaches to knowledge and to the acquisition of knowledge. It continues to be an instrument of a *particular* (and, presumably, dominant) *western* culture. There is a paradox here. A situation appears to be developing in which an educational mechanism (multi-cultur[al]

education), ostensibly designed to reduce prejudice, is perceived to be alien to the cultural traditions of some of the groups which it is intended to help most .... it is inconsistent, on the one hand, to speak warmly of the cultural enrichment which [minority] groups can bring to the wider community and, on the other hand, to ensure that this influence is carefully filtered lest it enrich anything as important as education. (*op cit*: 15-16; emphasis in original)

When cultural pluralism is tied to structural pluralism, however, resistance to the processes of social and cultural reproduction can be effectively mounted in schools. The result could be a genuine multicultural system which, as Harker defines it in his discussion of New Zealand education, would be one 'in which different value systems and lifestyles are accorded equal status and prestige, and with full institutional alternatives.' (1990a: 42) Harker also argues that such a system would not only have various knowledge codes in operation but would have 'a variety of ways of transmitting these knowledge codes using culturally appropriate pedagogical methods, and with a variety of options available to evaluate when successful transmission has taken place. It goes without saying that such a system would be bilingual (or multilingual).' (*ibid*: 39-40) This stands in sharp contrast to the European-type *collection* code (Bernstein, 1971; 1990) which dominates in most schools.[9] Harker outlines what views of knowledge and practice result from such a code:

1. Knowledge is seen as private property with its own power structure and market situation ....
2. Subject loyalty is developed in students ....
3. Students learn within a given frame ... they accept the authority of the teachers.
4. The evaluative system places emphasis upon attaining states of knowledge rather than ways of knowing - how much do you know rather than how do you know it and how does it relate to other things that you know.
5. The pedagogical relationship tends to be hierarchical and ritualised.
6. The pupil is seen as ignorant with little status and few rights - being initiated into successively higher levels within a subject by those who already 'know'.
7. Educational knowledge (high status) is kept separate from common-sense knowledge (low status) - except for the less able children whom the system has given up educating. (1990a: 38)

Given the pervasiveness of the underlying conceptions which constitute this code within education it is little wonder then, that 'ethnic additive' approaches to multicultural education (Banks, 1986a; 1986b; 1988; Gibson, 1976; Sleeter & Grant, 1987) as typified in benevolent multiculturalism, have had little effect in changing the position for minority children within education. As Harker concludes concerning New Zealand education, '[i]f our system is to be multi-cultural or even bi-cultural in any real sense, then we should be engaging in a fundamental re-appraisal of the structural features of the school.' (1990a: 39) Hulmes comes to a similar conclusion in his discussion of British multicultural education:

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[9]. Collection codes arise from strong classification and framing rules and are juxtaposed against *integrated* codes in Bernstein's account (see Chapter, 1.)

> Some of the advantages to be gained from multi-cultur[al] education are said to be the undermining of myths, stereotypes and prejudices; the incorporation of the experience of minority cultures into the curriculum; and the promotion of intercultural understanding .... how these indisputable advantages are to be realized is not clear [but the] word *incorporation* provides a clue. It suggests much more than the word *inclusion*. It implies that changes to the curriculum are to be *organic* rather than merely incremental. But if the incorporation is to be effective it will also require a thorough reassessment of curriculum content, of teaching methods and of the dominant philosophy of education. (*op cit*: 19-20; emphasis in original)

Accomplishing such a fundamental reorganisation at school level in order to establish a genuinely 'multicultural' education is, of course, not easily achieved since it requires a critical macro-sociological conception of schooling to be realised in the micro-sociological practices of the school (a combination which has evaded many theorists let alone practitioners; see Chapter 1). That so few schools have as yet attempted the task on behalf of their minority students is indicative of the difficulties involved but, as with the broader conception of emancipatory education outlined at the end of the previous chapter, *it should be possible*. What follows is an account of one school's attempt at just such an endeavour. By addressing the social and cultural processes of reproduction which underlie school structures and, consequently, affect the educational life chances of minority children, and by changing them at the level of the school in order that these processes might begin to be reversed, Richmond Road School in Auckland, New Zealand is an example of a school which *is* making a difference for minority children, both in theory *and* practice. Before examining the school more closely, however, a discussion on the methodology used in the following account is necessary.

METHODOLOGY: A CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography should be considered a deliberate inquiry process guided by a point of view, rather than a reporting process guided by a standard technique or set of techniques, or a totally intuitive process that does not involve reflection. (Erickson, 1984: 51)

School Ethnographies

Woods & Grugeon have argued in a recent article on the multicultural education debate in Britain that '[i]t is time for this debate to move to the field of action, the classroom' (1990: 310) and proceed to endorse the use of ethnography to this end. Ethnography, at first glance, seems particularly appropriate as a research approach in the field of multicultural education since it is a field which has failed so often to tie its theoretical intentions to the realities of school practices (see Chapter 2). Originating in anthropology, ethnography has been associated most prominently with the work of Malinowski in the 1920s. In this classic sense, it has been described as 'the process of constructing through direct personal observation of social behaviour, a theory of the working of a particular culture in terms as close as possible to the way members of that culture view the universe and organise their behaviour within it.' (Bauman, 1972; cited in Erickson, 1979: 182) Put more simply, one's goal as an ethnographer is to focus on a setting and discover what is going on there (Wilcox, 1982). This can be achieved by describing the norms, rules and expectations which identify people with a particular culture, setting, or institution but if one wants to ascribe meaning to behaviour in a fuller sense, the ethnographer needs to share in the meanings that participants take for granted in informing their behaviour and to describe and explicate these meanings for the benefit of the reader. Geertz (1973) has described this process as 'thick description' which aims to discover the important and recurring variables in the setting as they relate to one another and as they affect or produce certain results and outcomes within it. The aim of ethnography, in this sense, is an interpretive one; to systematically learn reality from the point of view of the participant(s). The result, as Angus observes, is 'to place human

actors and their interpretive and negotiating capacities at the centre of analysis.' (1986a: 61) The use of participant observation is regarded as the mainstay to achieving this end and is consequently a prominent feature in any ethnographic account. Ethnography is not limited to participant observation, however, since other methods such as document collection, field note taking and the use of interviews are also commonly used. Research methodology is not defining in ethnography because particular settings will determine the range of research methods employed.

Ethnography and ethnographic methods with their qualitative concerns and interpretive orientation have become increasingly popular with researchers in the social sciences and education and, in education particularly, the use of ethnography in the study of classrooms and schools has burgeoned in recent years, perhaps explaining Woods & Grugeon's enthusiasm for its appropriation to the multicultural education debate. Before this research approach can be endorsed, however, two major criticisms levelled at the use of these interpretivist ethnographic accounts need to be considered. The first, a preoccupation with detail, actually derives from one of ethnography's major strengths; the second, and related criticism, has to do with the attempt in conventional ethnography to abrogate a theoretical perspective for the 'open-ended' collection of data.

Chilcott, addressing the first concern, argues that much of what has passed as school ethnography 'appears to be mere description' (1987: 209) and is, as such, non-contextual. The problem seems to lie with what Erickson, another ethnographic commentator, has described as the inevitable tension between specificity and scope in description in ethnographic research - 'between precise and adequate amounts of research data relevant to research questions of small compass, and the general comprehensiveness of a more synoptic view.' (1979: 183) Previous ethnographies of schooling have, it seems, predominantly attended to the former at the expense of the latter. This trend has come to be known as *micro-ethnography* and while it may generate some important knowledge about a particular school its narrow focus fails to shed light on the more complex issues that account for much of what goes on (or does not go on) in schooling (see Chapter 1).[1] Lutz argues, along these lines, that 'the narrower the focus of a study of schooling processes, the more likely important, perhaps necessary, variables are to be unseen and unaccounted for' (1984: 110) and suggests as an alternative that educational research should rather engage in *macro-ethnography* which 'seeks explanation within a broad social context, regardless of where the focus begins, and couches that explanation in an even broader cross-cultural approach.' (*ibid*: 112). In adopting the notion of a cross cultural perspective, Lutz

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[1] A proviso needs to be made here. While this criticism still applies to many school ethnographies, micro-ethnographies are beginning to be critically reconceived in other areas, particularly in discourse analysis (see, for example, Fairclough, 1989; Young, 1992).

suggests that the school can be observed as a social and cultural system situated within the broader social and cultural systems apparent in society. Chilcott argues, along similar lines:

> the focus of school ethnography needs to be more diachronic, focusing on the socio-cultural processes within and outside of the school that create the situations within the school .... A school culture can no longer be understood by contemplating its navel .... The ethnographer must develop more of a holistic perspective that focuses upon the interdependence of variables affecting the school - upon structural causes of change within the organization... (*op cit.* 209)

However, before an approach which situates the school within wider social and cultural processes can be developed, the second difficulty of the atheoretical nature of much ethnographic research needs to be addressed. In conventional ethnography, the interpretive emphasis on human agency sees the language of the participants form the basis for description, while sense is made of the situation by letting meanings 'emerge' from the data.[2] From this perspective, the aim of the ethnographer is to explore the setting from the point of view of the participants and the principal concern is how her or his preconceptions and expectations *might be set aside* to allow this information to be gathered 'untarnished'. The attempt to divorce theory from data collection in this way, however, is specious. As Hughes argues:

> Whether they may be treated as such or not, research methods cannot be divorced from theory; as research tools they operate only within a given set of assumptions about the nature of society, the nature of man [sic], the relationship between the two and how they may be known. (1980: 13)

Angus observes, along similar lines:

> there is no sensible distinction between theory and data - for the generation of data through observation and participation involves selection and interpretation that must reflect judgements that are theoretically based. (1986b: 72)

All research is theory laden and, as such, a researcher *must* begin from a theoretical position of some description (whether this is articulated or not in the ensuing study). As Angus again comments:

> Researchers never *simply* hang around waiting for something to happen. They invariably and inevitably carry so much theoretical (and cultural) baggage inside their heads that what they look *at*, what they look *for*, and how they interpret what they 'see' can never be totally impartial. (*ibid.* 71-72; emphasis in original)

The failure, then, to be explicit about the conceptual notions we bring to research is, as Lutz argues, 'self-deceiving and at least as likely to distort the ethnography as is the explicit statement of the conceptual framework (*op cit.* 117). While Woods & Grugeon's recommendation for the use of

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[2] Glaser & Strauss's (1967) notion of 'grounded theory' is a prominent example of this conception.

ethnographies in multicultural education is well intentioned, then, a more critical ethnographic conception, which specifically recognises the interrelationship between theory and data (and, in so doing, moves beyond 'the classroom' to examine broader social and cultural processes) is required.

A Critical Ethnography

The non-contextual approach of many school ethnographies and their reticence to engage with theory has resulted in 'most school ethnographers appear[ing] to be either indifferent to theories of culture or unfamiliar with such theories.' (Chilcott, *op cit*: 201) In order to redress this, a critical ethnographic tradition has subsequently emerged in education. As Masemann summarises this development:

> 'Critical ethnography' refers to studies which use a basically anthropological, qualitative participant observer methodology but which rely for their theoretical formulation on a body of theory deriving from critical sociology and philosophy (1982: 1)

Critical ethnographers are quite explicit about the theoretical perspectives underpinning their work. In answering the call for a macro-ethnographic, or synoptic approach to school ethnographies, the perspectives in a critical ethnography are linked to a general theory of society and a concept of social structure which exists beyond the actors' perceptions of it (Masemann, 1982; Angus, 1987) and this helps to contextualise the research. If a school ethnography is to become more than simply a reporting process it must direct the reader to the cultural theory and problem orientation that provide the focus for the research (Chilcott, 1987). As Angus argues, a critical ethnography should attempt to 'understand the processes and mechanisms by which macro forces are mediated at the level of a single institution.' (1987: 31) And, as he elsewhere elaborates:

> Investigations of schooling ... should attempt to specifically illuminate the process and mechanisms by which the macro-forces of the society-wide education system are both produced and mediated, through the everyday lived experience and perceptions of human agents, at the level of specific institutions. Such mediation, given the essential human agency of school participants, will never be simple, enabling the automatic reproduction of prior arrangements, but will instead allow for moments of contradiction which will signal new social or institutional forces, or the beginnings of new organisational forms. (1986b: 75)

The emphasis in critical ethnography, as outlined by Angus, on the *dialectical* relationship between human agency and institutional structure not only avoids the limitations of conventional micro-ethnography (which emphasises agency but not structure; see above), but also addresses the possible difficulties which might inhere in a synoptic account. With regard to the latter, Erickson (1979) has identified two in particular: 'the bias towards the typical' and the 'model of the individual as passive culture bearer'. Erickson argues that the former arises when one does broad scale description from the standpoint of an essentially static social theory. Structural functionalism (see Chapter 1), which

assumes that social structures within society (such as the school) influence (or determine) the ways in which people can act in society, is an example of such a theoretical stance and ethnographies which view schools as places of cultural transmission typify this approach.[3] What results from such a conception, Erickson argues, is an emphasis on works rather than working and on balance and order rather than decision and struggle. The latter difficulty occurs when individuals are portrayed in the account as passive recipients of multiple external influences (those of socialisation and social structure) as in the more deterministic conceptions of social and cultural reproduction (see Chapter 1). A critical ethnography avoids these pitfalls, however, by employing a 'cultural ecology' approach which, as Wilcox describes it, 'recognises the *dynamic* nature of social process and interpersonal interaction.' (*op cit.* 478; my emphasis). It is a reflexive approach to research which, as Anderson argues:

> involves a dialectical process among (a) the researcher's constructs, (b) the informants' commonsense constructs, (c) the research data, (d) the researcher's ideological biases, and (e) the structural and historical forces that inform the social construction under study (1989: 254-255)

The highlighting of the dialectical and reciprocal relationship between the structural constraints on human actors and the relative autonomy of human agency (or praxis) in education enables a critical ethnography to explore the nature of the intersection between choice and constraint and to centre on questions of power (Lather, 1986a). Its interactive nature, as such, seems particularly suited to an exploration of an emancipatory approach to education - specifically, multicultural education - which, as we saw in Chapters 1 & 2, needs to combine individual agency and a social agenda for change within a realist conception of the processes of social and cultural reproduction. By attempting to add prediction and explanation to thick description, critical ethnography can be regarded, admittedly, as 'openly ideological research' (Lather, 1986a; 1986b) but then, so must any exploration of emancipatory education. Issues of validity, particularly from the explicit use of *a priori* theory do, however, need to be considered. As Anderson concedes, critical ethnography's 'agenda of social critique, [the] attempt to locate ... respondents' meanings in larger impersonal systems of political economy, and the resulting 'front-endedness' of much of [the] research raises validity issues beyond those of mainstream naturalistic research.' (*op cit.* 253)

Given these problems of validation, the following critical ethnographic account of Richmond Road has been subject to the usual member checking and triangulation of data sources and methods that are characteristic of good ethnographic accounts (and good research in general). It has been derived from participant observation at the school, as a visiting researcher, over a period two years. This

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[3] In the American tradition of ethnography, in particular, a structural-functionalist conception of society remains apparent. As Angus argues, such ethnography 'fails to grasp the complexity and uncertainty of social life, and fails to address notions of agency in the reproduction and transformation of social situations.' (1986b: 64)

participation has included extensive informal discussions with: present and past staff members (including non-teaching staff); the present principal, Lionel Pedersen and his two associate principals; Board of Trustees' members[4]; 'friends of the school' (including a number of overseas academics), and national and local Department of Education officials who, in one capacity or another, have been associated with the school. More limited informal discussions were held with parents and pupils. Participation in the ropu (see glossary; Chapter 5), ropu team meetings, senior teacher meetings, staff meetings, and Board of Trustee meetings were also a part of the study and included, at times (and upon invitation) active participation in school policy development. Extensive analysis of the school's (extensive) documentation, which outlines both past and present developments in the school's ethos and operation (and includes source articles drawn on by the school), also provided a rich source of information from which to draw as did material already written on Richmond Road by others (see, in particular, Cazden, 1989). Finally, along with the use of a log book and extensive note-taking, 20 tape recorded interviews, which were open-ended and ranged from 1-3 hours in length, were conducted with: the principal; a range of current teaching and non-teaching staff (including cleaners, senior teachers, relieving teachers, long serving staff, and recently graduated and/or arrived teachers); 4 past staff members; 3 education officials; and 1 Board of Trustees member. Except on two occasions, when respondents asked for particular comments to remain anonymous, all interviewees' responses have been identified in the following account. Permission was obtained for this from all those interviewed, and all interviews, along with the other sources of information acquired, were verified with participants and, if necessary, corrected before being drawn upon. My subsequent interpretation of these data, as outlined in the following pages, has also been subject to discussion and criticism by participants, although it remains my own account. Accordingly, given my theoretical position (see the conclusions to Chapters 1 & 2, & Chapter 4), my interpretation of particular situations or comments has, at times, differed from the respondents involved (albeit, as will be seen, not often). As Angus observes:

> Such an approach is characteristic of critical ethnography, which insists upon an ongoing awareness of the fundamental human agency of social actors while simultaneously remaining aware that the subjective consciousness of individuals may conceal ways in which society is influenced by social and economic structures. (1988: 5)

The reasons, however, why such deconstruction has not been as prominent in the following account of Richmond Road as it is in most critical ethnographies rests largely with the awareness of those involved at the school with the reproductive processes to which Angus refers, since, as will be outlined in the following chapter (see also the conclusion to Chapter 2), the school *has* developed a critical

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[4] Boards of Trustees, elected from local school communities, were established in New Zealand in 1989 to formally administer primary schools, as part of a national reform (and devolution) of school adminstration at that time. Prior to that, primary schools had been subject to regional Education Boards, which were abolished in the reform.

conception of multicultural education that is beginning to contest these processes. As such, this study, in exploring Richmond Road's educational endeavours, aims to account for another persistent criticism levelled at educational critical theory; 'its tendency toward social critique without developing a theory of action that educational practitioners can draw upon to develop a 'counter-hegemonic' practice in which dominant structures of classroom and organisational meaning are challenged' (Anderson, *op cit*: 257; see also the section on resistance theory in Chapter 1). As Anderson goes on to suggest:

> Although many critical ethnographies have attempted to address implications for practitioners ... few have taken critical practitioners as objects of study .... if educational critical ethnography shares with applied educational research the goal of social and educational change, then it must address its impact on educational practitioners (*ibid*: 257, 262).

It is with this in mind, that a critical ethnographic account of a 'critical school' such as Richmond Road seems both appropriate, in its exploration of critical theory in practice, and timely, in its extension of the field of critical ethnographic research along these lines.

RICHMOND ROAD SCHOOL: AN OVERVIEW

Real educational reform is so especially difficult and unlikely that a model such as Richmond Road is precious both locally and internationally as a statement of what is really possible. (Holdaway, 1984)

Richmond Road School is situated in the inner city area of Ponsonby in Auckland, and is a multi-ethnic state contributing primary school. It is one of four contributing primary schools which service Ponsonby Intermediate, although prior to the establishment of the intermediate in 1976, Richmond Road was a full entrant to Form 2 primary school.[1] Most of the pupils at the school represent non-dominant groups in New Zealand society, principally of Maori and Pacific Island origin, as seen in Table 4.1:

Ethnic Origin.	
Samoan	21%
Maori	18%
Pakeha	18%
Cook Island	13%
Tongan	13%
Niuean	6%
Indian	3%
Tokelauan	2%
Fijian, West Indian, Malaysian, Japanese	4%
Other	1%

Table 4.1: Ethnic composition of Richmond Road Primary School, as at April 1989. Adapted from 1989 Annual Report.

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[1]. Until the establishment of intermediate schools in the New Zealand education system, which have children for the two years (11-13 yrs.) prior to their entering high school, most primary schools had had children from New Entrants to Form 2 (5-13 yrs.). With the advent of intermediates, however, these primary schools were 'decapitated' to the lower Standard 4 (10 yrs.) level. It has only been recently that legislative changes have allowed primary schools to 'recapitate' to Form 2 again if they so wish.

There is a similarly multi-ethnic staff, including representatives of most of the cultural groups to which the majority of pupils belong. The ethnic composition of Richmond Road is a reflection of the multicultural Ponsonby community that the school serves. However, the nature of that community, as reflected in the long history of the school, has not always been as it is now.

The Historical Background

Richmond Road was first established as a temporary school in February 1884 to alleviate the overcrowding of other Ponsonby schools at the time and is, as such, one of the oldest remaining primary schools in Auckland. Its temporary character soon became permanent, however, as the inner city began to expand. This expansion was also to pose similar difficulties of overcrowding for Richmond Road. In fact, despite additions to school buildings early this century and in the 1930s, and a remodelling of the school in 1972, one of the consistent difficulties which Richmond Road faced until its decapitation (see Footnote 1) in 1976 has been a combination of too many children and too few facilities. In 1922, for example, Villers *et al.* (1984) note in their centenary booklet that the largest class contained 82 Standard 5 (Form 1) children. While the additions of the 1930s were to alleviate these extremes, the conditions did not markedly improve. As Colleen Belsham, who first began teaching at Richmond Road in the early 1970s, recalls, on coming to the school:

> The thing that shocked me most was the space for kids .... There was only a strip of grass at the end of the concrete. There was just classrooms everywhere. There were all these kids ... and it just used to look criminal because there was so much concrete and so many kids... (Interview, 25 May, 1991)

Jim Laughton, who came to Richmond Road as principal in September 1972 and stayed until his death in September 1988, wrote in the school's centenary publication that in the year of his arrival,

> 830 pupils, 34 teachers, and other ancillary staff crowded the school. Instant classrooms were crammed into the meagre, 2¼ acre site, perched on the old bomb shelters, squeezed into corners, occupying nearly all of the area .... Playing space was at a premium, every square metre valued. Some duty teachers supervised young children's play on the front lawn and along the narrow strip between buildings... (1984: 37)

While the school was reluctant to lose its Form 1 and 2 children in 1976 (and is now, in the present educational environment, about to recapitate; see Chapter 8) the establishment of Ponsonby Intermediate at that time did alleviate the long term difficulties of overcrowding Richmond Road had faced until then. Unfortunately decapitation, which saw the school's roll drop by a quarter of the 1975 figure, was also to coincide with changes in the local community that were to lead to the rapidly falling roll situation which the school now faces.

Up until the 1950s, Ponsonby had been a dormitory suburb for a predominantly Pakeha working-class. From the 1950s, however, the confluence of other ethnic groups in the area was to become increasingly apparent. An influx of Maori families moving from rural communities to the cities in search of work, coupled with the migration of Pacific Islanders, saw the area emerge as the 'Polynesian heart of Auckland'. (Hucker, 1984: 12) The emerging Maori and Pacific Island communities came to provide the focal point for the newly reconstituted suburb. This multicultural milieu, however, was followed by developments in the 1970s and 1980s which heralded the decline of the inner city. Middle-class Pakeha began moving back into the area, and the process of gentrification which ensued has resulted in a population decline from which the inner city has not recovered. Subsequent property speculation resulted in the rapid increase of inner city housing prices, forcing Maori and Pacific Island families, who were predominantly living in low-cost rental accommodation, to move out of the area as landlords took advantage of changed circumstances. As these families left the area, they were replaced by Pakeha who were either childless or had small nuclear families. This gentrification of the inner city, along with an attendant process of 'white flight', has contributed to the decline in school numbers which Richmond Road and other multicultural inner city schools now face. Nicola Legat, writing in the Auckland magazine *Metro* on the phenomenon of white flight, notes that Pakeha parents, in their preoccupation with finding the 'best' school for their children, are often taking them to a school out of the area, or into the private system. This is, she suggests,

> a peculiarly middle-class obsession, presupposing the assertiveness to question and challenge, the time to observe, and the access to a car to drive children to schools further afield .... Typically, in the search, they are giving the schools with high Polynesian rolls the big swerve. (1991: 63)

White flight compounds the falling rolls which face multicultural inner city schools like Richmond Road. As Legat concludes, given this, 'the gap between who sits in the inner-city classrooms and who actually lives in the neighbouring streets looks likely to continue.' (*ibid*. 70)

Pakeha scepticism of the educational merit or otherwise of Richmond Road and its neighbouring schools, while it might reflect the wider process of racism at work within New Zealand society, is also somewhat ironic. Richmond Road's educational pedigree, for example, is exemplary. As Don Holdaway outlines, in the school's centenary booklet, Richmond Road had a pivotal role in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the development and trialing of Marie Clay's (1979) internationally renowned work on early reading practices. The development of 'Big Books' and 'Shared Book Experience' undertaken by teachers in Richmond Road's junior school was central to this project and has formed the basis for much of the subsequent development of reading recovery in New Zealand schools, and elsewhere. This involvement in educational innovation was to continue under the subsequent principalship of Jim Laughton. His concern to establish a theoretically and structurally founded

approach to multicultural education, and the means by which he achieved this, inform much of this present study of the school. Since his death, the school has continued to develop the multicultural systems which Jim Laughton set in place within the school. While Richmond Road cannot be the same without him, it has not been left bereft, since Laughton's intention was for these systems to be 'self-sustaining and self-generating' (Richmond Road School, 1983). The degree to which this aim has been achieved is reflected in the present structures and philosophy of the school.

The Present Context: An Informed Approach to Multicultural Education

Laughton's tenure has seen Richmond Road develop and sustain an approach to multiculturalism which aims to empower both minority and majority students through the promotion of cultural pluralism. A whakatauki (see glossary) often quoted by the school encapsulates this ethos:

Nau te rourou, Naku te rourou
· Ka ora te tangata.

Your food basket, My food basket
Will give life to the people.

Minority students are empowered by a recognition and affirmation of their language(s) and culture(s) within the context of the school[2], along with a provision of the skills necessary to live in mainstream Pakeha society. Majority students are similarly provided for and responsibility is imputed to both groups to realise this process of cultural difference and mutuality (Richmond Road School, 1983; 1985; 1986). These two concepts, identified by Laughton as *cultural maintenance* and *access to power*, form the basis of Richmond Road's approach to multicultural education. Within this framework, Laughton argues that the following imperatives have special significance: responding to the variety of personal and cultural need within the school; making space for all; setting in place inclusive systems and; *the determined pursuit of social justice* (Richmond Road School, 1986).

While such an approach might appear little different from the various forms of benevolent multiculturalism discussed in Chapter 2, it can be fundamentally distinguished from other approaches in two key respects. Firstly, the school has developed an 'informing theory' of education as the basis of its educational endeavours. What constitutes this informed position will be outlined in the ensuing chapters but suffice it to say at this stage that Richmond Road, unlike many schools, recognises the power relations implicit in the multicultural equation. Emphasis may be placed on the value of all children within the school, but cognisance is also taken of the particular processes of institutionalised

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[2] Language and culture are seen as indivisible by the school; see Chapter 6.

power which limit the choices and life chances of minority children. Given this, the school sets itself the task of increasing the alternatives of its minority children. Secondly, and in order that these wider alternatives are achieved, the informed approach to multicultural education adopted by the school has been realised through structural diversity at the school level. Jim Laughton recognised that establishing cultural pluralism in any serious manner required structural pluralism; the reform of the school's organisational structures. Only then could the cycle of marginalisation that minority groups have faced through the hegemonic processes that operate in and through education (see Chapter 1) begin to be redressed. It is these processes and the relations of force implicit in them that Richmond Road consciously aims to resist by promoting the recognition, affirmation and celebration of cultural difference *within the institutionalised structures of the school.* Richmond Road is a school which rejects the assumption that the cultural necessary in schools has to be tied to a single cultural arbitrary (that of the dominant group).[3] The school demonstrates, as will be shown, that structural alternatives can be employed for delivering necessary knowledge which are not only inclusive of the values and practices of both minority and majority cultures but are non-hierarchically construed. In so doing, Richmond Road highlights the truth of Cummins's assertion that

> widespread school failure does not occur in minority groups that are positively oriented towards both their own and the dominant culture, that do not perceive themselves as inferior to the dominant group, and that are not alienated from their own cultural values. (1986: 22)

What has resulted at Richmond Road is an approach to multicultural education which, by recognising the identities and claims of groups *as groups* and by attempting to represent and legitimate collective identity (Olneck, 1990; see Chapter 2) in its delivery of education, has sought to reconstitute the school environment to the *real* educational advantage of minority children. As Jim Laughton often said in discussing the complicity of schooling in the perpetuation of educational inequalities for minority groups, 'I don't know what's right in education, but over the years, these things [a curriculum and pedagogy tied to the cultural arbitrary of the dominant group] have proved to me that at least for minority people, they haven't been successful. So what is the point of pursuing those same things?' (cited in Cazden, 1989: 145)

The different directions which Richmond Road has pursued, both in establishing a coherent and powerful educational theory and in realising this through structural diversity at the school level, mark the school as a site of educational and social change. Drawing on Bernstein's (1971; 1990) categories

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[3]. See the section on Bourdieu in Chapter 1 for a discussion of these terms.

of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation as a framework,[4] and with the addition of school organisation, what follows is an account of how this educational philosophy and practice came about, how it developed, and how it is currently practised within the school. Of course, Jim Laughton figures prominently, but while Richmond Road is very much a testimony to Laughton's educational vision, perhaps the greatest testimony is that the school has continued on without him. By all accounts, it is what he would have wanted.

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[4]. I have used these categories of Bernstein's because of their usefulness as an heuristic device in structuring an account of the school. The categories need to be recognised, however, as inevitably somewhat arbitrary, particularly in light of Richmond Road's emphasis on an *holistic* educational approach. The distinctions drawn in the following chapters reflect this arbitrariness and exhibit, as such, a degree of overlap.

SCHOOL ORGANISATION: EFFECTING STRUCTURAL CHANGE

The whole business about diversity is obvious as soon as you look at Richmond Road School .... Now at a superficial level a lot of schools then say well, we've got a multicultural school. I mean Laughton didn't say that. He said, 'well now we've got the material to make a multicultural school, whatever that means.' And in the way he interpreted it, at least in terms of his practice as I saw it, was of creating structural diversity within the school. Now I think that's always to me been the real major difference... (Wally Penetito: Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Richmond Road school had, as of February 1991, 213 pupils and 18.2 staff. The favourable staff to student ratio is a product of the historical provision of extra staffing for multi-ethnic schools like Richmond Road, combined with the falling roll situation the school now faces (see Chapter 4). Richmond Road is officially designated a special staffing school and is consequently staffed on a notional roll 20% above normal staffing entitlement because of the high percentage of Maori and Pacific Island children at the school. In addition, the school has two 1:20 staffing allocations which have been provided since 1988 for reading recovery, and a ministerial Maori bilingual appointment. The school also has an official Teacher Librarian and a kaiarahi reo (Maori language assistant; see glossary).[1] These staffing provisions have protected the school until now from the full implications of its falling roll but upcoming legislative changes may see this position change.[2] It needs to be borne in mind, then, that while the school organisational structures described below enjoy at present a favourable ratio of staff to students, this may well not continue, and more pertinently as we shall see, is not necessary for the successful operation of these structures.

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[1]. All of these positions are, in effect, above entitlement. The 1:20 staffing allocations were instituted by the government to lower class sizes and thus facilitate the reading recovery programme developed by Marie Clay (see Clay, 1979; 1985) and used nationally in New Zealand primary schools since 1988. Both the ministerial Maori bilingual appointment and the kaiarahi reo arise from Richmond Road's status as an officially designated bilingual school. While the appointment of a Teacher Librarian to the school is also part of a recently established national initiative.

[2] Discussion is ongoing at present, at a national level, as to whether these extra staffing entitlements should be retained.

Current School Organisational Structures

Cultural and ethnic difference permeates every facet of school life at Richmond Road and this diversity is realised within the structures of the school. The school has on site: Ritimana Kohanga Reo (a Maori language pre-school immersion unit; see glossary) that has been operating since 1985: an *A'oga Fa'a Samoa* (Samoan language pre-school) that started in the first term of 1989; and *Te Apii Reo Kuki Airani* (a Cook Island language pre-school) that started in 1990. The school itself offers a Maori bilingual programme begun in 1984, a Samoan bilingual programme which has been operating since 1987, and a Cook Island bilingual programme which began in the third term of 1991. There are also two English language programmes operating, as well as an inner city second language unit, established in 1976, which caters for recent arrivals to New Zealand and teaches them English through the mother tongue. These organisational units are arranged in vertical ropu (see glossary) which are based on the model of the family and of the non-graded rural school. Each ropu consists of *the entire range of pupils* from New Entrants through to Standard 4 (NE-S4; 5-11 years old) and children stay in the same ropu, with the same teachers, right through their primary schooling. The largely open plan setting of the school allows for most of the ropu to be taught in 'shared spaces' and a principle of the school is that there always be two teachers in every room. This allows the ropu to be further divided into 'home groups' of 16-20 pupils who are the responsibility of each individual teacher.[3] Home groups are the basic teaching groups and it is the pupils in them that are monitored and reported on to parents by individual teachers.

Within these organisational structures responsibility is shared and non-hierarchical relationships are emphasised. The collectivity which is fostered among staff as a result also extends to the management of the school where the principal and the two associate principals work collaboratively as an administrative team. The associate principals rotate this responsibility, spending two weeks in a class which they share with another teacher, and two weeks in the office. This ensures that the administration does not lose touch with what is happening in the classroom and is aimed at preventing potential isolation between those who administer and those who teach in the school. As the current principal, Lionel Pedersen, argues the aim of the school is to break down pedagogical isolation, by rejecting artificial class grouping by age, and through shared administration and teaching.

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[3]. These small numbers are a reflection of the currently favourable staff to student ratio. Lionel Pedersen, the current principal, argues, however, that the ropu can effectively operate with much greater numbers (as they have done in the past at Richmond Road when student numbers were significantly higher) because of the varied individual and collective teaching arrangements and the variety of resources available at all levels (see below).

This collaboration is closely allied with staff development generally and curriculum development in particular. Individual teachers are released every morning to look at curriculum issues, and staff meetings, which are held every Tuesday after school and regularly continue into early evening, focus on cooperation and staff development. This involvement in curriculum development by staff is also supported through the organisation of staff into curriculum teams which deliberately cut across the ropu teaching teams. These teams develop resources for the curriculum during the course of the year (which must include all ethnic groups represented in the school community), supervise these materials, and provide support for staff working in other areas. The involvement of all staff in this process leads to a significant coherence and consistency across the curriculum and a great deal of mutual support between teachers (Cazden, 1989). This participation is extended to the school community through an open door policy which encourages full community consultation and involvement in the discussion and development of school policy. Parents are welcome at Richmond Road to contribute to *all* facets of school life and, as we shall see, readily do so.

The emergence of these school structures occurred during the time of Jim Laughton's principalship at Richmond Road. Prior to his arrival, the school had gained recognition for the innovations in reading associated with its junior school but beyond that was no different from many other schools in New Zealand at that time, which had a multicultural clientele but had made little effort to accommodate them in their teaching and learning practices. As Eric McMillan, who was deputy principal at the school from 1977 until 1982, observes

> [Jim] felt that the school when he took it over was very much two kingdoms, the junior part of the school had all the reputation for education and enlightened study and the senior school had no reputation at all, it was a terrible place, so his first manoeuvre was to try to break down the power of the junior school and merge the two together. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

However, before looking at how Jim Laughton proceeded from this point to establishing the multicultural systems which are present within the school today, it is instructive to begin with a portrait of the man himself and the educational vision which drove him.

Jim Laughton: Principal as Educational Visionary

> [Richmond Road] is an innovative school .... that has already attracted international attention; the principal, Jim Laughton, is a charismatic leader with a compelling vision of what elementary schooling can accomplish. (Spolsky, 1989: 97)

Jim Laughton was an educational visionary. There is a remarkable consensus from those who knew him on this point. However, his beginnings in education, as a teacher trainee, were not particularly auspicious. Eric McMillan recalls that

> he went through education at a time when the institutions that trained you were very lax. He simply wouldn't have survived a modern college of education. If he had it would have changed him and he would never (pause) and that's the irony of it. But he came into teaching at a time when, for the first time in New Zealand in my view, the selection process reached down into the working-classes and the Maori community, and it hadn't done that [before] .... We were paid therefore we could afford to go to College and we were left alone so we could be lazy, not get locked into too many things.[4] And then the sleepers forty years later, suddenly you have got a contribution to make... (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

From his time at teachers college until he came to Richmond Road, Laughton taught in a range of country schools, including two sole-charge schools, spent a period of time teaching in the secondary department of a District High School, was subsequently appointed as a Maori reading advisor in Northland and, immediately prior to Richmond Road, spent 5½ years as principal of Mt Wellington Residential School for Emotionally Disturbed Children. The collective ideas and experiences which he gained from these varied positions, most of which had involved teaching Maori children, were to form the basis of what he was to go on to establish at Richmond Road. As McMillan again comments:

> He got Richmond Road when he was quite young. He wouldn't have been much more than 40. And he was able to stay there for nearly 20 years and actually put into practice the developing ideas that he had. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

Those ideas, and the characteristics of the man behind them, bear closer examination.

'He had a very powerful presence and a fine mind'

Frank Churchward who followed Eric McMillan as deputy principal at Richmond Road specifically came to the school because of Jim:

> I think what greatly impressed me with Jim was his tremendous knowledge of people and education, of education in particular. Of many principals I've met he's probably the most widely read principal, reading about education and about things like that. A lot of principals, they're good people, ignorant's not the word, but they're narrow. You don't talk about philosophy with

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[4]. Laughton's background was Maori, McMillan's was Pakeha working-class.

a lot of principals because they don't know what you're talking about anyway. Jim was a philosopher and an educationalist. And that's what impressed me about the man. He thought about what it was that he was doing. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

Wally Penetito, a prominent Maori educationalist now working as a senior manager in the Educational Review Office, ran numerous courses with Jim in the 1980s on multicultural education and developed a close friendship with him over that time. He recounts a similar response on first meeting Jim at an in-service course in the mid 1970s:

> I was impressed by the man's knowledge at that stage and the kind of way he talked about things, not so much what he knew either, the way he talked about things .... when Jim talked about education he talked about it as somebody talks about something which they know intimately, that they know very well, they've got a depth of knowledge and a depth of experience as well .... Just the way he spoke about education, I knew that he wasn't an ordinary run-of-the-mill principal of a school. So that's kind of how we started talking... (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Talking (and arguing) came naturally to Laughton. He had a formidable intellect, he had thought deeply about educational issues, and he had a remarkable capacity to articulate his considerations. In the in-service courses that he and Wally Penetito ran, Penetito would always talk first - outlining the theoretical parameters of the debate on multicultural education within the context of the group to which they were speaking - and Jim would follow by drawing together the previous discussion in its given context. As Penetito observes of that process:

> Jim actually had an extraordinary way of latching on to things you'd dealt with beforehand. He had a way of getting to the heart of it, of an issue, and dragging that out and putting it right up clear as hell .... It was actually the insights into what he took that was incredible I used to find. Extraordinary. The way he could, his handling of the English language, but it's really his perception about ideas... (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Margaret Leaming, who was the Department of Education staffing inspector for the Auckland central region (which included Richmond Road) during the course of the early 1980s, comments along similar lines about Laughton's ability to integrate and articulate educational ideas:

> [He had] that kind of mind ... where he could read this and this and this and this, and it is all like spaghetti to people like me, but he could let it all go round like this... I will tell you what I think of, have you seen diagrams of Heathrow Airport, they show you all these planes with lights going around, but the planes all get brought in. And I think that was the thing about Jim's mind - marvellously integrative. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

That knowledge, and the capacity to articulate it, feature prominently in others' accounts of Jim also. Judy Hucker, an ex-teacher at Richmond Road and now a principal herself, exemplifies this in her comment:

> Jim's personality was a major thing. He was a very charismatic person, he *commanded*. You cannot talk about Richmond Road without talking about Jim Laughton. You ask me what I carry with me, I carry the bold, bearded bugger sitting on my shoulder talking about bilingual education, because I remember you'd get into the office and then you wouldn't get out for two hours because you'd end up with a discussion... (Interview, 15 August, 1991; emphasis in original)

Helen Villers, who taught at Richmond Road from 1980-1986 and is now at the Reading Centre at Auckland College of Education, recounts a similar experience on her first meeting Jim:

> I just walked in off the street virtually one morning at the beginning of term and he spent most of the day with me. He was that sort of person. He'd just put away, put aside what he was probably supposed to be doing, and he and I just clicked, philosophically, just at that moment. And he talked to me most of the day. I remember being absolutely exhausted. He talked *to* you a lot. You really didn't get much of a word in. I didn't get much of a word in. (laughs) Other people tell me they didn't either, and when you did get a word in it seemed pretty inconsequential (laughs). Anyway, I went away and I thought gosh this is amazing ... he can articulate the sorts of things that run round in probably a lot of people's heads at random and he takes them out and cleans them up .... [H]e could neatly sort out the strands of your thinking and lay them out on the table in the most exquisitely logical order, and you'd think 'yes, right, that's what I always thought.' But you never quite got it as straight as he was able to. But, given the opportunity to talk with him and listen to him for long enough, you actually improved your own ability to articulate the sorts of things, the sorts of issues that he made us deal with. (Interview, 29 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

As Villers suggests, talking with Jim facilitated the development of her own ideas, (as it did others) but there is also an admission that his considerable intellect could intimidate at times. Penetito reiterates this point:

> [He had] a kind of an extraordinary capacity to be close to people, he's an excellent listener, [but] also, at the same time he was, to me, in some ways an extraordinarily frustrating talker too. Because, I mean Jim, when he spoke about matters, he'd already given a great deal of thought to them. And he just loved to argue. A lot of people actually didn't argue with him I don't think. Because in some ways what he said sounded like the last word on the subject sort of thing... (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Having said that, it is also clear from accounts of Jim that his thinking was not closed. As the current principal, Lionel Pedersen,[5] observes:

> ...if you actually knew Jim, he knew everything but it was always open. What developed with some staff members was a pathology - if you ask him he won't listen. It's 'no'. And that wasn't the case. What he did was he really spotted you. 'Well you believe that, now sit here

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[5] Pedersen has a long standing association with Richmond Road. His first period of teaching at the school was from 1973-1977, and he returned again to the school in 1985 as STJC ('Senior Teacher Junior Classes'; a now defunct term which has been replaced in New Zealand primary schools by 'Assistant Principal', although this designation is no longer necessarily tied to the junior level).

and tell me why.' And of course in a lot of cases they couldn't because it was an emotional judgement... (Interview, 11 February, 1991)

Frank Churchward, a former deputy principal, also endorses this point strongly:

Churchward.   He was very firm in his beliefs, and if you had a point of view, where maybe it was a little different from the one he held then he would argue it with you .... but if you presented substantial arguments that were strong he would, I know he'd go away and think about it.

Interviewer.   So he wasn't closed?

Churchward.   No .... But he was strong. I think there is a difference. If you challenge a strong man he sometimes seems to cut you off. But then what I found with Jim was that he'd think about it, the point of view, and then come back to you later .... like I say, you might present a point of view that he hadn't thought of and he would think about it and if he was convinced by your arguments then these things would be included into the way the school thought. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

A key to the development of Jim Laughton's educational philosophy, in fact, was this ability to incorporate the knowledge of others. While holding strong views of his own he was always looking for ways to expand, and where necessary change his own thinking. As Churchward again comments:

> I think one of the things that we all respected was that he had a clear view of what education is and what teaching is all about, only because he'd built it up from years and years of reading and studying. If you put a paper down, like I'd come back from [university] or something and say 'this is an interesting paper' and immediately the paper would catch fire, just because he would take it and read it. And he would change his directions if he felt convinced by all the arguments surrounding... But I think he'd built up such a very sound picture himself that a lot of the things that we would handle or talk about were in line with [that]. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

Eric McMillan, who preceded Churchward as deputy principal, comments about his experience, on first arriving at the school, of Jim's willingness to explore new areas of knowledge:

McMillan: ...at that stage I was doing some work through Massey [University], a curriculum theory paper, which was a very important paper, it brought a whole lot of ideas to the structures, so I took with me the texts of this material, he'd just come back from the Dip. Tesl,[6] he was very attracted to the ideas that had come through there, they appeared logical, Courtney Cazden's stuff on language for example, and he was putting together a whole lot of these views...

Interviewer: Had he read Freire?

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[6]. Laughton took a year's leave in 1976 to do a Diploma in Teaching English as a Second Language from Victoria University. His sophisticated knowledge of language issues dates from this time (Cazden, 1989).

McMillan: No, Freire came with my texts, he found that most interesting of course (laughs) - education of the powerless, the imagery which Freire (pause) - Illich interested him too. He loved much of the texts that I took but what interested him of the stuff I brought along, particularly, was the British school - R. S Peters and Stenhouse.

(....)

Interviewer: Is it unusual though for a school principal to be so conversant with educational theory?

McMillan: I don't know, there are a lot of school principals who have come to face that material but whether they accept it or not, whether they could use it, I don't know, I'm not at all convinced. But in his case, he was looking for things to fit to those ideas that he had developed .... I mean he had one of those minds that could integrate whole new chunks of knowledge and just say 'clunk, thanks, got that, now let's move on.' That became part of the mass of knowledge that he had and he moved on. After I'd gone, Frank [Churchward] brought stuff and Wally [Penetito] ... people came and brought ideas like Courtney [Cazden] .... So all that I took was just added. Stuff that I had battled my way through and focused on to try and integrate something for myself ... it then became a part of a coherent view of education [that he had]. That's what it was. Everything was consistent and not many people ever achieve that. *I think that he made an education philosophy work.* (Interview, 26 February, 1991; my emphasis)

It was this ability to articulate and make coherent a working philosophy of education which distinguished Jim Laughton as an educator, and an educational innovator, and has gained for his school a growing international reputation. What is apparent in reading through the school documents, and in talking with teachers and others associated with the school, is just how many visiting educationalists the school has hosted over the years. These educationalists have come to be associated with Richmond Road principally through Jim and many have subsequently continued a long-standing involvement with the school.[7] Joy Glasson, who began at Richmond Road as a teacher in the language unit in the mid-1970s and proceeded through to deputy principal by the mid-1980s, comments concerning this:

> Each of those people, the people he knew, respected him as an educator, I think almost uniquely. These people are recognised as world experts in their fields and so on, the people he encountered, and I can't think of anyone who didn't come away from the encounters talking about him as an educator. That's true of people like Spolsky and the Goodmans, Courtney of course .... All of those, and over the years there were a lot. There were times when it got so busy at school I threatened to put a sign outside that said, 'tours leaving at 11.00'! (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Mcmillan reiterates this in his observation:

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[7]. Courtney Cazden from Harvard University is a notable example. She became involved with Richmond Road in the early 1980's and has developed a close relationship with the school since that time. Her regard for Jim Laughton as an educator has been central to that involvement (see Cazden, 1989), although since his death she has continued to regularly visit the school and is still directly involved as an ex-officio member of the school Board of Trustees.

He could talk with and discuss with anybody who came. That's why people came. That's why Courtney kept coming. And she didn't go there to explain things. She went there to listen and so did people from all over. And sometimes the string of people flowing through was quite remarkable. *She claimed that he ran, had the most important primary school in the world, and he probably did.* (Interview, 26 February, 1991; my emphasis)

And yet Laughton was also careful, if not reticent, to tout the school as an educational model. As Penetito observes,

> He actually knows that Richmond Road ... isn't the only world. There are other worlds out there. And so he was keen to say to people, and I think he was absolutely genuine about it, 'don't come asking me how we do what we do, I mean that's the way *we* do things. What you've got to do is find it where you are.' .... I mean I think that that's absolutely right as well, even right according to Richmond Road School. Don't take the whole thing away and transplant it. This is where it belongs. This is the soil it came out of. Some of those things might be right for where you are, but some of them are not. Others you might have to do a bit of pruning or doctoring on them .... However, why his school was always open, people coming and going in it, having a look at what's going [on], is that people - it help[ed] them to find their own worlds if you like. (Interview, 14 October, 1991; emphasis in original)

He was also, as Penetito comments, quick to dismiss the superficial; those who were only interested in the easy answer:

> he was equally passionate about people who were, I think Jim's term [was] charlatans, that were educationalists but didn't actually want to know, didn't want to get too detailed about the stuff, who didn't want to theorise about things, who wanted to know *the answer.* 'OK, you've been successful with Richmond Road School, tell me in ten words how you got there', that sort of stuff, you know, recipe stuff, recipe knowledge. Now Jim, he'd read some of Paulo Freire so he knew about banking knowledge, those sorts of things, and [he] went out of his way to tell people who wanted to muscle in on his place with these superficial understandings that they have (pause) that they have to go away and do some homework. I don't really think Jim had any patience for that really .... He didn't really want to have anything to do with it, that's what it boiled down to. Jim kind of eliminated his opposition by not talking to them. But anybody who really wanted to talk education, whatever your philosophy of education was, had a willing ear every time. But you'd be in for a debate... (Interview, 14 October, 1991; emphasis in original)

It was this debate, and the educational practice that resulted at Richmond Road, which has been the focus of the interest shown towards the school:

Interviewer: It had a lot of international interest. Why do you think that was?

Helen Villers: Well there's the network isn't there, of ideas, there's all those theories about how ideas [don't] generate independently, they generate simultaneously. I think people were generating ideas at the time, and Jim **a)** articulated it and **b)** had a model, an operational model of the sorts of ideas that were beginning to - which *were* effective. (Interview, 29 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

'I think ... conflict theory was what interested him'

The educational model which Laughton developed and operationalised at Richmond Road is characterised principally by an informed concern for social justice. Social justice, particularly for minority groups was something he passionately believed in. This concern extended to all such groups, but is exemplified in his view of Maori (his own people) within education, as Eric McMillan recounts:

> He was concerned about Maori children because he used to say that people sat on the inside of that brown skin, and whenever he spoke with Pacific Island or Maori children he was very aware of being inside the skin looking out, what they were looking at. It was, he said it many times, about children coming for education cap in hand. That was the patronising system that schools [represented]. He said you've got to get the cap out of their hand and stick it where it belongs on their heads! (laughs) (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

Joy Glasson, who worked closely with Jim in her time at the school, further outlines the concern he had with empowering the marginalised:

Interviewer: What was Jim wanting to achieve?

Glasson: Something that empowered kids and empowered their families in a true sense of the word, so that it wasn't lip service ... that says, 'OK we'll empower you, but we'll still fit you into the system, into the majority middle-class white system.' It's far more than that. It was a true empowerment. Empowerment actually comes from knowledge and becoming independent. It was actually to free people. That's why everything else in the school was always geared to freeing kids, to making kids independent. That's why it was so very important, so kids could actually walk out the door and not look back, because everything about our school system tells kids they're dependent, on teachers, and on schools, and on all of those bureaucratic structures. It says you can't operate without them, and [this] school is about the opposite. It's about telling people that you *can* make decisions, and they're yours to make, you have the right to make them. You have a right because it's who you are, because you are important, you've got strengths, you've got knowledge. (Interview, 29 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

This emphasis on empowerment and the fostering of independence, however, was not limited to the realm of idealism or good intentions. It had a hard edged pragmatism as well:

Judy Hucker.   ...we all worked from, well at least I know part of what has always driven me, is the social justice part of it all, which sounds a bit high-falooting I know ...

Interviewer: How specific was that?

Judy Hucker: Well for me it was very specific. One of the things that Jim always quoted was one from Tolstoy. I actually put them in the back of my workbook at one stage ... you know, 'I sit on a man's back choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I'm sorry for him and wish to lighten his load by all possible means except by getting off his back.' That was one of his favourite ones. The other one was C. Wright Mills in *The Sociological Imagination* [1959] - 'To those with power and are aware of it impute

> responsibility. To those with power but who are unaware of it, educate them and then impute responsibility. To those without power, inform them about what the others are up to.' So for him a lot of what we did was really all about access to power - and education becoming an empowering thing, so that when you ask how children did that was actually one of his overriding concerns, was that children went out with all the self-esteem things and everything else, but *it wasn't a soft woolly headed liberalism* if you like in as much that the skill base of things was very important to Jim as well. It was certainly important. (Interview, 15 August, 1991; my emphasis)

Laughton was concerned both with *cultural maintenance*, the fostering of identity and self esteem through the affirmation of cultural difference, and *access to power*, equipping minority children with the skills necessary to live in a Pakeha society. Both aspects were necessary, he believed, if dominant power relations in society were to be effectively contested. In implementing these ideas, he saw certain values as prerequisite: difference is never equated with deficiency; co-operation is fostered not competition; cultural respect is seen as essential to developing a pluralistic society; and the school's function to this end is directed towards increasing a child's options rather than changing them. As he argues:

> There is a tendency in education, it seems to me, to recognise competent students in ways that set them apart from their peers ...; to value conformity too highly at the expense of individual and cultural identity; to put all learning in competitive contexts; to emphasise what children learn without realising that the contexts of learning may carry the most important lessons .... Not that our concern for competence in the basics of education is in any way diminished. Indeed it is our belief that this can be achieved best by encouraging children to hold onto their cultures, their languages, their identities as contributing members of a richly diverse community; by emphasising co-operation rather than competition and by valuing human relationships above all as a vital source of knowledge and wisdom. Education in our view is not a preparation for living, it *is* a living experience. We come to school to learn from each other, to learn about each other, and through those learnings to begin to envisage the world at large. (1984: 39; emphasis in original)

These aspects of Laughton's educational philosophy accord closely with the notion of the 'socially critical school'. As Churchward (1991) observes, this notion was known to Laughton through his reading of the work of the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education in Australia. Their report on developing 'socially critical' schools argued for changes to the curriculum as a means of effecting social change. Laughton, however, wished to extend that process of change to include, not only curriculum, but also 'the process of learning, teaching interaction and communication, policy formation, community participation, evaluation and counselling.' (1985: 17; cited in Churchward, 1991: 42)

These broader parameters for action tie in with a similar concept - the 'socially critical primary school' - outlined by Morrison, (1989). While Morrison's discussion does not address multiculturalism specifically, his advocacy for the need to critically reconceptualise progressive education, and his

discussion of the characteristics of the school which might result, bears a remarkable resemblance to the educational initiatives undertaken by Jim Laughton at Richmond Road. Morrison argues, for example, that teachers need to re-examine their principles and practices so that the developing autonomy of the child becomes, and remains a central concern of the school. He suggests that schooling and teaching must also allow pupils more curricular choice; 'Teachers must be prepared for children to move out of their given frameworks, to choose not to stay in a prefigured curriculum. This requires both considerable resources and considerable courage ...' (*ibid*: 12) He advocates the need to develop collaboration rather than competition among individuals:

> The notion of co-operation and collectivism extends to teachers as well as to children, involving whole staff decision making on policies which affect the whole school. It extends also to team planning and team teaching ... enabling children and teachers to experience variety in social relationships and organisations. Co-operation and collectivism reaches further into the school with the suggestion of mixed age classes or older children working with younger children for part of their time in school. The keynote perhaps is flexibility of learning arrangements. (*ibid*: 13)

He also argues that support be given to the aesthetic, creative and reflective areas of children's experience; that school communit(ies) should be drawn on as a concrete curriculum resource; that an integrated curriculum should be fostered; and finally, that the school 'needs to keep together the individual and a broadly socially derived curriculum.' (*ibid*: 14) All of these characteristics are evident in the approach to multicultural education at Richmond Road. How Jim Laughton succeeded in establishing these, over a period of sixteen years, can now be examined.

The Process of Change: Principal as Director, Strategist and Facilitator

Maybin (1985), in her discussion of whole-school language policies, argues that establishing school-wide change means talking about and working through curriculum change and that this is neither a short nor easy process. Richmond Road demonstrates the truth of this observation clearly because while Laughton had clear educational intentions for the school that he came to as principal in 1972, his plans for change were gradual and carefully managed. When Eric McMillan came to the school as deputy principal in 1977, significant organisational changes within the school were only just beginning to occur:

> I was transferred as deputy principal to Richmond Road in probably the last phase of what was really a deck clearing exercise [by Jim]. He had been there a few years but it had taken him some years to get shot of staff who couldn't understand or even tried to understand [what he was wanting to do]. He told me he used to hide, he hid away from assemblies because he couldn't stand what went on in them, it was a very repressive institution .... and a lot of it he couldn't tolerate. It wasn't really until a number of important people had gone and he had brought in people who supported the basic [philosophy of education] that he had .... he just

waited, he didn't make overt moves to do this but covertly I think a bit of reorganisation went on. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

The principal area of reorganisation which Laughton embarked on, the development of family groupings, or the ropu structure,[8] coincided with McMillan's arrival at the school towards the end of 1977. Prior to then, Laughton had made minor changes in classroom structures. He had introduced open plan organisation for year 1 and 2 infants and had distributed New Entrants (NE) across junior classes. The establishment of the Inner City Language and Reception Unit in 1976 had resulted in a two teacher Standard 1-4 (S1-4) class. And, in 1977, two-year open plan groupings in infant classes with one composite S1-2 and one composite S3-4 were established, the remainder of classes being one-year groups. McMillan's arrival, however, saw Laughton move to establish a family group which included the full range of pupils, using the new deputy principal (McMillan) and the STJC (assistant principal; see Footnote 5) to model the development. As McMillan recalls:

> So I went to see him on being offered the transfer to the job, to see what the job was to be ... and he talked about wanting to rearrange the place in ways that not too many, *any* schools had tried before. He wanted to operate a single class covering the whole range of kids ... with me running the class together with Paul Heffernen [the STJC at the time] and teaching it half time. At that time I was very dissatisfied with teaching ... the service was shrinking, the jobs for promotion were not coming up, there was a great bottleneck and I'd just about had a gutsful ... but the idea of this particular [way of teaching], I hadn't done that, so I thought I'd give it a shot. (Interview, 26 February, 1991; emphasis in original)

The use of senior teachers who were willing to model such an approach was a clearly thought out strategy to give the organisational changes status within the school:

McMillan: Yes, he was there quite a while doing the deck clearing and then I was there for five or six years. I was there long enough to bring through the first kids that we had, they came right through. It wasn't randomly selected early on, we got the two most experienced teachers in one class together and we put in [the whole range of children with them]. So a lot of our older kids [weren't there long] but to counter that we put in at the bottom end some of the brightest children and it was watching them come through, I think that's what kept us there (laughs) - to see how they would go. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

The organisational development of this family group, however, was not without its difficulties:

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[8]. While other schools in New Zealand have subsequently adopted these structures (popularly termed whanau groupings), Richmond Road was in the forefront of their development. Laughton was reticent, however, about using the term 'whanau' (family) to describe the groups, preferring 'family grouping' or 'ropu' (group(s); see glossary for both terms). His reasoning for this stemmed from a concern to avoid the artificiality associated with the popularisation of the term whanau among Pakeha, as well as a personal concern over his own lack of depth in understanding the full cultural implications of the term (Churchward, 1991; see also the discussion of Laughton's background in Chapter 6). Whanau was used, though, to describe the school as a whole (Cazden, 1989).

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McMillan: Paul Heffernen left shortly afterwards to take over a small school in the North and one of the senior teachers became the A.P [assistant principal] in his stead and she was also required to work with me. I don't think she liked that, it was an interesting concept sharing a class like that, you don't have to get on but you do have to agree on things, on certain ways of sharing what you've done, on how to share the organisation and teaching .... Children adjust alright, they can accept an on again off again basis. After a while we came to the conclusion that a week was the best arrangement, a week on a week off. During the week off we had professional responsibilities, I presume the organisation is much the same and that there are a number of layers of delegated responsibility. We each had our half of the school at the level we were most familiar with, so I had [responsibility for] the upper [school].

Interviewer: So you experimented on organisational arrangements until you found something that worked well...

McMillan: We tried all sorts, we tried morning/afternoon for a while. We tried ... two days [on], two days [off]. But the best seemed to be the week. Initially we thought it would be too long a gap for the children, that they'd have me for the week and just be getting used to it, but they were very resilient, they didn't seem to mind. A short time after that ... [Jim] then set up other family group classes. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

By 1981 the school had been divided into two basic teaching levels: Level 1; NE-S1 (5-7 yrs.) and Level 2; S1-4 (7-11 yrs.) (with some overlap to provide flexibility in the promotion of pupils) to complement the development of the NE-S4 family group McMillan was involved in. The reorganisation of this first family group was completed with the addition of a third teacher in 1983, who was to become the constant factor while the deputy principal (D.P) and assistant principal (A.P) shared administrative responsibilities. It was also to establish within the school the collaborative management practices which are still seen today.[9] At this point McMillan left and was replaced as D.P by Frank Churchward, and it was from this time that Laughton went on to establish family groups across the whole school, gradually encouraging teachers into fully extended age groups. In 1984 another three teacher NE-S4 group as well as a four teacher NE-S4 were set up. In 1985 the Maori bilingual programme was established as a Level 1 class and extended to NE-S3 in 1986. And in 1987 the whole school, including the Maori bilingual unit, was organised into six NE-S4 family groups. At that stage, a Samoan bilingual unit was also begun as an NE-S1 class and incorporated into a larger family group.

After Laughton's death, the process of change has continued. The Samoan bilingual unit was extended to NE-S3 in 1989 and to NE-S4 in 1990 and remains part of a larger four teacher ropu. One English language unit was disbanded in 1990 because of falling rolls and spread across the school, and in 1991, a Cook Island bilingual unit was established and incorporated into one of the English language

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[9]. Although now the D.P and A.P share class and management responsibilities on a 2 weekly on-off basis.

ropu. The establishment of Maori, Samoan and Cook Island pre-schools on site at the school over the period 1985-1989 was also to complement these developments.[10] At present then, the school has five ropu or family groups. Ropu one, which remains solely English medium; ropu two which now incorporates the Cook Island bilingual unit; ropu three which includes the Samoan bilingual unit; ropu four, the Maori bilingual unit and; ropu five, the Inner City Language Unit. This can be seen in Figure 5.1:
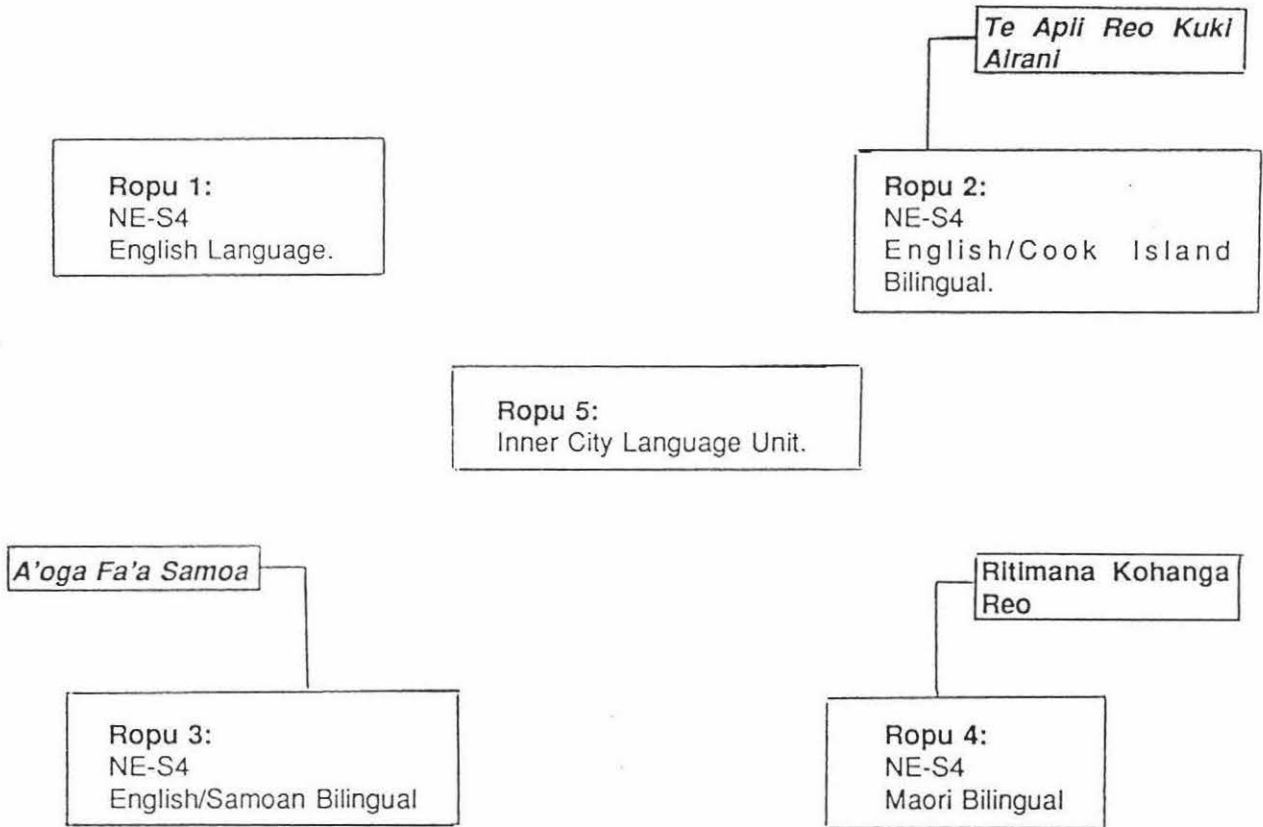
Figure 5.1: Richmond Road Primary School Organisation, 1991.

In 1983-1984 an architectural remodelling of the school was also undertaken to facilitate the transition to teaching in family groups. Don Wood, the Auckland Education Board's architect at the time, undertook the renovations as part of the Board's maintenance programme, but Laughton was also able to have a direct input into the process. This was unusual as the Woods (Don's wife Maggie now teaches at the school) observe:

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[10]. The relationships that the pre-schools have with Richmond Road is discussed further in the section on school-community relationships (see below).

Don Wood: General policy in the Auckland Education Board was that you did what the Board felt should be done and to hell with what went on in the school. So actually the thing was it was very easy to, actually for once, to identify with clients ... who knew what they wanted. I think to some extent I identified quite strongly with what Jim Laughton wanted to do.

(....)

Maggie Wood: At the time it seemed to me that [Don] you were actually enjoying working with someone who had a philosophy and that you were meshing the two, your architectural philosophies with his educational philosophies and creating something between the two of them that each one felt proud of. That doesn't happen very often, ever with any client.

Don Wood: That was only because the school, Jim Laughton was really there, and he had bitter fights with the Board to achieve what he actually wanted because the Board's philosophy was that a principal was only really a caretaker who had care of that building for a certain amount of time and therefore he wasn't the client. The client itself was the Education Board. The philosophy sort of went further, if you could get rid of the headmaster and the pupils you'd be able to run a very efficient school (laughs). (Interview, 12 August, 1991)

The remodelling was to create four shared spaces (S.S 1-4) in which ropu could operate. The additional ropu continued to operate out of a combination of single teaching spaces.[11] Renovations began with the manual block (now S.S.3) which had been subject to a previous remodelling undertaken in the 1970s that had attempted (disastrously, as it turned out) to convert the area to open plan. While retaining the open plan format, S.S.3 was reconstituted into its present format and the design extended to other areas of the school:

Don Wood: We ripped the guts out of S.S.3 completely .... It was designed to create all these sort of groupings which consisted of the shared spaces and the teaching spaces. Because of the size of the manual block you ended up with four teaching spaces and one big fresh air space. Down where you are [Maggie] there were two classrooms. One was run together [to create S.S.2]. S.S.1 was the same with a different sort of variation down in S.S.4. (Interview, 12 August, 1991)

'Jim said ... there are features of the ideal family that could be emulated in the school'

The structural changes which Laughton undertook in establishing family groupings at Richmond Road were underpinned by his belief that school relationships, as traditionally construed, undermined and excluded minority group children. The family grouping approach, with its emphasis on inclusiveness and mutual support, and its development of extended relationships, was a means of redressing this. As Churchward observes:

That was a substantial structural change that, as I say, I don't know of any schools, I didn't know of any schools at that stage that ran their organisation like that .... As Jim said, one of

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[11].   See Appendix 1 for a plan of the school.

the things he said to me was that if we look at the ideal family ... he wanted to see that in operation, to come alive within the school itself .... That I found a very powerful argument.' (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

A teacher interviewed in Cazden's study of the school states a very similar position:

Jim said there are many things from the family that can't be replicated in the school; but there are many things that can be. That was his urgent drive: to see what *could* be replicated.' (cited in Cazden, 1989: 150; emphasis in original)[12]

Establishing the ropu structure, then, was for Laughton a means of increasing the alternatives available to minority children by:

i) increasing the age and ability range children were in contact with;

ii) providing children with opportunities to experience a variety of roles and to develop an appropriate range of social skills and;

iii) assisting the growth of self respect through the recognition of ethnic diversity and the wide range of skills, interests and cultural perspectives children would bring to the group as a whole.

The concept had arisen from Laughton's experiences in sole charge country schools where multi-level teaching was a necessity:

Eric McMillan: ...early on he worked with another ex-country school principal and they had the feeling anyway that there was a lot to be said for the kind of grouping which you got in a country school where you had a range of ages, you didn't have kids locked into a single age grouping. Jim anyway had taught sole charge, and had to come to grips with multi-levels, and of course there are disadvantages in those sort of schools in that you didn't have the [full] range [of children]. The birth pattern in the area determined what sort of school you had, for example, some years depending on the pattern you might have gaps, so it wasn't an ideal spread. But it appealed to him when he got to Richmond Road because here you could form groups that contained all of the elements and keep them together over a long period. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

McMillan goes on to observe how the implementation of these long term relational structures was to impact on both teachers and students:

It soon became clear that there were a whole lot of things that happened once you put children in a vertical group. That it more approximated the families that those children knew. And so the description of an extended family model, taking some of the qualities of the extended family, and applying them to schools [saw] a whole lot of things come together .... [T]he moment you take children out of that single year range [there are] a whole lot of other things that you then have to identify, the obvious things are that you make for a longer term

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[12]. Except where she occasionally specifies a particular teacher, teacher's comments in Cazden's study are kept anonymous.

relationship with the teacher. That was the first thing that Jim ever said about, that if you have kids for a year, then for the first term you can scare them into submission, for the second term you can watch while the roof comes off, and for the third term you contain them before you'll be moving them on. So you've only got ten months and that's not long enough. If you've got them for two or three or four or five or six years - then you've got to come to grips with the reality of it. You can't hide anything. You can't suppress things. It's *got* to work. But also importantly it takes away a large chunk of the competitive element [between kids] because [Jim] always emphasised that it was cooperative not competitive .... You've got competitive structures in the school and it was to break that down. And very soon we saw that there is no competition in a family group. You *can't* have (pause) - it doesn't work that way. (Interview, 26 February, 1991; emphasis in original)

Joy Glasson elaborates on this point:

That's why multi-level was so important, because it brought kids together, and it showed that they all have strengths. They all have areas where they need support, that everybody's important and everybody has responsibilities .... the vertical grouping [also] actually made teachers operate in different ways. They no longer could stand at the front of the class and berate kids for six hours a day. They went mad, so did the kids. They had to find ways that they could allow kids to operate for themselves where teachers couldn't take control of it, they couldn't actually do that. And then they had to find ways to work with kids in small groups or to work with kids as individuals. What that did, of course, was it actually allowed people to operate with kids at every different level that they were at. To do it they had to know where the kids were, and so that resulted in very deep systems of knowing kids, of watching kids, monitoring kids, being able to very accurately match kids to materials. Once you could do that kids could then do anything ... because then they all know where they are too and they can actually access other people to do things with them. But you can't do that if you haven't already got it pinned on a belief that says everybody has different knowledge and everybody has strength and everybody has the responsibility to share it. And it doesn't make you elite, and it doesn't make you separate. With that, of course, [came] a belief, that [is] in other places too ... an expectation and a belief that kids *are* learning, and a high expectation that they *will* succeed, and kids being aware of expectations that they will in fact reach high levels so that there's no compromise. Kids rise to that of course... (Interview, 29 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

For Laughton, then, family groupings give more power and choices to everyone. There is more room for independence but this is paralleled by the expectation that responsibility towards the whole group be accepted:

Inherent within the [family group] organization is the integration of belief systems which emphasize group rather than individual values. If cultural maintenance is to be a priority at Richmond Road School then stress must be placed on values which contribute to the strength of the group as a whole rather than on those which are individualistic. This kind of system is necessary to support cultural transmission in the curriculum. (Richmond Road, 1986: 3)

This means that cultural features which emphasise collectivism take precedence over those which are individualistic, thus forming the basis of cooperation rather than competition which characterises the school. Acceptance of this kind of responsibility is inherent in family group organisation; socially, by demonstrating care for others, and educationally through peer support activities such as paired reading.

The latter activity, for example, sees children with competency at any particular reading level, not necessarily the best in the group, involved in working with other children who are at earlier stages of development. This encourages the growth of skills which will lead to independence within a supportive, cooperative environment and is consistent with the values of the minority cultures of many of the students. As a teacher in Cazden's study observes,

> I like vertical grouping; I think it's excellent. I would *not* like ever to go back to a straight class. I like the way children fit in. I think of Maori in particular. In a regular school, they start school as 5-year olds, probably with no preschool education. So straightaway they're on a sort of back foot, compared with others. Whereas here they could gain confidence. They fitted in perhaps way down here. But then in their own time, they could work up, without the feeling of always not making it. For me that was great - not only for Maori children, but for *all* children. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 151; emphasis in original)

Two strands of the family group process are highlighted here: the recognition of cultural difference, and the supportive and integrative family environment which frames such recognition:

> Family grouping...rests on the idea of integration of differences - differences of ethnicity, age, ability, gender, interest and knowledge. These factors are brought together so children may grow in knowledge, appreciation and respect for themselves and others....they are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning and [to] support the learning process of those around them. (Richmond Road, 1986: 4)

These two seemingly contradictory notions of integration and difference need not necessarily be juxtaposed. As Laughton observes, in his Principal's Report of 9 February 1988; 'This school's educational provisions arise [from] the perceived need to recognise and celebrate difference and to try and weave from the many cultural threads a fabric, a unity that retains the colour and texture of each.'

Penetito expands on this dialectic in his observation:

> ...the question of diversity's got to play a very important part there [at Richmond Road]. Coming with that, with that diversity, kind of the other side of that is the notion of the shared milieu of the school, you know, the shared values. There are some things that have to be common for all of us. There's all these things which are different, but there's also all those things which are common... (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Along with the recognition of cultural difference, the notion of inclusiveness - the common identification of culture(s) - is also central to family grouping. This does not, as one might expect, diminish the fostering of cultural maintenance. Rather, the centrality of cultural *recognition* is complemented by an emphasis on cultural *interaction*. Thus, both minority and majority children are imputed with responsibilities in the process of outworking intercultural relationships, while recognition is still accorded to the processes of power relations which disadvantage the former in relation to the latter. In this way, the notion of integration is, in effect, critically reconstituted in family grouping. As the school argues,

the aim of family grouping is 'to *integrate* the many diverse elements for the benefit of all without diminishing the distinctiveness or the status of each; in the definition of the Concise Oxford Dictionary "to complete by the addition of (all) parts".' (Richmond Road, 1986: 2; emphasis in original)

The supportive environment of the family grouping model, with its attendant principles of cooperation and shared responsibility, was central, then, to Laughton's attempt to realise an educational approach which would benefit minority children and contest, in so doing, the structures and processes of schooling which had previously excluded and/or alienated them. In so doing, the notion of inclusiveness also served to incorporate a recognition of the majority culture (although, given the educational intentions just outlined, not unreservedly, as is the case in most schooling). But the process of change in establishing these structures, particularly for teachers, came with a price, and not everyone was willing or able to pay it.

'People have been known to stay until morning tea and disappear'

The establishment of family groupings required a radical reconceptualisation of the teaching process for teachers at Richmond Road, and that, necessarily, did not come easily. As the current principal, Lionel Pedersen comments:

> If you believe every child can progress, it's just the rates that differ, teachers have got to believe that too, and that was a very hard barrier for Jim to break down. 'But I'm a form two teacher, how am I going to teach down there?'... (Interview, 26 February, 1990)

Graeme Page, a parent with a long standing involvement in the school and now secretary of the Board of Trustees, expands on Pedersen's observation:

> You've got to change staff. To organise this from a single cell organisation to what it is now must have been a difficult task when individual teachers believed they should be autonomous within the classroom. You're actually changing these people's concepts. It wouldn't be an easy feat. Obviously every time you do those things you're going to have drop outs. A lot of people see cooperative [arrangements] as interference, because they know better. Yet we all know that [traditional] systems never work for minority groups. (Interview, 14 August, 1991)

Helen Villers recounts a similar experience of the trauma of change:

Interviewer: How did the shared space system work?

Helen Villers: Every area [S.S.1 - S.S.4] finds their own way of coping with it. Jim was very patient about that too. Again he saw it as a process, and he wouldn't intervene unless it was critical, but often people wanted to crawl off into their corner with their own little group of children, and for a while, while people found their feet, or a team found their feet, that was probably OK. But then he would start talking about and generating ideas about how to be more integrated... (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

As Villers indicates, Laughton's role in directing and facilitating the change to family group organisation was crucial to its success. He provided strong direction and had high expectations of his staff but was also able to give those willing to change sufficient time to do so. These elements characterised his leadership style, and while it led to some teachers who could not cope leaving the school (something which Laughton was unapologetic for), those that remained came to share in and build on what he was wanting to achieve:

Lionel Pedersen: All I'm really saying is that like when [Jim] first came here it was a tremendously generative time. A lot of people left because they couldn't hack it, but those who stayed were part of the changes. (Interview, 11 February, 1991)

Wally Penetito reiterates Pedersen's observation:

...again there have been those who came to Richmond Road who haven't stayed long. There've been those who've come to Richmond School who the school hasn't wanted to keep long. I mean Jim was never bashful about that either if people didn't belong there. He wanted people to *choose* to be there, the same way he wanted kids to choose to be there and their parents, by showing them the diversity that Richmond Road was. And his philosophy again was 'this is what's here, it's yours, you're welcome to it. If you don't want it, go to wherever it is, whatever it is you want.' (Interview, 14 October, 1991; emphasis in original)

As Penetito argues, Laughton's educational intentions were clearly stated, and while he did not want to enforce these aims on the unwilling, he was also not prepared to have the unwilling obstruct them. Judy Hucker, now herself a principal, comments:

Jim could be ruthless too. He always felt very much, and it's another thing I took with me, his ultimate accountability, and I certainly believe my ultimate accountability, is to the children. And that teachers and adults actually have choices that the kids don't. There were some teachers that were moved on. It became quite uncomfortable for them. It would become very uncomfortable for them. (Interview, 15 August, 1991)

This is where the authoritarian nature of Jim's principalship came to the fore:

Joy Glasson: A lot of the stuff we were always talking to people about was the fact that we tried to duplicate with teachers, what was happening for children, because you can't have two different systems. The kids have to see it around them. But on the other hand Jim always argued there's no such thing as a democracy, and there never was up there .... More and more we were trying to move towards the point where people were more a part of that. But that comes with knowledge. You've actually got to be able to ask yourself questions and challenge them and come up with good reasons for why you decide something, and in the early years, especially, finally, obviously it was Jim who decided those things, because he had a vision of what a school could be .... There were some things that there would be no question about whether they were done or not, like that you would put the kids in multi-level groups and that you would work in certain ways with them. That's what it was all about.

> That's why they were put in multi-level groups, so that people *couldn't* operate with kids in certain ways. Those things had to be enforced and, then, you allow people time to grow into them, so you don't expect them to operate perfectly, and you expect that they would go wrong. And it's not the going wrong that's important, it's what actually comes out of it, what do you learn about it that comes out of it that makes it better next time? What can you change? And people were always part of that kind of talk, but not in the actual decisions of what would be. (Interview, 29 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

Margaret Leaming recounts a similar singularity of purpose in Laughton:

> I think what it came down to, the man believed in what he was saying, he never mouthed things for the sake of it. He honestly believed that there had to be a better way than what he had been seeing out there. And when he got onto his way (pause) he didn't let anything deviate him from that, so that's when sometimes it was necessary for him to be autocratic, to show that he was really the one in charge, and I suppose you could have said that at those times he felt, 'well this is my operation', although really he meant it was the Richmond Road operation and no-one is going to spoil it. And that's why if somebody arrived there, a teacher applied for a job there, and particularly I suppose if they were senior staff, and they arrived with their kit-bag of solutions to everything, it couldn't be, it wasn't, it couldn't be allowed, because it would have wrecked all of the things that were there. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

Eric McMillan recalls one senior staff member who did have difficulty adjusting to the school:

> The last couple of years I was there, the STJC left and a man this time from the South Island came and it really was a culture shock, it nearly killed him and he would concede that today, it really was a change which he had to come to grips with because he'd been in authority, assistant principal, probably non-teaching, out in a country town where he knew everybody and suddenly he was somersaulted into this place where the authority he used to carry didn't mean a thing. You had to earn your right to speak at Richmond Road. *If you went in there making noises that you couldn't support then you didn't survive.* A number came and went quite quickly, they thought they knew it all and very soon they were brought up with a start by staff who did know... (Interview, 26 February, 1991; my emphasis)

Adjustment, then, was necessarily difficult for some staff and given Laughton's uncompromising demands for change, they either came to terms with the changes required, or left. Having said that, it is also clear that Laughton was willing to facilitate this process of change, wherever possible, for those wanting to undertake it. His time frame for change, in particular, attests to this:

Interviewer: How did people cope with the changes?

Judy Hucker: Most of us were very positive about it. Most of us wanted to move into it. Those that didn't - I remember one teacher in particular really preferred teaching in a single cell and she would have been one of the last that they moved. So though Jim did all the organisation [it was] taken into account that those that wanted to start in it started first.

Interviewer: So he eased people in basically?

Judy Hucker: Yes, and this I think is always the point. People ask you to talk about family grouping and things, and I think you've got to realise that Richmond Road was something that actually spanned 14-15 years of development. The actual physical organisation into family groups would have taken five or six years. (Interview, 15 August, 1991)

'He was totally uncompromising. But by the same token I think the vision became a shared vision or it wouldn't have worked'

Jim Laughton was obviously a strategist. He knew that the changes he wished to implement were contingent on staff support and his first objective was to draw to Richmond Road, over a period of time, staff who were willing to undergo such change, while also removing those who were not. But he knew that this was also, in itself, not enough. Staff needed to be committed to the new educational directions being undertaken at Richmond Road, but they also needed provision for ongoing development and support within this process. Again, this was something Laughton was able to successfully provide. Helen Villers comments of this dialectic:

Interviewer: What were the characteristics you needed to have to thrive in a place like [Richmond Road]?

Helen Villers: The commitment to ethnic and gender equity and knowledge of the processes and the skills required to teach in a multi-ethnic situation, a strong philosophy, a strong personal sense of self worth, teaching strength, an ability to get on with other teachers. I think you had to be a pretty strong person actually, looking at the staff.

Interviewer: People must have come though with varying degrees of those characteristics?

Helen Villers: Absolutely, and he built us up. There wasn't an expectation on you from the beginning to be that person. You were supported in that...

(....)

Interviewer: What were the key things in terms of the structures of the school which allowed that to happen?

Helen Villers: The plant, the open-plan nature of it, the vertical groupings significantly, the commitment of teachers to that model, the strength of Jim in maintaining that commitment... (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Margaret Leaming argues that Laughton was able to successfully develop his teachers because of his leadership style:

[He] followed if you like, a basic management principle ... [t]hat is, we've got our two steps; 1. - you have this level at where you perform well in your vocation, (as a teacher, for example) and 2. - that you facilitate others to do their jobs well. And the further up the scale you go, the less you do of 1. and the more you do of 2. Now people don't do that, we keep holding on to what we were good at ... when we shouldn't be doing that. We should do less of that and more of the other, so that you are looking to see all of these wonderful strengths that you have got in the school, and they are being used for the benefit of the learning or wider empowering process. I think that that is what he used his leadership, his position, the authority that he had

> as a principal for, but of course he didn't just have this authority because somebody had made him a principal of a school, he had it in his vocational way because of his knowledge, but it also was given to him because people recognised all the other kinds of attributes he had... (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

This combination of a directive and yet facilitative approach towards his staff was to have significant results. As Leaming again observes:

> If I look at the people who went there and then would say to me - 'I'd like to get a permanent job here' - I'm just trying to think why people were like that. (pause) I don't know, because you wouldn't have said that some of them were great leaders of education. But I think probably they were people that had been around teaching here and there and everywhere, and just doing it as a job, and suddenly found that they were hooked, that they were interested. Something to believe in. It doesn't just have to be something that I get up and go to, because of course you couldn't do that at Richmond Road, staff worked there - boy did they work ... And sometimes they must have got tired and wished they didn't ... we're all the same, I mean they had other commitments, but that had to be it - it was the way it was. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

Staff *learnt* about teaching at Richmond Road, in ways they would never have otherwise, and in ways they never had before. As Joy Glasson comments, of her own personal experience of this process and Jim's role in it:

> I learnt educationally and I learnt, I guess, about me as well, which is the other thing that was always so special to me about Jim, in that I think he gave you confidence in yourself, he gave anyone whom he interacted with at length, and had a long term relationship with, a confidence and a belief in themselves .... There were no stupid games of powermanship or one-up-man-ship [with Jim]. Obviously there was respect from people like me for him, but there was a respect that was always returned. So in that sort of sense he taught you about yourself. He taught you to take a chance, to actually follow through the things you believed in. He also taught you to, what I was talking about before [see above], it's OK to get it wrong. Let's find out what's wrong with it and let's go on from there .... Educationally I just grew so much in understanding what learning actually was, in looking at the ways that you could provide alternatives I guess, so that you actually break away from the monocultural systems that are around. He also taught me in some ways how to challenge those systems... (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

The educational experiences teachers gained from Richmond Road and Jim Laughton have stood them in good stead. Some inevitably have moved on. Joy Glasson now works for the Educational Review Office and is regarded within New Zealand educational circles as an authority on second language development. Helen Villers is now working at Auckland College of Education as a specialist in reading. Judy Hucker, Frank Churchward and Eric McMillan have gone on to principalships and Hucker has also, as a direct result of her involvement at Richmond Road, become involved at a national level in the development of the mathematics curriculum. Others have stayed and continue to work out Laughton's philosophy in their own way(s) at Richmond Road. All have talked of the hard apprenticeship Jim made them serve and the central role that staff development played in that process.

Ko te hunga hanga whare na te whare ano ratou I hanga: 'They who build the house are built by the house'

Staff development was the key strategy Laughton employed at Richmond Road to create a cohesive, informed and committed staff and the fulcrum of that development was the staff meeting. As Margaret Leaming comments, from her experience as an advisor on staff development:

> One of the things that I saw there that I never saw anywhere else, was the (pause) - here was a school with an in-built staff development programme. Everyone else kept going elsewhere - never recognised what they had in the school .... That's one of the things that I try and talk with [schools] about ... collaborative staff development. And that was built into the structure of [Richmond Road] so that the staff meetings there, for instance, (staff meeting seems such a pathetic name for what they did there) were such that there was this enforced sharing of knowledge, because what was going to be taught, if you like in terms of content, would be dealt with but when the people were there ... implicit in it all was *how* it was going to be taught. And so the process, which I saw as being a kind of a linchpin if you like, was built in to the staff development process, which was built in to the school structure. I never saw that anywhere else at all .... I saw schools that had professional components in their staff meetings, but I didn't see one where it was built in and absolutely built in and implicit into the structure, totally into the structure of the school .... And it's interesting that with the staff development project that I'm working on now in schools, that when you put out a needs-analysis across the school, what comes through, and particularly if you talk with people, is that things are not right in terms of communication, and they really need that to be fixed up before they can go on .... At Richmond Road ... that was always something that was gaining attention. (Interview, 28 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

Frank Churchward describes what would happen in staff meetings:

Churchward: Say, for example, you had put forward in front of Jim a paper. You would initially describe things that were in this paper and arguments that were being presented and then we'd all take it away, read it thoroughly, and come back several weeks later for more in-depth discussion.

Interviewer: That's really unusual in schools.

Churchward: I've never met it before. Richmond Road was the very first school I've ever met that.

Interviewer: How crucial was this sort of process?

Churchward: It was most important because a lot of the staff were thinking people and they were challenged by ideas, they were stimulated and excited by ideas. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

The study of theory by teachers formed the basis of the educational decisions which were made at Richmond Road:

Churchward: ...let's say, for example, this is just say a trivial thing, that kids write better with blue ballpoint pens than with red ballpoint pens. Jim would say 'let's find out why that is thought to be true.' So we would get all the information and we'd read and read and read, and then we'd say 'hey wait a minute, here's an

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interesting theory, somebody says green is better than blue.' You'd read into it, and in the end you might say 'right, all the research and all the evidence that we can gather to this minute proves that blue is better than green or red.' Then we would adopt that. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

Wally Penetito echoes this description of the process:

Yes, well I mean their staff meetings, you know, would deal with professional issues and theoretical issues as well as all the practicalities of the day-to-day life. And the practicalities of day-to-day life is [sic] really enough for most people ... because that is [sic] extraordinarily busy in most schools .... I mean I think this is why he forced his teachers. And I think really he did force them. No-one had a choice about going to staff meetings, and they had, if a new thing was out about, I don't know, about bulk funding let's say, to be very current,[13] Laughton would make sure that they actually got together a dozen readings on that bulk funding and they all had to read them and come to the next meeting in a week's time and talk about it. And somebody would lead a discussion, you know, and that's how they did it. And you didn't get one article and everybody'd read that article. You got a dozen articles and you had to read as many of them as you could. (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

What comes through in these observations is the enforced sharing of knowledge that went on in staff meetings. Laughton *made* his teachers learn theory as the basis for their practice and that was an unusual process for teachers to have to undergo. As Churchward again observes, '[a] lot of teachers are stunning people, they're hard workers, they're good practitioners, they're good technicians, but they don't always think in depth about the process of learning.' (Interview, 28 May, 1991) And Penetito expands on this in his comment:

Yes, theory into practice. Yes, I suppose that's actually the work of teachers all the time. Most of them don't, and I mean Jim was keen that his teachers not only should be good practitioners but that the whole definition of *good* practitioner meant someone who knew what they were doing, understood their practice. And in order to understand your practice you have to be able to theorise about it .... You need to deal with these theoretical things because you need to be able to articulate it. You need to be able to talk about it. You need to be able to improve on it and you do that by making it real, by taking ideas in the abstract and applying them in the real situation. (Interview, 14 October, 1991; emphasis in original)

However, while Laughton provided the impetus and expectations for such learning, he did not dominate proceedings. The learning process for teachers came principally through their own active participation:

Churchward: I got very excited by the way he thought about things, the things we would discuss at staff meetings. When I went to the school I did Marie Clay's reading papers to complete my Bachelors degree, so I had some things to offer, and I know Jim would pick up [on that] and if he recognised that you had perhaps a bit of skill then he was adamant or anxious that we share it with each other .... *He made sure that what we had was shared with the staff.* (Interview, 28 May, 1991; my emphasis)

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[13]. The bulk funding of schools emerged as an national educational issue in 1991.

Helen Villers recounts a similar experience:

Villers: He made me talk. He made me discuss a lot of papers in the staff meetings and that sort of thing. I was finishing my degree at the time and he knew I was interested in the sorts of issues, but shy about talking, and he dropped me in the deep end. I guess that's why I'm here now [at teachers college], because I've lost my fear of an audience .... We all had to do it. Each of us.

Interviewer: No-one was exempted?

Villers: No, never. And the other thing that you had to do was chair the staff meeting. I think they probably still do that on a rotating basis, and do the karakia ['prayer'; see glossary] .... I'll never forget the first time I had to do that! So you're dropped in it. And I'd have to say that it was harder for teachers in that school than it was for kids, which is probably the way it should be, but there were no soft options for teachers at all.

Interviewer: Harder because they were extended. And made to be extended - when necessary?

Villers: Yes. We, all of us who have left the school, have been incredibly professionally well equipped to cope with anything, and the expectations that are current in probably the majority of schools seem to us very puny now - i.e 'you will stay to 4.00 for a staff meeting', we say 'hah, but they don't know they're alive!' (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Staff meetings were long affairs and, along with many other aspects of the school, required an unusual degree of commitment from teachers:

Interviewer: A lot of people would say 'I'd never teach at Richmond Road - staff meetings until 6.00 etc.' How did [teachers cope]?

Judy Hucker: Well, ask my family. Tuesdays were takeaway nights!

Interviewer: How did Jim get that sort of commitment?

Judy Hucker: How did Jim *not* get that sort of commitment would probably be a better question. (laughs) Jim was a very charismatic person, he was a very hierarchical person too. He got huge commitment from his staff. Mind you, the other thing is in terms of staff meetings - and this is probably something that I've taken with me - is it was curriculum, it was staff development, staff were always involved, so they owned it. Jim very seldom ever took a lead role in staff meeting. It would be mainly some member of staff actually doing the input. And I think the fact that it was curriculum and it was learning, though in those days you didn't have job descriptions, it was a total expectation that Tuesday was staff meeting day and you did not have anything else on that day .... [However] I wouldn't have, and I don't think very many people would actually have done it had it not been useful. And it was, it was totally curriculum. You'd get your administration over very quickly, and I think you'd probably find that that's a model that most of us that have moved into higher positions have taken with us. None of us though have ever said that they'll go that long...

Interviewer: That was pretty unusual though and still is isn't it?

Judy Hucker: That's totally unusual. I don't know any other school that does that. People have said to me, I wouldn't have done the work, I wouldn't do that, but there was a core staff there at that time and the things that were happening were innovative. (Interview, 15 August, 1991; emphasis in original)

Joy Glasson makes a similar observation:

> Yes, this is one of the things that he did hammer quite hard, that teachers are professionals and they should be expected to behave as professionals. This is why they were expected to be at those long staff meetings. In the early years you had ... a few that didn't want to stay past 4.00 or whatever, it took time, it didn't just happen. We had people who used to leave at 4.00 or half past four. But for most people they were in fact real educational development times where you got so involved in what was going on it didn't bother you that it was a certain time. Other than that, certainly high expectations of performance from teachers because, not simply to be stroppy, but because that affected children and there was no question that children came first. Everything was decided on what was best for the child, not what was best for the adults in the place. People gradually learnt that I think. Not everyone accepted it, and there will still be people who don't accept it. Always what's best for the child first. In a lot of the years when I was there it was a very strong solid core of people who'd been there a long time. You've got that very firmly centred in the school. When new people came you could bring people into it because it was an established system, and they were established beliefs. While people were at various levels of acquiring those, and ownership of them, you could bring people into them simply by linking them the way you would with children, to other people, and supporting them while they were learning. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

The staff development process set up by Laughton may have been demanding, but its requirements did lead to teachers at Richmond Road developing a theorised approach to practice. The core of people initially involved in these changes were also able to lend support to the subsequent induction of new teachers in much the same way, as Glasson observes, that the family group structure operates to support and encourage children.[14] Not much has changed at Richmond Road in that regard. Thinking in depth about educational issues remains a characteristic of the school today and staff meetings, which are still held every Tuesday afternoon, follow a similar format and still regularly continue into the early evening. In addition to the staff meeting, other support systems for staff development, also established by Laughton, continue to operate. Each teacher on arriving at the school receives a personal folder, which comprises both the educational articles that have been discussed over the years, and the rationales which the school has developed from these to inform its practice.[15] A teacher release system, combined with the shared teaching arrangements of the ropu,

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[14]. For a detailed account of the comparability of staff organisational practices with the pedagogical tenets employed with students in family groups, see Chapter 6.

[15]. These documents provide a fascinating account of the development of Richmond Road's educational thinking. All the significant articles the school has examined are filed, and the content of the staff meeting discussions pertaining to them, readily available.

allow for individual teachers to be released every morning to look at curriculum issues. And curriculum teams which are presently in the areas of Science, Art, Music and Expressive Arts, Health, and Physical Education, and which deliberately cut across the ropu teaching teams, have also been established within the school to foster curriculum development and to resource student learning.[16]

All of these systems set in place for staff development by Laughton aim to foster within teachers an understanding of the processes of teaching and the processes of learning. As Penetito argues:

> What all of it always came back to in the end [was] how's this going to help teachers in classrooms with kids? No matter what it is you're dealing with, no matter what level, it ends up you get back to there. I mean Laughton's question in the end was 'what are we going to do with this?' 'What do we do in the classrooms? And what are you going to do with it tomorrow?' 'It's not about planning about unknown futures, this is about now.' I think that's a real strength. (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

However, Penetito goes on to suggest that along with the understanding of teaching and learning processes, is also cultivated a broader understanding of schooling's function in society:

> Richmond Road School again is one of the few places I know of, maybe the only place I know of in terms of schools, that can hold a lucid debate about the way in which power works in the infant classroom. Again most people think power's something that exists outside. I mean it's (pause) - you've first of all got to be dealing with policy or something in education. They actually can talk about it in terms of what teachers do with kids inside classrooms and they can talk about it ... by taking a theoretical stance on it to begin with. 'What the hell do we mean by power? And then how does it work in this place? And is it quantifiable and who's got it if it is? How do they use it?' The people in that school could talk like that and could deal with all those subjects. And most schools, they don't want to know to start with ... that's one of the real problems .... The school's never going to answer it because it doesn't want to deal with that stuff - its too hard. (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Lionel Pedersen endorses this in his observation that 'there is no substitute for [wide] teacher knowledge', and he goes on to suggest that the result of Laughton's cultivation of this principle at Richmond Road is 'that the actual knowledge of the mechanics of teaching [among the staff] is massively high.' (Interview, 26 February, 1990) It is from this knowledge base that the school acts to contest the hegemonic forces (alluded to by Penetito) which are present within education, by practising an approach to education which 'move[s] beyond theorizing about our practice along the lines of "this works for me" ... to ask questions instead about why we act as we do, and whose interests are served by continuing in this manner.' (Smyth, 1989: 57)

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[16]. These teams, and their operation within the structures of the school, will be examined more closely in the ensuing chapter on curriculum (Chapter 7).

The theoretical literacy instilled in the staff at Richmond Road by Laughton through the various processes of staff development has been essential in establishing an approach to education which meets the needs of its ethnically diverse school population. As such, it accords with Lynch when he argues:

> Staff development for teacher educators and teachers in schools is in a very real sense an indisputable fulcrum to progress on educational policies addressing democratic cultural diversity, and each institution needs a comprehensive staff development programme subject to continuing monitoring and review against negotiated criteria. (1986: 192)

Richmond Road demonstrably fits such criteria and provides, in so doing, a basis for resisting the processes of exclusion which minority groups are usually subject to within the normal practices of schooling. Theoretical literacy (and the oppositional practices which result from that) are not confined, however, to educational texts at Richmond Road. Conversancy with current educational legislation and provisions also features prominently in the resistance strategies which inform school practice there.

'Every time they changed the rules, he took advantage of them'

The realising of a meaningful multiculturalism at Richmond Road has required an awareness of what obstacles the implementation of such an approach might face from beyond the school. As such, educational idealism, in itself, was never regarded by Laughton as a sufficient basis for effecting change. He knew what he was up against:

Wally Penetito: I've come to understand as I've come to know the school better and you come to know Laughton better, and that is in a multi-ethnic school where he's trying to do something that fits the multi-ethnic vision that he's got in mind, the multicultural society if you like, you know that that's actually going to be up against the machinery of the state. It's up against all the conventional wisdom. I mean, I think the school got a hard time from all the powers that be over a long time. I mean Laughton just kind of learnt what the rules were and played right up to the edge of the rules. But I mean he *knew* the rules. I think anybody who's going to play right up to the edge of the rules needs to know them. And that's hindsight. But that's the way they worked. (Interview, 14 October; emphasis in original)

In discussing how Laughton was able to set up one of the first inner-city Maori bilingual units in the country, the secretary of the Board of Trustees, Graeme Page, makes a similar observation:

Interviewer: Jim set that up in 1985 didn't he?

Graeme Page: You were allowed to, so he did. Every time they changed the rules, he took advantage of them. A lot of people used to think that Jim did things illegally but he didn't. They changed the rules and he was always the first cab off the rank prepared to do it, and able to make a change. (Interview, 14 August, 1991)

Likewise in 1986, Laughton was one of the first to secure a kaiarahi reo for the school, on the initial establishment of these positions nationally. As John Matthews, who was appointed to this position, recalls, '[i]t was actually the first batch of kaiarahi reo, it was that year, and I think I was one of the early ones. I think there [were] 26 of us appointed throughout New Zealand that year, and that was the first year they were established.' (Interview, 25 May, 1991)

Laughton was concerned with access to power, not only for the minority children at Richmond Road but for the school itself, and he knew how to get it. Margaret Leaming illustrates this in her comment on Jim's approach to her in her role as staff inspector to the school:

> I think that the thing that Jim Laughton also did well, if you want to look at things, he knew where - he recognised power and where it was because he was interested in empowering people. He knew what I could do for the school and what I couldn't do, he didn't waste time on me asking me to do something that he needed to write to Wellington [the Department of Education's head office] about, he was very good at that. I think it's a point of view, it could be argued, that Maori people have not been good at, knowing where the sources of power are. Of course we [Pakeha] are very good at that, we're brought up to it. And so the whole business of your children finding employment if you like when they leave school ... European people, particularly middle-class people, know where to go. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

To redress the imbalance of dominant power relations to which Leaming refers (and what Bourdieu terms the legitimation of the *habitus* of the dominant group as cultural capital; see Chapter 1), Laughton undertook to know what legislative avenues of resistance were available to him, and the minority groups on whose behalf he worked. It is a practice which still continues within the school:

Wally Penetito: Laughton's way of doing things is that they were more familiar with the legislation than probably most schools are. I mean, they don't only look at that stuff, they actually examine it. You know, they get right into the, I mean you name the legislation, if it's got something to do with their school, whether it's the Labour Relations Act or something like that, [if it has] some effect on their school they get and study it. (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

The result has been the additional staffing and resources the school has been able to secure over the years, reflected in the currently favourable staff to student ratio. As Penetito continues:

> ...they seemed to get a hell of a lot more, I mean I think the schools were jealous of what Richmond Road had because Richmond Road was able to get a whole lot things that other schools never had. That's because again he went to the trouble of finding out what is out there to have and how you get it, and went about getting it. You know, I mean and as far as he was concerned that was the way in which anybody else could operate if they chose to. The fact that they didn't was their problem, not his. I think [the example] that beautifully encapsulates that is Laughton turning up one morning in his suit. I mean, generally speaking he was more laid back than that, not sloppy but laid back. He turned up at work with his suit. And some of the staff knew that he was going up to meet the Education Board that day, the Auckland Education Board at the time. And they flung a bit at him, you know, taking the mickey out [of him] sort of thing, and saying 'you're all flashed up today Jim.' But his comment was 'yes, well

I want them to listen to me, not look at me.' (laughs) In other words ... be the way they are, and then we can get down on even terms and they can listen to what I have to say instead of looking at why this joker is dressed the way he is. And I think that's kind of the perfect ... example of studying the law as well. He just knew it all. You know, as much as any layman knows the law, but I mean they know it better than most laymen, and I think that's continuing to this day too. (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Through Laughton's influence, Richmond Road has developed a healthy awareness and scepticism of the power relations implicit in wider institutional settings and a proactive stance in contesting these relations. Knowledge of educational provision is one key aspect of this, but it is not the only one. There is also a sense in which, as another form of resistance, Richmond Road is careful not to let the interest it has engendered as an innovative school undermine what the school is wanting to achieve:

Penetito: ...when visitors came they were made to jump through certain hoops to start with. I mean Joy Glasson, when she was there, and Lionel [Pedersen] would have these sessions with the visitors, and they wouldn't let them loose in the place. All these people want to do is say 'let me loose, I want to see what's going on here and make my own mind up about what I see.' But Richmond Road did actually some of the shaping of what you see, and I think that's again a strategy from people who are not in the powerful positions, that sort of thing. I'm not sure that that's only them, I mean maybe people in powerful positions do it more automatically. People who are less powerful in the society, like minority groups, tend to be more open about the world that they live in, open it up for scrutiny more often, like Maori are so over-researched, you know, as a society, as a culture .... They tend to have open worlds and the powerful people of the world have a closed world. Now if you've got closed-world people coming into the open-world institution, what Richmond Road has learned is you're not allowing this. You shape their thinking before they do any of that. You at least make sure they know what you're on about. If they go away and misinterpret it at least they know what they're doing and you know what you've done... (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

What comes through consistently here is the realist approach that Laughton and Richmond Road have taken on the position of minority groups in a society where the power relations lie with the dominant group. Their contesting of these relations from this perspective makes their resistance more effective. In so doing, of course, they have also undertaken to speak on behalf of the minority groups represented in their school population. This is not necessarily an easy task and they have, as such, been careful to reflect closely their communities' aspirations and concerns. While much of this chapter has concentrated on the internal organisation of the school and the role of the principal and staff within that, we need in conclusion to return to the relationship between the school and its local community.

The School and its Community: Fostering Reciprocal Relationships

School and community relationships are strong and characterised by a surprising degree of involvement from parents in all aspects of school life. In Cazden's study, an American educator, Mary Snow, comments on her experience of this parental involvement when the visiting group she was in participated in a hangi (see glossary):

> At the end of a *long* day, parents began to drift in, and children who lived in the neighbourhood began to drift in; and it turned into a feast, and dancing. Parents were teaching American educators how to dance! It was *very* clear that they felt very much at home in that great room. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 158; emphasis in original)

As Cazden goes on to observe, this participation is the rule not the exception; '[t]he front door [of the school] is indeed always open.' (*ibid*) Parents feature prominently around the school. They are welcome, for example, to observe or participate in the ropu at any time, *and often do so*, while school functions are always strongly supported. This degree of involvement would be unusual in most schools, but it is particularly unusual for minority parents, who often feel alienated by schooling. Again, this was something which Jim Laughton was well aware of and something which he set about changing. He was concerned to make the school and its organisational processes more accessible to and inclusive of minority parents and an example of this, as Frank Churchward describes, is his reconstituting of the traditional approach to parent interviews:

Interviewer: What about the community, how were they...

Churchward: It was a very warm community relationship.

Interviewer: Had that also been fostered?

Churchward: Yes, over a period of time. Jim was very keen to involve members of the community in the life of the school. Whenever there were functions, you know, the Polynesian [Maori and Pacific Island] people just don't run up to the school and say 'how's my kid's reading, and how's this, and how's that...' that's a very European, very middle-class European approach. But when things were required, social occasions or functions, our community was there *en masse*. They were keen on their children. They were anxious to know how their kids were getting on. One example, the parent [interviews], that's a common practice nowadays, our parents turned up in droves .... [I]f you go to some schools there are (pause) 'Dear Mr Smith, would you please say what time you would like to come for your five minute or ten minute interview'. Jim just wiped that, he said no, that's crap. Our people don't work like that. We just say between the hours of this and this come and talk to us about your children .... It might seem a trivial kind of organisational thing but it's very important. It was a casual, unhassled approach to people, which I love and ... in the two schools I took over I did the same thing and it worked because our Polynesian people don't like to be tied down. They turned up in their droves. They were

saying in their way 'we're interested in what you're doing with our kids, we want to know how well our children are doing.'

Interviewer: But they weren't frightened off by alien routines?

Churchward: Well by getting rid of alien routines, and having a more casual thing, they felt more comfortable. I think they felt comfortable with Jim because he was a Polynesian [Maori]. That helped .... I'm not saying that Pakeha principals are not approachable, there are many who are. It's just, 'oh, he's one of us' sort of thing. It makes it easier and *I think Jim's intense respect for human difference, for cultural difference, marked our school.* We respected the different viewpoints that the cultural groups had. (Interview, 28 May, 1991; my emphasis)

Parents at Richmond Road are required twice a year to come to an afternoon and evening set aside for the discussion of their child's report; the discussion is a requirement for receiving the report. Under normal circumstances minority parents could view this as an ordeal but, as Churchward observes, by attending to the cultural sensitivities involved in the process, the parental response has been overwhelming. A teacher in Cazden's study reiterates this: 'And the report system here, where parents have to come into the school to get the reports; it makes the parents feel involved, that their input is valuable [instead of] a them-and-us situation with the child in between.' (cited in Cazden, 1989: 158)

Parents can also often be seen involved in the various ropu. The long term relationships which the family groupings foster facilitate this familiarity between the school and parents and is supported by an open invitation to parents to observe and/or participate in the ropu at any time. The usual wariness with which teachers regard the intervention of parents is not apparent at Richmond Road. Waller's (1965) long held thesis on the natural enmity between teachers and parents, it seems, does not apply. Rather, as Lyn Malaugh, who taught at Richmond Road over an extended period and left at the end of the first term of 1991, observes, parental involvement is an accepted and prominent feature of the school. In her ropu, for example:

We've got one mother that comes in quite frequently to help, just comes in, we've got that organised, and she knows she's welcome and she comes in and helps. There's a Cook Island dad that feels very at home with Tu and Tiaki [the school caretaker and cleaner, respectively] and he comes in and brings his little boy, its his grandson, but he's bringing him up, and brings him up in the mornings and has a social chat with Tu and Tiaki and he's there for quite some time, then comes back up again in the afternoon and has another social chat. He's come into the room and sat in on the room when he's felt like it. I really enjoyed his company and had a chat to him. There's another mum from S.S.1 who's a solo mum ... she came up and did some voluntary work in the library. It was suggested she might like to do that. She hasn't done much of that, but she comes and sits in on the room... (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

Parents regularly involve themselves in ropu in this way and this involvement is also apparent in the weekly school assembly. Held every Friday morning, these assemblies are organised by individual ropu

(with the addition of the school's cultural group which includes selected members from all ropu) on a rotating basis. The task of each ropu is to present cultural activities which are associated with their particular group membership, often in the form of music or dance. The school's cultural group presents a full range of cultural activities. Assemblies, as such, are always enjoyable spectacles, and, along with special school functions, see parents and friends of the school regularly attend. As Luke Hiki, a second year teacher in the Maori bilingual unit, observes, assemblies also see the participation of the pre-schools:

> When we put on assembly, ours is combined with the kohanga reo [the Maori language pre-school]. We have Monday, every Monday, for half an hour, which is once a week. The kohanga come in one week and then the next week we'd all go down to them. We take our resources, our new songs, and they provide something, some new songs, and we work together. So we learn the same songs so that when it comes to assembly we're able to perform together and when S.S.3 perform they're with the *A'oga* [the Samoan language pre-school], because they've got the Samoan bilingual unit, so they do their assembly together. S.S.2, they've got Enoa in there, and he's just starting up the Cook Island unit and they do theirs with the Cook Island pre-school. It's mostly a lot of parents come through then. If you've been to an assembly there's a lot of [parents], S.S.3's full up with parents at the back. (Interview, 13 August, 1991)

Richmond Road's association with its pre-schools, as Hiki's observation reveals, is not simply one of on-site accommodation, as is often the case elsewhere. While the pre-schools are autonomous and community run, there are strong links between them and the school itself. These links benefit children since the disruption of moving from a pre-school situation to primary school is minimised by the already strong association between the pre-schools and the bilingual units (the latter, tending to pick up the children from the respective pre-schools). As Graeme Page, whose wife teaches in the kohanga reo, comments:

Page.   The fact that you have three pre-schools generates a lot of input into the school because they've already associated with the school .... I think all of those pre-schools are selling points.

Interviewer: Because they offer continuity for the kids coming to the school?

Page: Yes, well the kids settle in so easily you see because they've already been settled in. It's not a fearsome place and their brothers and sisters are here or whatever. So it's not difficult for them to be involved. They're already involved every Friday with the assembly so there's nothing intimidating about going to school. It's just moving from one classroom to another. And when you get there half the kids that are there, you've already been in the kohanga with anyway. (Interview, 14 August, 1991)

Direct links with ethnic groups within the community are also fostered via the pre-schools, given that their establishment and organisation have been community driven. Page again comments:

Interviewer: How has the preschool arrangement worked in terms of with the rest of the school, involving the community groups?

Page: I think it works quite well. I think the transition from kohanga to school is easy. I don't know about the *A'oga* but I guess it's the same. There's an interchange between the bilingual Maori and the Kohanga Reo and the bilingual Samoan and the *A'oga*. So I suppose it works well.

Interviewer: And the community is directly involved in those, they set them up?

Page: The buildings are under the control of the Board [of Trustees], but they run their own finances and everything and sort out their own rules. (Interview, 14 August, 1991)

John Matthews, the kaiarahi reo attached to the Maori bilingual unit, echoes Page's observations:

Interviewer: What specific ways is the community involved in the school? Does the school reflect the wishes of the community, and how does that work? What sort of consultations are there?

Matthews: Lately there's been big ones through the establishment of *A'oga Fa'a Samoa* and the Cook Island preschool.

Interviewer: So for each of those, those communities have come in and discussed it with the school?

Matthews: Yes. Those have been community objectives.

Interviewer: Is that how the Maori bilingual unit started?

Matthews: No. The first group to want a bilingual unit was the Samoans. They wanted to have an *A'oga Fa'a Samoa* there. Jim wanted the Maori one. He'd been wanting a kohanga as well about the same time. Pita Taouma was the chairman at that time, and he said no, we'll respect the tangata whenua [Maori; see glossary] first. So they did the kohanga first. So it was actually a Samoan who said put the Maori one up.

Interviewer: I see, and that's why the Samoan one came in pretty much straight after, a couple of years later wasn't it?

Matthews: A few more years after. It was about '89.

Interviewer: And what about the Apii Reo Kuki Airani [the Cook Island pre-school]?

Matthews: They're established now. They've still got minor things, just the planning and that of the environment. They've got to come up to minimum standards of education.

Interviewer: And basically they've been asked to do that themselves?

Matthews: Yes. All the ethnic groups, they've got to do it themselves. (Interview, 25 May, 1991)

The pre-schools have been established as community initiatives in consultation with the school and its governing body; formerly the school committee, now the Board of Trustees. Prominent in this process, along with Jim Laughton, has been Pita Taouma, a local Samoan elder and the present Board of Trustees chairperson. As Matthews indicates, he was instrumental in ensuring that Maori were recognised as tangata whenua at Richmond Road. While the Samoan community constitutes the largest ethnic group at the school, Taouma supported Laughton in advocating that a move towards multicultural and multilingual education must first recognise the responsibilities of New Zealand's bicultural heritage. Accordingly, it was the kohanga and Maori bilingual unit which were first established within the school.

Pita Taouma has been a key figure in the management of the school for nearly a decade, and one of its strongest advocates. Interestingly, though, he was not initially supportive of what Laughton was trying to do at Richmond Road, particularly through the establishment of family groups:

Eric McMillan: [Pita Taouma] opposed family grouping, he opposed multi-levels [at first] and it was only when his own son went through, a boy who would have failed in most other schools because of a lack of patience which comes with most schooling... The thing about the family model is that it's very patient with kids, it just accepts that they might sit a long time before they start to [develop]. It's where they've moved to at the end from where they [were at the] beginning, that's the measuring point. So he learnt to read, slowly, he learnt to write, he became literate and over that period Pita Taouma understood what [Jim] was on about, and how successful they'd been with this much slower son, because he has a succession of fairly smart daughters, but this very precious son looked like being a failure. And he was convinced by that. And of course he is now a very strong advocate of the school. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

Taouma's initial scepticism and subsequent support and involvement reflects the growing influence within the community of the school's view of multicultural education. Just as Laughton was able to change teachers over a period of time, so too was he able to influence community expectations. As Joy Glasson reflects:

Glasson: ...that's the other thing about the school, of course, there were no short answers. It is going to take time. That's why it took 14 years to get it to the point it was when Jim died. That was because it's hard to change adults, it's not hard to change kids. And it's hard to change community expectations too.

Interviewer: How was that done?

Glasson: Just very slowly, by making very small changes. That's why it took 14 years. And, of course too, people during those years saw what was happening to the kids, actually saw that kids were achieving. Kids were succeeding, kids were doing really well. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

There has also been a reciprocal influence, however, of the community on the school. The former school committee[17] and now the Board of Trustees have consisted, over the last decade, of predominantly Maori and Pacific Island representatives, reflecting the community it serves. This was not always so, however, and only began to develop with the involvement of Graeme Page and Pita Taouma, particularly when the latter was appointed to the chair of the then school committee. As Lyn Malaugh recalls:

Interviewer: What about parents. Are they involved in the school? What was the relationship with the community actually like?

Malaugh: It's been quite interesting. It's developed since the Taouma's came to the school there's been more input with the Pacific Island community .... They've been very instrumental and he [Pita] was very insistent on a particular Samoan function when the new buildings were finished and that happened and the Island community really got together and pulled together and did that. So that's happened since the early '80s. There was [sic] always things like parents nights and the parents would come along to those, but there's been more since the Taouma's have got very involved with the school. There have been some very big community things that they've had - the opening of the pre-schools, the opening of the kohanga, the opening and dedication of the new buildings, Jim's tangi [funeral; see glossary], which was held at the school, a case in point. (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

While Pita Taouma's influence has been prominent since his involvement as committee chairperson, his appointment was not without controversy. As Graeme Page (himself Maori) candidly recounts, of the particular meeting which saw Taouma appointed:

Page: I just came to a meeting and somebody nominated me for the school committee.

Interviewer: You had kids here at the time?

Page: Yes. And we'd just bought a house in the area so I thought I'd better be involved in it. I guess my reasons for coming to the meeting in the first place were probably a bit strange. My understanding of schools is that they're bureaucracies that ... de-educate kids, if anything. I suppose I came along just to see what they were doing that I wouldn't agree with.

Interviewer: You hadn't known anything about the school?

Page: No, I knew nothing about the school, or anybody here. And I listened to Jim and then got elected and then I noticed that the school was largely Polynesian and Maori, and that out of the people elected there were four Pakeha and five Polynesians and Maori. And it was obvious to me that the Pakeha were handing on power to the next Pakeha, so I nominated Pita as the Chairman,

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[17] School committees comprised locally elected members but did not have the formal administrative responsibilities now bestowed upon Boards of Trustees.

and a Cook Island fellow ... seconded it and the vote was five to four, and that's how Pita got to be the Chairman of the school. (Interview, 14 August, 1991)

Under Taouma's influence, the management of the school has come to more closely reflect the style and concerns of the ethnic groups which make up the bulk of its clientele. However, the process of change has not been without its detractors, principally, one assumes, those Pakeha who might otherwise have had an influence. As Lyn Malaugh, herself Pakeha, again observes:

Malaugh.   What community input we get to Board of Trustees meetings I'm not quite so sure about though .... They have made that known that the community can go along [but] I've had some negative comments from some of the European parents about going to the Board of Trustee meetings.

Interviewer: In what way?

Malaugh: I wouldn't know exactly, but they feel that it's being run by a big threesome [Taouma, Page and Pedersen] and that they're not overly welcome. That may or may not be true, I do not know. It may be a perception that's not true, maybe they feel uncomfortable because it's not what they're used to. I don't know. (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

The ambivalence inherent in Malaugh's comments highlight the difficulties which members of the dominant group face when hegemony is contested. Access to power for others is all very well until it actually impinges on your own. What this has seen at Richmond Road is the gradual loss of some of the initially enthusiastic white liberals from involvement in school management along with, at times, the development of conflict situations:

Interviewer: Have there ever been, to your knowledge, any conflicts of interest between parents and the school? Jim would have had to sell what he was wanting to do wouldn't he, obviously over a period of time?

Graeme Page: Yes, there were big conflicts of interest over the [Maori] bilingual unit when it first started because the liberal Pakehas put all their kids in and wanted their kids to learn Maori, it was obviously an advantage. *And it's an advantage on an advantage that the kid already has.* But the trouble with the parents is that they all decided that they would be like Maoris and they would start having huis [meetings; see glossary] etc. and they would become a pressure group. And they did it in isolation from the [school] committee. So that was a conflict, but it was really between the Pakeha parents and the school committee. Fortunately I was a parent then at the time, because they were basically speaking for me [as a Maori], that was their attitude. So yes, there's been conflicts in those circumstances. They were parents who started at the same time as I did but have moved on because they don't have as many kids as I do (laughs). And they've done the same in other schools where they've gone too because they come from this very position of knowing everything you see. (Interview, 14 August, 1991; my emphasis)

Graeme Page is unapologetic about such conflict and the associated scepticism of some Pakeha towards the present Board of Trustees. Changing the rules of the game under Taouma's chairmanship, he argues, has affirmed minority groups within the school and has acted as an education for Pakeha of the processes to which minorities are usually subject. Having said that, access is never at any stage denied to Pakeha (it would contravene what the school stands for). Rather, what is asked of them is an accommodation to cultural norms which are not necessarily their own; a relinquishing of control that has been naturally assumed as of right:

Page:

I think some [Pakeha] have moved on because they see it as a bit overpowering, probably how we feel in Pakeha situations. They feel intimidated by the, I know some people would say, lack of form, because it isn't cut and dried. You don't have arguments, motion arguments and stuff like that, and things that end in debates. Ending a debate is sitting there and going the distance. It's pretty difficult for a lot of people who think things should be run on a, they would probably say a non-time wasting position. You have power according to your knowledge, I think that's really a...

Interviewer:

What does that mean?

Page:

What you know, in terms of how much credence your word is given I guess rather than you have power by position.

(....)

Interviewer:

What about, some would say, some have said, that the Board of Trustees meetings are still pretty closed shop even though technically anyone can go to it?

Page:

Well yes, but I would say that anybody who said that has never been to one very often, and the initial coming to one may be a bit intimidating because if you don't come often then you don't know anything, because that's where the information is discussed and translated. So it's very difficult. I've seen people for years come and go, but most of them were pushing some thing that dealt with them and them alone, and couldn't wait. So on that basis they didn't stay .... I would think yes, there are definitely people, I know there's definitely staff, who think that, but they don't come to meetings on a regular basis. And they come with a position and they don't come to listen. But if you do and you join and you become part of it then it's time for you to say something. Really, I don't see anything wrong with being in the kitchen for a while, personally. I think that's where you start your apprenticeship, and so to come in and say 'well I've got no influence here so I won't come again' is bullshit. You haven't actually done the dishes yet.

(....)

Interviewer:

So it's knowing when to speak, knowing how to gain credibility?

Page:

Well it's not a matter of gaining it. It's just taken for granted that you will if you become part of it, and if you stand outside [and criticise] nobody's going to take you on. You're just going to be talking into a hole. So I'm sure that's what people find difficult. But then the ones that persist don't have a problem. I think it's probably having some respect for the other point of view first. One of the problems is that people come in with this all knowing position, they know everything, so *you* listen. We've been here for years and we're still listening. (Interview, 14 August, 1991; emphasis in original)

What comes through consistently in Page's observations, and what has been reflected elsewhere in the school's organisation through Laughton's influence, is that power comes through *knowledge*, not through position. Returning to a comment made earlier by Eric McMillan; '[y]ou had to earn your right to speak at Richmond Road. If you went in there making noises that you couldn't support then you didn't survive.' (Interview, 26 February, 1991) Those who were not willing to listen to other viewpoints soon became disillusioned. Those not willing to concede previously held positions of power met similar opposition. As Page argues:

> Those people who've had particular things to push and haven't been able to push them when they wanted to have always found the Board [of Trustees] to be a bit of a bind. *So what.* Those are the same people who pushed it everywhere, in fact successfully, in every other organisation bar this one. So they say we're just as bad because they don't get their own way in this organisation, as they do in every other organisation ... because they're all the chairmen [sic] and power brokers. So when you take somebody who's already a power broker in society and he [sic] comes along and can't get his own way here there's something wrong with this. Now that's not necessarily so... (Interview, 14 August, 1991; emphasis in original)

Richmond Road, in its school management, closely reflects the concerns of the local ethnic groups that constitute much of the school's population. The relationship between the school and community is accordingly both strong and reciprocal, with local community representatives playing a prominent part in the Board of Trustees. Parents are involved in the school at various levels and the demarcation usually associated with teachers and parents is deliberately undermined. Parents are *welcome* at Richmond Road - to observe, to participate and, where appropriate, to teach as well. As Holmes & Wynne, in a recent text on educational adminstration, observe:

> A successful school is likely to be one with strong consensual values shared by teachers, parents and students. If those values are lived on a daily basis in the community, so much the better. (1989: 143)[18]

Richmond Road clearly demonstrates this kind of consensual interaction between school and community. As Graeme Page concludes, perhaps more as a parent than a board member in this particular case:

> I think the staff and the community are as one, and the community isn't in awe of the teaching profession here. I mean, I think you get a lot of situations where the teacher says 'well *that's right*. I don't think it is here. I think that everybody's relaxed with everybody else. (Interview, 14 August, 1991; emphasis in original)

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[18]. While Holmes & Wynne are drawn on here, their account of educational adminstration is representative of many within the field in its almost exclusively monocultural stance. For a critique of this approach in relation to Richmond Road, see May (1992).

However, Luke Hiki, the second year Maori bilingual teacher, perhaps identifies the key component of the school and community interrelationship:

Interviewer: ...And does that just happen because the school's kept talking to the community over the years and told them what they're doing and brought them on board?

Hiki: Yes, *and giving them the status*. They're giving the parents in the community the status to be able to come into the school and express what you want, your desires and that. I think that's what's kept the parents coming back and back again. (Interview, 13 August, 1991; my emphasis)

These participatory, reciprocal, and non-hierarchical relationships characterise Richmond Road's school organisation; in family grouping, staff development, collaborative management, and school and community relations. In the process, status is accorded to all participants. Children, parents, and teachers all have something to offer and it was Laughton's intention, supported by others both within the school and local community, that everyone's contribution would be valued. The specific pedagogic and relational principles underlying this process of inclusion and participation are the subject of the next chapter.

PEDAGOGY: KNOWLEDGE, RESPONSIBILITY AND
THE PROCESS OF LEARNING

> ...for me it's about the only place I've ever seen where you've got both a structural change and a pedagogical change that link together. And that's, for me, what made it different. (Joy Glasson: Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Laughton believed that ascribing status to all participants in the process of learning necessarily involves both a recognition of and a role for the knowledge they bring with them. As Frank Churchward comments, 'that's another feature of Jim's approach, that everybody or anybody can be an expert, can have the knowledge.' Churchward goes on to argue that this is why the school was able to establish such close links with the community, as we saw in the last chapter for example, because the knowledge that ethnic groups had within the community was recognised and drawn upon:

Churchward: You respect the knowledge that young children or old people [bring], and this is where the community, we drew on the community. They knew if we were doing Tonga, the Tongan community are the ones who tell us what is appropriate to include in the curriculum, not me who can [only] read a book about Tonga...

Interviewer: That would have been unusual in the sense that often teachers hold on to their authority, particularly over parents?

Churchward: They feel threatened. That's one thing I liked [about Richmond Road's approach]. When we acknowledge knowledge we're not threatened. Because I *don't* know I'm not threatened by what you *do* know because what you do know will become mine because you're going to share it with me... (Interview, 28 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

For Laughton, knowledge involved responsibility; a responsibility to share what knowledge you have with others. What he set out to achieve at Richmond Road - through the structural changes seen in family grouping, staff development and community involvement (see Chapter 5) - were the opportunities

for everyone to contribute to that process. Central to his endeavours was the distinction he drew from the work of R.S Peters (1973) between *assigned* and *provisional* authority.

Provisional Authority: *'Whoever has knowledge [at Richmond Road] teaches'*

In Peters's definition, assigned authority is authority which is ascribed or formalised through the role or position one fills. This is the teacher in the context of the classroom, and the senior teachers and administrators in the broader context of school administration. Provisional authority, however, is described by Peters as that held by the person 'who knows the most' in a given situation. People with personal knowledge and expertise in a given situation can be regarded as holders of provisional authority, irrespective of their assigned position within the school. It was Laughton's intention to promote this latter notion of provisional authority as a means of including and empowering those whose status (or lack of it) usually precluded their involvement in such a capacity. This included, in various contexts: children; teachers; and parents. As a teacher in Cazden's study observes:

> Whoever has knowledge [at Richmond Road] teaches. Sometimes this would be a teacher; other times it can be a child; other times it can be a parent from the community. I particularly like that. Although we have a principal, assistant principal, senior teachers, and then we ordinary plebs, it has never really worked that way. It's always been a case of who has the greater knowledge... (cited in Cazden, 1989: 152)

In promoting the notion of provisional authority, Laughton's aim was to dismantle the hierarchical structures in schools which ascribe certain participants with status and exclude and disenfranchise others. For children, most commonly the victims of such a process, the family group facilitated the reconstituting of these traditional, hierarchically construed relationships. Teachers were given the opportunity to learn and students the opportunity to teach:

Frank Churchward: ...it's not only us adults who are the teachers, it's the children who teach as well. Of course, we worked a lot on those lines .... I think if I came away with nothing else from Jim Laughton and his school, I came away recognising how dynamic a teaching force there is outside of adult teachers. I took that argument with me to my other schools .... I think this is one thing I respected in Jim, that *he recognised the potential within children to do things, and as teachers we tend more to stifle rather than to liberate children.* These are the things I gathered from Richmond Road. I guess others have said the same. (Interview, 28 May, 1991; my emphasis)

Provisional authority is promoted in family grouping through the tuakana-teina (older-younger sibling; see glossary) principle. Teachers need not be the only source of knowledge since the full range of ages within ropu allows for significant peer interaction among the students. Older and/or more able

children tutor the younger and/or less able and all children have the opportunity, where appropriate, to impart knowledge to the group as a whole. As Churchward again comments:

> And the kids brought tremendous depth of knowledge that we didn't have. Like I remember my first experience when we were preparing [focus] studies [on] Samoa.[1] The Samoan kids, they were the ones who said what should be. How could I as a middle-class, say European, person tell a Samoan kid about their own culture? It's arrogance. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

Within the ropu, children are also involved as tuakana in curriculum areas like reading and maths. While this is generally an older student, it is not necessarily so, and the tuakana-teina roles can be interchangeable for individual students. Luke Hiki describes the process working in the Maori bilingual unit:

Hiki: A tuakana's not necessarily an old kid, someone who's Standard 2 [8 yrs.], a Standard 2 could be a teina, it's just a tuakana is one who's a more able sort of person. In reading it's a more able reader.

Interviewer: If they weren't so good at maths could they be a tuakana in reading and a teina in maths?

Hiki: Yes, sure. It's just whatever subject we're working with. When John [Matthews, the kaiarahi reo] comes in for Maori it's mostly teina-tuakana too. He explains what the lesson is and then he gives out the resources, gives them the work to do and then he chooses the tuakana and then he chooses the little ones, or the teina, and he gives them that group. And he'll choose the good ones that are usually quite reliable as a kaiwhakahaere [see glossary] because they're the teachers in that time. They've got the Maori and so he gives the good Maori speaking ones, the kids, he gives them the work to do. They go and do their work and then John and my job, or whoever's in with John, is to just go between all groups and just use the Maori...

Interviewer: So the kids are doing the work, sort of [peer] teaching?

Hiki: Yes, the kids are doing the teaching in that one. That's the philosophy of Jim Laughton I reckon, that's what he wanted, to give the kids the access to power, give them the status.

Interviewer: So access to power is giving children status, recognising them?

Hiki: Recognising them as a teacher, as a tuakana. (Interview, 13 August, 1991)

Underlying these principles of participation and the sharing of knowledge is also a recognition of their cultural appropriateness for many of the minority children at Richmond Road. Ka'ai (1990) argues, for example, in her research on Te Kohanga Reo, that the tuakana-teina learning method is culturally preferred by Maori. Likewise, Metge observes, in her discussion of traditional Maori schooling, that '[i]n

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[1] For a discussion on the role of focus resources, see Chapter 7.

everyday contexts every person could fulfil the interchangeable role of both teacher and learner.' (1986: 2) By adopting this methodology at Richmond Road within the context of the family group, Maori and Pacific Island children are acknowledged and affirmed by learning principles with which they are familiar. Moreover, by spreading the dissemination of knowledge, tuakana-teina relationships also allow for a more effective teaching and learning environment. Shared responsibility results in more effective classroom interaction. As Helen Villers argues:

Interviewer: What did that vertical grouping actually facilitate then for kids?

Villers: A lot of peer interaction, teina-tuakana, that relationship was just so easy. I suppose originally we enforced the [learning concepts] we taught the children ... but as time went by it just became a very natural part of the classroom process. It also allowed the teacher to have more in-depth time with individual children because there were more capable children in the room able to deal with the other petty problems that arose during that time. It gave you that wonderful spread of age and stage and ideas and expertise and your co-operative and collaborative grouping. It made us all more aware of the individual needs, personalities. Learning needs stuck out more, you could see them far more easily and deal with them far more easily than you can with a reasonably homogenous group of children, i.e Standard 3, which makes all sorts of assumptions about age and stage that might not be realistic. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

The promotion of peer interaction at Richmond Road through tuakana-teina roles in family groups was to lead naturally to the next step pedagogically: interactive teaching. As Judy Hucker observes:

Later, just as I was leaving [1986], there was a move towards what is now called interactive [teaching], where I believe they started to actually ask kids what were the things that they wanted to know about a particular subject or topic. Before that we had looked at using children, and we based it back in R.S. Peters's concept of authority as authority of knowing and perhaps authority that a teacher would have normally in a school, but that the authority of knowing didn't always rest with the teacher. So that was very much the sorts of things that we were working on in that time, and I think later they did move to more of an interactive type [of teaching]. I suppose it was a logical progression really from using kid's knowledge and things, and using children and their knowledge as resources to actually asking them what did they want to know, which is what most people now do. (Interview, 15 August, 1991)

The participation of children in tuakana-teina relationships is also demonstrated in other areas within the school. The function of the Polynesian club, for example, demonstrates the use of children as tuakana. Eight children from each ropu are involved in the club for the year and they have a dual responsibility of representing the school on formal occasions and teaching what cultural activities they learn within the group back in their own ropu (to both teachers and children). The tuakana-teina approach, then, both recognises the limitations of teachers' knowledge, and accords scope for the contribution of children to the teaching and learning process both within and beyond the ropu. Lionel Pedersen, the current principal, argues along these lines:

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I suppose ... what people started realising is that *everybody* can learn. All you differ at is the rate that you work at, kids and teachers, and it's always a two way progression. The more the kids learn the more we learn and vice versa. I suppose that's where [Brian] Cambourne came in ... with [the idea that] the whole key to the teaching process is the verb *to teach*. So unless you break down that word 'teach' and change it to learning where are you? What a teacher then has to realise is that he [sic] is a learner too .... So not only do you have to know about it in the head and understand all the concepts, you've really got to believe that learning is an ongoing process and that the more knowledge or the more you learn, the more responsibility you have to teach other people. From there we've devised a system that keeps growing. There's no end product. (Interview, 26 February, 1990; emphasis in original)

A teacher in Cazden's study echoes Pedersen's observation:

For me, the *most* important thing is that [Richmond Road] really is a place for (pause) all sorts of people. I'm not just talking about children. I'm talking about people in teaching; I'm talking about community. But along with that goes a real responsibility to learn. And when I say *learn*, I mean step back and not always want control, not want to be the powerful one. What happens with teachers - we've been trained to think that we're knowledgeable people, that we should control situations and always contribute and always participate and take the lead. There are people who may *lead* things who may not have the qualifications that we have as teachers. But to *learn*, there are times when you can't contribute, when you can't participate - because listening to other people and having their experience *first* is more of a learning situation. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 149; emphasis in original)

The use of provisional authority through tuakana-teina teaching promotes learning because sources of knowledge are diversified. Within this, the relationship between knowledge and responsibility is fore-grounded; both for teachers and children. As Villers again comments, this was Jim Laughton's principal concern:

Villers: ...he talked constantly to us about rights and responsibilities, and rights and privileges, or privilege and responsibility specifically. That became an ethos with quite a few of us who've discussed it informally since, to work from.

Interviewer: What were some of those?

Villers: We were privileged to have the attributes, I suppose, to work with those children. Therefore it was our responsibility to do what we could, as much as we could, more than we possibly were able to do (laughs). But the same thing worked with the children in the classroom. It was a privilege for some children to be older or more gifted or more skilled, therefore they had to share that knowledge, that ability, those skills, with others who were less privileged in that circumstance. That was age and stage and certainly applying it to the ethnicity. He talked and we learned and we operated from this notion of the authentic source and getting into Stenhouse's notions too - relinquishing of power if it doesn't properly belong to you and looking at all of us as resources and to the appropriate time to use those resources at hand .... I saw that I suppose as our responsibility [as teachers] to do that, and our privilege to be able to do it, and hopefully they [the children] saw that reciprocally as such as well. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Reciprocity is the key to the success of such teaching and learning arrangements. For children, there was a reciprocal obligation to respond with and be responsible for knowledge already held:

Judy Hucker: And another thing for Jim ... was that he believed very strongly that if children had knowledge and had skills ... that that shouldn't become an elitist thing, that in fact what happened was that those kids had more responsibility rather than less responsibility, ... that it wasn't only in terms of their own learning and those sorts of things, but it was in terms of responsibility to the group and to those children that didn't have those skills. (Interview, 15 August, 1991)

For teachers, there was a responsibility to apply these principles not only in classroom teaching but in school organisation as well. What was modelled with children in ropu was mirrored in staff relationships.

'[I]f you had an ability you were recognised'

Jim Laughton's leadership style has already been discussed (see Chapter 5) but it is worth revisiting in terms of what he was able to achieve with teachers. While he clearly had both assigned and provisional authority within the school, the provisional authority of other staff, irrespective of position, was also something he actively fostered. Laughton may have directed the vision, but any staff member with skills in a particular area was expected to contribute their expertise. As John Matthews, the kaiarahi reo comments:

That's how the staff became involved, because what you did with a kid you should do to yourselves. That was Jim's philosophy. What we did to the kids we must do to ourselves. So that's what we do in our own staff meetings. Like we had teachers and that who had provisional authority in certain areas, we've got kids like that as well, hence the teina-tuakana roles. (Interview, 25 May, 1991)

As such, the traditional hierarchies within the school have been de-emphasised. While senior teachers have a role to play - they organise and are accountable for ropu teaching teams - emphasis is placed on non-hierarchical, collaborative staff relationships:

Frank Churchward: ...it didn't matter whether you were a year two teacher, if you had an ability you were recognised, and I found that wonderful. We had senior teachers, but, as the argument is, just because you're a senior teacher doesn't mean you know everything. In some of our organisations, some of our schools you daren't, say as a year two teacher you've got knowledge in a particular field, you daren't put yourself ahead of the senior teacher. It doesn't matter how dumb he [sic] is, he [sic] is the senior teacher. Jim wiped all that aside. He said that's crap. If you know, *you know*. (Interview, 28 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

Judy Hucker reiterates this in her comment:

He was very hierarchical in some ways, but in curriculum areas he wasn't. For instance, the person who began and did a huge amount in the social studies [area] was Raewyn Warstat. She came as an older student, sure, (she had been in preschool education ... for quite some time), but she came as a year one teacher .... [And] she was the one that took over and really drove the social studies directions and that was as a year one teacher. I did maths, and I was only Scale A [initial certification level]. In fact, most of the curriculum areas would not have been with people who were in the senior teacher hierarchy. (Interview, 15 August, 1991)

The composition of the staff at Richmond Road also demonstrates Laughton's attempt to attribute authority to teachers who might not otherwise have been recognised. John Matthews comments along these lines:

Interviewer: What was [Jim] wanting to do?

Matthews: Make people who were seen outside the school as being no-gooders I suppose, the down and outs.

Interviewer: The minority kids basically?

Matthews: Yes, and giving power to them. He did that to the staff as well. You've just got to look at the staff. In my days there was how many men in our team - well there was Wally, myself, Tuloto. So Wally's Niuean, I'm Maori, Tuloto's Samoan and a Maori. Tunny McFadden, he was Fijian, Otis, he was Tokelauan, there was [sic] so many men in the groups; in the whole school. And that was a big sort of thing to most other people who came through, that there were so many men at the school.

Interviewer: Because that's unusual to have so many male primary teachers?

Matthews: Let alone being black men as well. So he brought all these people in and gave them power. He made them normal teachers, whereas if they were at ordinary schools I think they wouldn't have made it, would have been sort of the ones at the back .... That was Jim Laughton. That's the school really. (Interview, 25 May, 1991)

John Matthews is a case in point. Kaiarahi reo positions have been established since the mid 1980s in New Zealand primary schools, in lieu of formal teacher training qualifications, for fluent Maori speakers. While three year part time training at a College of Education has subsequently been incorporated into the positions, kaiarahi reo in most schools are not regarded as teachers. But not at Richmond Road. Matthews functions as a full teacher and, in fact, given the present staff in the Maori bilingual unit,[2] would be regarded as the most senior teacher there. Right from the start of his time at Richmond Road (he came to the school in early 1986) Laughton insisted he take on a full teaching role, despite the fact that he had no prior teaching experience. As Cazden observes of this in her study,

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[2]. In 1991 the Maori bilingual unit has: Luke Hiki, a second year teacher; Horo Karauti, a first year teacher; John Callaghan, a relieving teacher; and Matthews.

I asked him whether he was glad that Jim had insisted that he take on full teaching responsibilities. 'In the short term I was cursing. But in the long term , I'm glad. I know the stuff now. And it's helped make the rest of the staff accept me, I suppose.' As Jim had explained to him later, his insistence on a full teaching role was also based on the benefits of professional knowledge for a young Maori adult, should he want to require formal credentials. 'He was being mean to help me, really.' (1989: 152)

Matthews lack of professional background is not an issue at Richmond Road because the particular cultural and language skills he brings to the position are recognised as valued alternatives. Moreover, these particular skills see him take the lead in formal school occasions:

Graeme Page: Yes, well John [Matthews] speaks for the school, for example, when position wise, in terms of staff teaching status, his is the lowest I guess. But it is accorded the highest status because of his knowledge, more than Lionel's,[3] that's what I mean.

Interviewer: And that's in any formal situation representing the school?

Graeme Page: Yes. And any knowledge base as well. If you want to know, who do you ask? You don't ask anyone else. (Interview, 14 August, 1991)

Tu Romia and Tiaki Katia, the school's caretaker and cleaner, also clearly demonstrate the non-hierarchical nature of staff relationships at Richmond Road. Luke Hiki comments to this end:

In our staff we include the caretaker, the cleaners and that. A lot of other schools, they don't. In a lot of the other schools they treat their caretaker and that differently, like they're not allowed into the staff room to have a cup of coffee. With our's we've got Tu [who] is always with the kids at play time and that, not because he has to, it's not part of his job, he's that sort of a guy. That's why he's been here for so long. He's into it, just gets into it with the kids. And Tiaki, everyone knows Tiaki. She knows all the kids, all the kids know who Tiaki is, who Tu is. A lot of other schools, they wouldn't even know who their caretakers are, it would be 'Mr somebody'. Tiaki takes the Polynesian club as well. She takes part in the assemblies, and anyone can have a go at that. I remember on one [teaching] section I was on [as a teacher trainee], on my last day I put on a feed for the staff. I was getting on pretty well with the caretaker too, and I was going 'come in and have a coffee' ... and then next minute he came in and he'd gone home and he'd got changed and taken off his overalls and that and he'd put a good shirt on and that so he could go into the staff room to take part in this shared meal. And I thought to myself that's not the sort of school atmosphere I'd want to be in... (Interview, 13 August, 1991)

The different approach fostered by Laughton at Richmond Road is evidenced clearly by Tu's own account:

I say Jim's like a father to me because there's a lot of things I learnt from Jim over the years I've been here. I miss him a lot. We talked, mainly when I'd go in the office, or sometimes he'd come out if there was something he wanted to talk about. He always talked about the

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[3]. Like Laughton, Lionel Pedersen is Maori, but is not a fluent speaker.

school and the way the school used to run. He's always in on the kids. He talked a lot about the kids. When I first came here I never had morning tea with the staff because we had our shed down the bottom and we'd always have our morning tea [there]. One day he asked me if I wanted to join, sit with him. I said yeah, fair enough, why not. I never get used [sic] to sitting with the teachers [until then]. I always think of myself as a cleaner, so I don't sit with the staff. (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

In Cazden's study, Romia elaborates on Laughton's encouragement:

When Jim was alive, we used to talk sometimes - about the school and the kids and the staff and everybody in the community. He always used to say, 'You don't have to feel low because you're only a caretaker. In a school like this, whether you're a caretaker or cleaner or staff or whatever, principal or deputy principal, you're all the same.' I think that's one of the most important things about Richmond Road; you don't just work *as* a caretaker; you have to get involved with the staff and kids. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 153; emphasis in original)

The lack of distinctions made between staff are seen in Tiaki's appointment as staff representative to the Board of Trustees. Likewise, Tu's contribution to school life is significant and highly regarded. He knows all the children by name, for example, mainly through his involvement in children's sport, and can often be seen with them on the playing fields. Along with John Matthews, he also speaks for the school on formal occasions:

Interviewer: If there's something to do with say the Cook Islands [Tu is a Cook Islander] are you called upon to take a lead?

Romia: Yes, most of the time I do that. Not only the Cook Islands, whatever [formal event] comes on in the school, I'll be one of the main speakers. It is good experience because I've never done any of this before, mostly to do with ... welcoming visitors from other places. It's quite good. I really enjoy it ... it's good experience for me. I can pass that on to the kids. (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

At Jim's tangi which was held at the school, Tu was also the one who gave the final farewell to Jim before his coffin was taken to the cemetery (Cazden, 1989). As he recalls:

Interviewer: His tangi was at the school wasn't it. How was that time?

Romia: I think most of all it was a shock for [us] when he passed away. I was. I did cry on the last day when they took him out to the cemetery. Our staff asked me to speak on behalf of the school. It's hard if you have to get up and you have to make a speech and it's somebody you really appreciated ... or really loved and all that. I just couldn't help myself, yet when my grandmother died I didn't cry. It's really hard. I miss him a lot. A lot of the school did turn up. A lot of people turned up. I was surprised to see so many turn up. Even all the ex-pupils, they came, paid their respects on that day. A whole lot did turn up. Mainly it's the ex-pupils that have been through here. Some of the ex-staff, they all turned up.

Interviewer: And you ended up speaking on behalf of the school?

Romia: Yes. I was pleased that they asked me to speak for the school. Like I said, I never cried when my grandmother died but I cried when he died. I think it shows that bond between the caretaker and the principal. (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

Such relationships are unusual in schools, to say the least. Yet by recognising others, and according them with responsibility, Laughton was able to create a school culture which facilitated this kind of personal and interpersonal development. Along with children and parents, staff were affirmed and developed by the use of provisional authority. However, having said that, staff at Richmond Road also quickly point out that those whom Laughton most wished to benefit from this learning process were the children.

Child Centred and Process Learning: *'The kids always come first'*

The organisation was around children, not around the convenience of staff. (Frank Churchward: Interview, 28 May, 1991)

The provisional authority exercised among the staff at Richmond Road mirrors the learning opportunities available to children at the school. In so doing, it has also clearly enhanced their own personal and professional development. But for Laughton these benefits were not to be seen as ends in themselves. Rather, staff development was undertaken *for the benefit of children*. Children always come first at Richmond Road. As Colleen Belsham, a teacher who first taught at Richmond Road from 1974-1977 and returned in the mid-1980s, argues, this is not necessarily a self evident fact in schools:

Belsham: [Jim's] basic philosophies were for the well-being of the children. The children were the focal point.

Interviewer: Is that unusual?

Belsham: I think it is unusual in schools. From talking to other teachers and principals, I think children are often the last things thought about. I really do. Yet that's what schools are all about. That's the main thing that has struck me always about the school, that the children are the focal point. They should be. There's that little *cliche* - 'schools are for children'. *But they are.* That sort of sums up how I feel about the place. (Interview, 25 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

Belsham goes on to suggest that:

Everything was for (pause) it comes back to the same thing, that schools are for children. I think the thing that strikes me most is that the children turn up every day. Children don't just turn up to school every day in places probably like this, unless they have got something to

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come for .... I think's that's what has made [the school] - [Jim's] honesty and his commitment to wanting us to become a place for children, and nurture all the things that are important to children like who they are, their individuality, their uniqueness. That is what is nurtured here. They keep their identity and that is celebrated in this. It is respected, it is important to everyone so that it becomes important to them. They don't feel guilty because they're not something else other than what they should be, that people think they should be .... That's what we strive for ... *as a place for children to feel secure, respected, what they are.* (Interview, 25 May, 1991; my emphasis)

A teacher in Cazden's study echoes these sentiments:

The thing that's special about Richmond Road is that it's a school for children. It's something that I always wished was around me when I was a child, because it's a place where children are made to feel - not *overly* important - but important. They've got a place there. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 145; emphasis in original).

Frank Churchward describes how Jim conveyed to staff his concern to make children a priority at Richmond Road:

Jim always said he was the children's advocate. He did care about his staff, but he stood between the children and the teachers. He said 'who else have the kids got to advocate, to be their advocate, but me?' So he would take their side. Not only to just sort out anything like that, but in terms of how a school should be run. He argued for them, not for us. It wasn't cut and dried like that, it just meant that if something came up, say in a staff meeting and we said 'look, let's organise ourselves and do this and this', Jim would say 'how's it going to benefit the children?' That was always the direction from which he came - how will the children benefit, how will they improve their learning, how will conditions work to make sure that they get the best out of everything? (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

It was from this concern that the learning needs of children at Richmond Road were prioritised. The use of provisional authority facilitated this approach but it was underpinned by a recognition of the need for a *process* approach to learning. Along with the work of R.S Peters, then, Lawrence Stenhouse's ideas on curriculum development feature prominently in the pedagogical ethos of the school.

'[T]he process was underlined all the time'

Tied in with Peters's notion of provisional authority at Richmond Road is an understanding of the *developmental* nature of learning, and the appropriate *resourcing* of learning, articulated in Stenhouse's (1975) curriculum process model. Introduced to Laughton via Eric McMillan's university studies, it became a bench mark for the teaching and learning undertaken at the school. Laughton wanted to see children become independent learners and a process or generative model of learning, as opposed to a goal-oriented approach, seemed the means by which this could be achieved (Richmond Road School, 1983). As Judy Hucker recounts:

Hucker: The other part of the thing that we used in terms of our philosophy really was the Stenhouse process model of curriculum development...

Interviewer: Was that the 1975 one, *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development?*

Hucker: Yes, *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*, by Stenhouse. And there was a very good thing in it which talks about the activity base and 'all things being equal, one activity is more worthwhile than another if it permits children to make informed choices in carrying out the activity and to reflect on the consequences of their choices...', etc. And that was very much a part of the philosophy that we had. (Interview, 15 August, 1991)

Laughton came to the view that if children are to achieve control over their own learning, and learning is to be a dynamic and creative process for them, then the learning model adopted needs to be both child centred and resource-based (Richmond Road School, 1983). Stenhouse was to provide such a model. As Eric McMillan observes:

Stenhouse was where the process model came from ... [Jim] wasn't comfortable with the behaviourist model which was so popular at the time ... it didn't seem to have much relevance to kids, it seemed to him, and I'm paraphrasing him here, that kids copped it for whatever went wrong. The teacher determined the objectives organisationally and if they weren't reached there was something wrong [with the children]. And ... when he got a hold of Stenhouse's stuff that really rang some bells because it said - forget about objectives and concentrate on resources, that's the part of the teaching model, the teaching model he ended up with .... If you get kids rich and diverse resources and give them some control over their use, that's a far more productive way of operating than being constrained by a series of objectives. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

As two collective school documents (Richmond Road School, 1983; 1985) outline, a resource-based programme can allow for different ways of learning and different outcomes. Resource materials can activate children's initial competencies and serve as a guide or framework for the learner's communicative knowledge and abilities. Children at different ages and levels of abilities need not be constrained, therefore, by predictive materials and can work with resources either independently or collaboratively. For this to occur, however, resources need to be both differentiated - resources must be open enough to allow for alternative means and modes of learning - and problem-posing. They should be concerned with genuine questions, not with providing answers. The development of such resources began in the early 1980s at Richmond Road, just as Eric McMillan was leaving the school. As he again comments:

McMillan: I just wish that Stenhouse could have gone and seen what [Jim] had done because he made that theoretical model which Stenhouse proposed - the process model - actually operate, and developed a school around resources that they made. And I think they still do that. That was just beginning when I left, this idea of teachers producing wide ranging resources, involved in

specific resources. You know, resources that could be used by a wide range of ability levels.

Interviewer: [How] did the resource preparation ... get under way?

McMillan: It started really with the decision to resource certain topics. The decision was made in Social Studies that this major Maori theme each year was of such importance that it wasn't enough to leave teachers to organise their own programme. We would resource that and at that point [Jim] employed a person who basically spent all his time gathering resources. So all it was - was collecting up all the stuff in school bulletins and journals and sticking them all together in a big collection, then finding an authoritative person to write and make tapes of the language that was considered necessary for the [topic]. That was about the point [reached] when I was there. It developed from there into cooperatively made resources. The people were encouraged to make resources about the themes that had a widespread use, where anybody could pick them up. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

Cooperatively made resources now form a prominent part of teacher activity at Richmond Road and, as a number of teachers have pointed out in the course of interviews, is the principal cause of the extra time demanded of them at the school. There are ready made resources available in the form of 'boxed books' and 'fluency kits', which will be discussed further in the section on language experience activities (see below), but for the most part resources are developed by teachers, particularly through the development of 'focus' resources. Teachers prepare these resources at ten levels of reading independence and in four learning contexts. The reading levels match the material to the students while the learning contexts facilitate their wide-ranging, interactive and open ended use.

The learning arrangements which underpin the resources used at Richmond Road were developed by Laughton, in conjunction with Stenhouse's notions, from a paper by Breen, Candlin and Waters (1979) which argues for a differentiated approach to learning materials and from Fillion's (1983) 'Let Me See You Learn' which argues that children develop their understanding of the learning process by seeing each other learn. The four contexts which Laughton was subsequently to establish within the school from these readings were: superior/inferior; cooperative; collaborative; and independent.

> **Storytelling and Superior/inferior arrangements.** This is material suitable for sharing with a whole (family) group and usually involves one, or a number participants taking a lead role. However, as we have seen, this need not be the teacher(s) and thus these arrangements allow all children to be involved and to participate as they choose, and when they feel comfortable and/or confident. It also allows children (along with parents) to exercise provisional authority in areas in which they have expertise and skills.
>
> **Cooperative arrangements** put children into shared situations where they support each other while completing a task. These groups are usually self chosen and encompass a wide range

of skills and ability. They foster the notion of cooperation rather than competition and aim to reduce children's fear of failure through an active participation in a supportive system which demands corporate rather than individual accountability.

Collaborative arrangements bring children together in situations which require shared understanding because those involved have different information that they are required to put together to complete a task. This involves children in the sharing of information, the negotiation of meaning, and debate, until consensus is reached. Children are free to express a wide range of their own ideas, beliefs, values and attitudes in order to produce a shared conclusion, although it is the process of negotiation rather than the eventual outcome which is emphasised.

Independent arrangements allow every child the opportunity to operate individually at her or his own speed and level, with materials suited to individual needs and interests. In this way, independence is developed and the child is encouraged to take responsibility for her or his own learning. This learning is still, however, tied to the underlying principle of cooperation because it aims to encourage the acceptance of responsibility for knowledge already held, rather than independent learning at the expense of others.

Encompassing all the various learning strategies are resource materials designed to introduce concepts, theme approaches and base stories to the whole group. This gives the coherence and continuity necessary for drawing together the variety of activities in which children can be involved (Richmond Road School, 1983; 1985; 1986). As Helen Villers argues, Laughton's intention, via these learning arrangements, was to provide children with different opportunities and responsibilities in the learning process:

> ...he saw those [learning contexts] as skills which maintained a cultural thread because they were consistent with the sorts of things that children would be doing in their homes, and be familiar with from their ethnic backgrounds, and yet they also honed the skills that were required to have children function adequately in the main stream. And this goes back to the notion of authority, the authentic source, who owns the knowledge. And that was a real display of equity and learning in process because every child had the opportunity to hold the power, if you like, be the knowledge giver. Groups were largely mixed, I think things are still pretty much the same aren't they, it's been maintained. So children got used to reciprocal learning, guided learning, supportive learning. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

The result for teachers, as Joy Glasson argues, has also been a different approach to learning:

> those learning arrangements were different ... they carry different expectations of kids, and different expectations of you, and ... they provided different opportunities for kids too. The hope, of course, was that while they were formalised for the resource making they were actually the way that [teachers] should have been operating throughout the day in all parts. So there was actually to be a spin-off and I think in a large sense there was. It got rid of whole class teaching, almost got rid of whole group teaching, almost, never quite. It certainly made people recognise and address kids much more as individuals and again, this comes back to

knowing where kids are, what kids liked, what kids were interested in, what they chose to do, all of those kinds of things. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Likewise, for children these learning contexts McMillan observes, however, that the cost of developing these resources has been high:

> ...the resources that [Jim] provided were very very rich, very powerful. And good teachers can probably do them better than anybody else. That's what he proved there. I mean at some cost. I've not known teachers who have worked harder than there, especially in the years that followed me. I mean we worked hard enough when I was there but from then on resource development reached a very high level. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

Despite these reservations (and remembering that 'schools are for kids'), the resource-based pedagogy employed at Richmond Road has allowed for the effecting of Laughton's principal educational intentions. As Helen Villers summarises it:

> ...there are two major strands to the way the school operates and one is cultural maintenance, being proud of who you are and developing a notion of that further, and the other of access to power, functioning adequately in the mainstream, and the resource system, the child-centred resource-based system that we established addressed both those needs. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

By concentrating on the process of learning at Richmond Road the 'product', so elusive to minority children in the normal circumstances of schooling, is also being achieved:

Joy Glasson: There was often an interpretation that it was process *as opposed to* product. It wasn't. But it was a belief that if you think about process and you concentrate on that, on creating a learning environment for kids, and on getting kids involved in learning and engaging in learning then the product comes out of it. It's not actually a hassle. If you think about education, most education concentrates on the product and spends so much time trying to achieve the product it says it wants that learning is a very negative experience for everybody.

Interviewer: And the product isn't achieved anyway.

Joy Glasson: No, of course it isn't. But if you concentrate on learning and on finding things that are actually going to make kids *choose* to learn, because no-one else can make the choice for them, the learning does take place and the product is of high quality. And then you help the kids, of course, keep on increasing the level of the product. Of course you do. But it comes out of the process, rather than the other way round. So it wasn't saying that the product didn't count, of course it did, but you had to get there somehow. And also, of course, if you put your concentration on product you put it on behaviourial pre-determined product, and so the learner has no choice about what that will be, and no alternative ways of expressing it because it's always predetermined. Then it's somebody else's decision anyway, somebody else's idea of what the answer is and not the learner's, so it doesn't free you. It doesn't make you independent, it just tells you again you are dependent on the teacher and the

> system because you can't make any of those decisions for yourself. These things are all around still today. (Interview, 29 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

The resource-based process model provides a means for fostering the independence of learners. Moreover, it also allows for the inclusion and affirmation of cultural and language differences in the learning process. Both of these dimensions directly benefit the minority children at the school, and it is to the latter that we now turn.

A Multilingual Environment: The Role of Languages and Cultures at Richmond Road[4]

Fostering First Languages

Jim Laughton, in a 1985 position paper on the Maori bilingual option at Richmond Road, clearly articulates his conception of the role of languages within the school:

> There are many children at Richmond Road School whose mother tongue is not English. Submerged unavoidably in a strange language from school entry these children are particularly vulnerable. It is the school's task to ameliorate that condition - to show them respect, to encourage pride in their identity by including their languages and cultures to a significant degree, to lessen in as many ways as possible the potential indignity and counter-productivity of mandatory bilingualism (through monolingual schooling in another's language) - in short, to facilitate educational advancement from a solid platform of self-knowledge, self-assurance and an acknowledged first language competence. (1985a: 1)

Laughton saw bilingualism as a cognitive and educational advantage. In this, as in other areas, his educational thinking was ahead of his time. While the 1970s saw his contemporaries in New Zealand, and elsewhere, ascribing the educational underachievement of minority children to the deficit theory and, in so doing, strenuously attempting to exclude and/or 'correct' first language influences, Laughton specifically set out to affirm and incorporate the languages and cultures of his students within the school. This proactive approach to cultural and language maintenance, which has seen the development of the dual-medium bilingual units and the associated language pre-schools, began with the establishment of the Inner City Language Unit at the school in 1976 and, encouraged by Laughton, the work of Joy Glasson within it:

Glasson: ...it started because of the language unit ... and right from the beginning at that time it was something relatively new ... because we adopted a pedagogy and a methodology and techniques with kids that were different to the climate of the times. Remember, in the beginning I'm talking about the '70s where in New Zealand you still had the deficit theory, well we've still got the deficit

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[4] For a discussion of this dimension of the school in particular relation to 'language policies across the curriculum', see May (1991).

[theory] (laughs), but where you had not Bernstein in his purer sense but the Bernstein 'deficit view' operating and you had a lot of structural teaching going on and a lot of behaviourist teaching, you've still got that of course today .... Because of all that sort of thing and because we did something that was so entirely different, because I don't believe in behaviourist theory you see, I believe in cognitive theory, what we did came from that kind of thing. So it started from a theory that actually says that you have to allow kids opportunities to learn. You also then, of course, have to allow them opportunities to process language and it has to be real because that's how I believe you learn language. Those are the kinds of programmes we created. So kids used - certainly it was, and especially in the early years, its emphasis was on English language acquisition - kids used all languages. English was the link. Because we had so many different languages English was the working link between everybody, so it had a practical application. And because for those days it was different, it wasn't corrected, it wasn't taught, it wasn't programmed, those kinds of things. Out of it, too, linked to a language experience approach, came all sorts of things that we used on in-service courses with teachers. So we used to talk about, in the early years, what we did with kids, and I won't talk about what to do with kids unless I talk about why you do it, and so it was always based in a theory of language acquisition and in a learning theory generally. I linked that particularly to a lot of the Labov material about factors that affect learning. So what I actually did was combine a Chomsky base in language acquisition here with a Labov difference base and attitudes to learning and language, and what affects it. And that's what we did. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Again, a theoretical basis underpinned the approach adopted at Richmond Road and the methodology begun in the language unit was to permeate the school as a whole. The language unit was set up at Richmond Road to cater for recent arrivals to New Zealand who had little knowledge of English, and served the inner-city area at the primary level. For these children the emphasis has been on developing oral and literacy skills in English through the use, where possible, of their first language(s) and by a contextualised and integrative approach to language acquisition which concentrates on meaning. Within this, the role of the teacher in recognising children's expertise in the language(s) and culture(s) they bring with them is emphasised. The importance of first language maintenance features prominently in the language ethos adopted by the unit (as it does elsewhere in the school) and is supported by the cooperative arrangements which the vertical group facilitate. Language and culture are regarded as an area of strength and competency for all children and teachers recognise and acknowledge Ken Goodman's view that if, as teachers, they undermine a child's language they also undermine that child's ability to learn (Richmond Road School, 1983).

The centrality of language and culture in the teaching methodology of the language unit is a pedagogical feature which has come to characterise the school as a whole. The children's use of their first language is encouraged wherever possible within the school and, in the case of the Maori, Samoan, and Cook Island bilingual ropu, is formalised in a bilingual curriculum. The bilingual ropu are

based on a dual-language medium philosophy where during half of each morning and every other afternoon, the teachers speak only the minority language to the children and the children are encouraged to respond in the same language (Cazden, 1989). Pupils are not required, however, to speak the language prescribed if they do not wish to and, as Cazden observes, this might be a weakness of the programmes since low status languages such as these need as much support as possible within the school to avoid being swamped beyond it *(ibid)*. The school's approach is, however, consistent with its broader conception of the role of language(s) in the fostering of cultural identity. Teachers within the school would argue that the fostering of language(s) cannot be separated from the cultural context from which it springs nor from the type of society one would wish to see result (Richmond Road School, 1983). Richmond Road locates its view of the role of languages in the school within a wider frame of reference; that of recognising and affirming cultural respect, autonomy and difference through the structures of the school. As Lionel Pedersen argues, 'the school is about a way of living rather than just language. It is no use knowing the language at the expense of cultural tradition - all it becomes then is a translation, however fluent, of Pakeha culture.' (Interview, 22 August, 1990) Fostering language is important but the cultural context which it represents, and from which it comes, should never be lost from sight.

The broader cultural context which the school has adopted in relation to the promotion of first languages again stems directly from Jim Laughton's educational thinking. His obvious endorsement of a maintenance rather than a transitional view of bilingual education (see Appel & Muysken, 1987; Baker, 1988; & Romaine, 1989) can be seen when he argues:

> bilingual education ... wisely conceived ... [can] make a difference - as an act of respect and humility by the powerful, as an expression of confidence and determination by the powerless, [and] as an exercise in genuine communication among all.' (1985a: 1)

But having said that, he was clearly ambivalent about full immersion programmes or any notion of language coercion which such programmes might involve for children, as Cazden's earlier observation reveals. He argued that there were educational reasons for his reservations which were reflected in the bilingual debate itself:

> You will be aware that bilingual education is a complex, contentious issue, particularly where it bears on the language revival of indigenous minorities. Even at the level of methodology there is bitter dispute. Some advocate bilingualism as a goal with total immersion in the target language the means. Others (our programmes included) regard bilingualism as both a process and a goal in the belief that the context of learning is a major part of the learning .... For us bilingualism in its most embracing sense must be part of the process or it won't be part of the outcome. (Principal's Report, 8 March, 1988)

He also believed strongly in the importance of English literature. As Lionel Pedersen comments, 'it was quite simple with Jim, the wealth of English literature would never be replaced.' (Interview, 11 February, 1991) Another teacher, in Cazden's study, describes the confluence of both of these elements in Laughton's thinking:

> I actually thought it was very difficult to teach Maori in a dual immersion [approach], because you can't do justice to the one that you wanted them to learn *most*, which for me was Maori. So I went to see Jim. I said, 'I can't see the point of this dual immersion.' He said, 'The point of dual immersion [is] that if you put children into just one area, one language, then you forget about all the good things that other [sic] has to offer.' He said to me, 'How many books are written for children in Maori that are as rich as the literature in English? Sure, they might read those afterwards, after school. But this is the point of school: to offer that variety.' (cited in Cazden, 1989: 157; emphasis in original)

The notion of variety is also reflected in Laughton's insistence on *choice* in relation to bilingualism. Parents, on bringing their children to the school for example, are given the choice of which ropu they wish their children to go into. This overcomes the significant problem of ambivalence or confusion for parents as to the role of home languages in the school (Corson, 1990), because parents are able to clearly identify what the school offers in comparison to others and can then make their choice within the variety of language structures the school itself offers. The identification of choice as a crucial variable in the success of bilingual programmes (particularly in relation to community support; see Cummins, 1983; Holmes, 1984) supports this position. However, Laughton took this a step further by extending the notion of choice to include children as well as parents and the wider community. As a Samoan bilingual unit teacher comments in Cazden's study:

> The bilingual unit works on a *choice* basis. Parents have the option of putting their children into the bilingual unit. In the morning I speak only Samoan, and the children have the choice. They're encouraged to speak Samoan. The fluent ones do, and the little ones sort of copy. When I first came in, Jim said, 'The parents do not *have* to put the children in, and the children do not *have* to try and make a sentence in Samoan.' He said, '*You* have that responsibility, because you have that expertise, but the children don't. The most *important* idea is their identity, and to value what they've got.' (cited in Cazden, 1989: 156; emphasis in original)

Laughton reiterates this in his position paper when he states: 'although the teacher is prescribed, as to when she may speak English, the pupil always has a choice. In the search for new understandings, linguistic imperialism finds no place.' (1985a: 1) In this context, emphasis is placed on the development of a child's *identity* (which includes acknowledging first language competence) rather than on the development of language *per se*. For Laughton, the fostering of bilingualism needed always to be tempered by a recognition of the child's ability to opt out of speaking the minority language if she or he so chose. The educational reasons he argued for this position have been outlined, but notwithstanding these, Laughton's expressed reticence towards a full immersion approach to bilingualism may also have been for personal reasons, particularly his own lack of fluency in Maori.

Laughton's father, John, G. Laughton, was a prominent missionary, and later moderator of the Presbyterian church in New Zealand. A Scot, he had been a fluent Maori speaker (he chaired the committee which undertook the last Maori translation of the bible in the 1950s) and had been most notably associated with the Maori prophet Rua Kenana at Maungapohatu.[5] His mother, Horiana Tekauru, was Maori. Despite this, however, Jim Laughton's parents consciously decided to bring him up speaking English. Assimilation was the dominant ideology in New Zealand education at the time and Maori was consequently not highly regarded and, indeed, actively repressed (see Chapter 2). The result of that decision was to have significant effects:

Eric McMillan: Now Jim, I think, was one of the youngest. It was a large family. And he was taught no Maori. His parents, his father was (pause) John Laughton, the Scotsman, was a scholar in the Maori language. He did the last translation of the bible. He was a fluent speaker and yet they made the conscious decision not to teach young Jimmy the language because they figured he would do better with English. And the irony is that in the finish that is probably what killed him. That was what he became more passionate about than anything, the Maori language, and an ability with it. And all from a decision made all those years ago. (Interview, 26 February, 1991)

Wally Penetito expands on the consequences of this personal history in the context of the school:

Penetito: He and I had some differences of opinion from time to time but nothing really marked that I can think of.

Interviewer: What about his ambivalence about immersion, bilingual [issues]?

Penetito: Yes, that was kind of one of them I think. Even it was kind of, wasn't too irrational I think as far as I'm concerned again. Jim knew that he couldn't speak Maori. I mean he believes that a principal has to know everything that's going on in the school. This might be overstating the case too but I think he was actually so familiar with [the school] .... maybe from being there for so long he couldn't help it but get to know everything that was going on there. But then he believed that as the principal he should have the, again, it was part of his responsibility to be everywhere in the school, know what's going on. And if he allowed an immersion Maori language class that would be one area that he couldn't actually be part of because of his own inadequacies. (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

The experience of his own language background contributed to Laughton's advocacy for bilingualism, and he was more aware than most, at both a personal and professional level, of the difficulties associated with such an enterprise. Ironically, however, his personal experiences were also to see him

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[5]. Rua Kenana was prominent in the Maori Messianic movement in the early part of this century. A prophet who claimed to be the brother of Christ, he developed a strong following at Maungapohatu, a settlement in the inaccessible Urewera mountains in the North Island of New Zealand. John Laughton came to the settlement to set up a Presbyterian mission school. While theologically at odds with him, Laughton established a close friendship with Rua over the years and a deep understanding of the man and the Messianic movement he represented (see Binney et al., 1979; Webster, 1979).

draw back from the full implications of fostering bilingualism within Richmond Road. His insistence on a dual-medium approach to language within the school rather than full immersion was not made, it seems, for educational reasons alone. The results of Laughton's ambivalence can still be seen within the school today, with teachers holding various conceptions of the role of bilingual teaching. The present teachers in the Maori bilingual unit, for example, three out of four of whom speak Maori fluently, are moving towards more of an immersion approach to language. Luke Hiki observes of this process:

Hiki: ...we're just speaking Maori all the time. Even for commands for packing up and that, so the kids are always hearing it. They understand it heaps, but the ones who have been here for longer, they've actually got more vocab. Some of them aren't shy to use it all the time when they're speaking to each other. The ones that are just coming in at five and that, there's a couple that are coming from the kohanga reo, but it takes them a few weeks to get used to it, hearing it all the time. They understand it, understand the language. We just have to give them encouragement to use the spoken Maori more often. So when John [Matthews] comes in he doesn't ask questions in English. All his questions are done in Maori, so they've got to fend for themselves in that context.

Interviewer: And the kids know that?

Hiki: Yes. They know that it's Maori time, it's Maori time, if the teachers aren't speaking Maori to each other it doesn't work either. So we've jumped on that more ... we speak Maori more often to each other, and speak Maori directly to the kids in that time. (Interview, 13 August, 1991)

Tuloto Mareko, the senior teacher in S.S.3, which includes the Samoan bilingual unit, observes that the Samoan language component is likewise increasing in the unit:

Mareko: Yes. We do everything in Samoan in the morning.

Interviewer: Everything?

Mareko: Yes. No English at all. Sometimes I speak English if they can't really understand what I'm saying, so I'll speak in both - English, and then I'll translate it into Samoan to make it easier for them.

Interviewer: Then what happens in the afternoon?

Mareko: In the afternoon, we do the Samoan games in the afternoon .... the last hour, that's another Samoan time. That's when we do the resources, all in Samoan.

Interviewer: So most of the day's in Samoan?

Mareko: Yes, now [it is]. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Yet in other areas of the schools, some teachers have expressed reservations about these developments. One in particular comments:

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I think it's very good for children to have their own strong language base [but] I feel sorry when I think, well I think it's happening in the Maori bilingual [unit], I think they're missing out on the English side of it. Bilingualism does mean two languages, not just a strong [one] ... if you can get somebody strong in both, and that's the idea isn't it, if you're only going to end up speaking one well and the other in a mediocre way then I don't think you've achieved a tremendous amount particularly. I think it's great that children speak Maori, and well, but I think you do them a great disservice if you don't check that their English is good too. After all it is English that most of them are going to have to use.

(....)

I don't know how much English written language the children in the Maori bilingual unit get, they get very good at speaking Maori. I don't know how well they write it either. Actually there are other teachers on the staff who wonder the same. It may not really be a problem, I don't know, it just seems important that you do give them strengths in all areas and you don't just forget about one at the expense of the others.

Some of the concerns expressed here as to the possible disadvantages of focusing on one language (particularly a minority language) are not supported by current bilingual research (see Appel & Muysken, 1987; Baker, 1988; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Hakuta, 1986; Romaine, 1989; & Swain & Lapkin, 1982) although they are views often held in the wider community. It may be useful for the school, as such, to specifically address the theoretical issues underlying approaches to bilingual teaching as part of their ongoing staff development programme, in order to clarify these points of concern. However, while the school's further exploration of these issues may prove useful, it needs to be reiterated that Richmond Road under Laughton's influence has been at the forefront of bilingual education initiatives in New Zealand. Given the relative recency of these initiatives and the school's leading role within them, Richmond Road can be expected to have encountered some difficulties along the way. As Margaret Leaming comments:

Nobody ever taught people how to teach in bilingual schools, so these teachers went in there and literally had to do an extremely difficult job. Not in one language but in two, if you were doing bi-modal, which Richmond Road was. Bi-modal meaning both English and Maori, not immersion .... To me it's not an issue, bi-modal or immersion, I could never get excited about it, you learn this way or you learn that way. But what was difficult for people was, here they were starting bilingual education ... and I mean, it had its ups and downs, there's no two ways about that, but it was something that you focused on and you looked at where you could go, so it would get better in terms of empowering children. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

There were also difficulties encountered in staffing bilingual units. Laughton may have been more successful than most in attracting teaching staff with those particular attributes to his school but the lack of bilingual teachers in New Zealand from which he could draw was a constant cause for concern:

bilingual initiatives may provide the greatest agents of change both for those directly involved and those indirectly affected. The problem is that ... even the current sparse initiatives may founder for want of bilingual teaching personnel. (Principal's Report, 2 June, 1987)

Lionel Pedersen argues, along similar lines, that full immersion is not a goal for the school simply because it cannot guarantee the personnel required from year to year. The Maori bilingual unit, for example, had four fluent speakers at the beginning of 1991 and it now has only three. In 1990 it had only two, and while 1992 looks set to maintain the present number of fluent speakers within the unit, further changes to staffing cannot be precluded. Likewise, Eric McMillan argues that the difficulties encountered in developing and staffing bilingual units at Richmond Road were significant, but while conceding this, he also returns us to the broader agenda of educational innovation which Laughton was able to set in place at the school:

Interviewer: ...before Jim moved into the whanau [family group] concept there were no inner city schools in New Zealand that operated in that way?

McMillan: Yes, at that time. Jim [showed] them it could work and he made it, well I wouldn't say the bilingual unit worked particularly well, I never went into it, so just from the outside and in talking with him about [how hard] it was to keep the thing going - desperately trying to get staff organised .... And that's the problem all over, we are desperate to incorporate a level of bilingual awareness but you cannot get a teacher, you can't even start .... There are plenty who speak some Maori but that's no good, to run it properly you have got to have a fluent mother-tongue speaker. So I don't see that as the big contribution from Richmond Road. *I see it more as an educational institution in which Maori and Pacific Island children succeeded beyond any other place, that there was a place where they were comfortable, where they learned, where they read and wrote to a superior level* ... that's the important contribution. The other struggle will go on, the bilingual one... (Interview, 26 February, 1991; my emphasis)

Mcmillan's observations highlight that bilingualism, for all its importance, was for Laughton only one strand in promoting an educational environment which benefited minority children. It was not to be seen as an end in itself. In this light, it is worth briefly discussing other key aspects in the language pedagogy adopted at Richmond Road which bear on Laughton's broader educational intentions. The ten reading levels employed within the school, and the close monitoring involved in matching resources at these various reading levels to children, will be more fully discussed in Chapter 7. The 'language experience' approach to language and reading within the school, however, can be further explored here. This approach, as evidenced earlier by the activities of the Inner City Language Unit, aims to contextualise and integrate language activities and emphasises meaning rather than form.

'We are concerned ... that children express their ideas in real situations'

'Language experience' involves children in developing and expanding language in the context of experiences, books and/or events. For example, children discuss an event or experience which is recorded in written form by the teacher (a chart or wall story is often used) and then the children read back what has been written. In a family group, which encompasses a range of backgrounds and

experiences, this process provides a common experience with which children can identify. Reading the material back to the teacher is facilitated by a written form of language familiar to the children and the difficulties associated with using school texts, which tend to exclude the experiences of minority cultures, are consequently obviated. A 'shared book' offers a similar familiarity, providing reading for all children in the family group, regardless of instructional level, principally through the use of paired reading activities. Paired reading is based on teina-tuakana relationships which see more able readers tutor the less able. Children are listed in terms of their level of individual reading independence and the information is displayed on charts within the ropu, not, as in many cases, as a means of ranking, but rather, as a means of identifying for children whom they can go to for support and whom they can assist. Levels of reading independence are also used as the basis for sustained silent reading (SSR) which complements shared book activities.

Shared book and silent reading methods were introduced at Richmond Road as a result of Warwick Elley's and Francis Mangubhai's 'The Book Flood in Fiji Primary Schools' (cited in Richmond Road School, 1983) which compared both approaches with the use of traditional school texts. Elley and Mangubhai found that shared book and silent reading, particularly the former, accelerated and maintained children's reading development. What was required, however, to sustain these activities was the availability of a sufficient number of books at a wide range of reading levels. As a result, Laughton set up the 'boxed book' system and 'extended fluency' kits within the school. The boxed book system consists of sets of graded reading material from five to eleven years which are issued to ropu on a fortnightly basis. Those with reading ages above eleven years are expected to use other sources such as the school library or public library for their reading. Fluency kits are boxes of books which are designed for beginning readers who are experiencing difficulties at their assigned reading level. The kits provide a range of reading formats and are designed to be used in silent reading at approximately two levels below the child's instructional level.

Richmond Road's approach to written language incorporates similar ideals and strategies to those adopted in reading. Koch's (1982; cited in Richmond Road School, 1983) description of the writing process as 'learned terror' for many children (where the avoidance of errors in work invigilated by teachers becomes the children's primary focus) is recognised as characteristic of many approaches to writing in schools, and is specifically avoided by Richmond Road. Emphasis is placed, instead, on making writing fun. Writing is de-emphasised as a separate activity and encouraged as a necessary part of other curriculum activities in accordance with the principle of language experience. Closely allied to this is the recognition of children as experts in the writing process. The different cultural, linguistic and personal responses children incorporate into learning to write, and the experimentation necessarily involved in such a process, are encouraged while the notion of teaching a 'correct' writing

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model is discounted. As a result a variety of writing activities are employed: private writing; supported writing; and cooperative writing. **Private writing** is characterised by little, if any, teacher correction. Children are encouraged to express themselves freely in writing and to view writing, accordingly, as an effective means of personal communication. A time is set aside each day for writing of this kind which is not corrected and is only shared at the child's discretion. Private writing can also include pre-writing or rehearsal which emphasises for children the developmental nature of the writing process. **Supported writing** involves providing a framework for writing such as the retelling of favourite stories, the completion of stories or the writing of stories from a different point of view. Whatever framework is adopted, however, support is always available to the children when required. **Cooperative writing** sees children working together in accomplishing a task which includes written work.

In all of these language activities, the experiences of the children constitute their starting point. The aim is to adopt a pedagogy based on developmental learning where language acquisition grows within a setting of meaningful, active, and real learning contexts. An integrated approach to the curriculum is also adopted using these language experience techniques. Language is not demarcated as a separate area of study but is incorporated into all curriculum areas.

Richmond Road demonstrates an integrated approach to curriculum and a child-centred pedagogy which clearly facilitates children's learning, particularly that of minority children. However, an integrated and child-centred curriculum, as Bernstein (1971; 1990) has observed, does not *necessarily* work to the advantage of minority children, based as it is on self-directed learning techniques and expectations with which majority group children are often more familiar.[6] Accordingly, the school has recognised the disadvantages minority children may face with these learning strategies and has attempted to counter any possible unfamiliarity by an emphasis on the place of routines in learning.

Timetabling Children's Learning: *'The kids are used to the routines, like we are'*

Routines feature prominently in the learning activities conducted at Richmond Road. The use of routines provides a structure for the team teaching approach demanded by family group organisation and ensures that children are familiar with the particular learning arrangements conducted within ropu. The timetable, as such, is highly structured. Individual ropu have some autonomy in deciding the composition of their weekly programme depending on their particular clientele, but the programmes

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[6]. Bernstein argues, in fact, that an integrated curriculum, while it may be more attractive than the clear subject demarcation and didactic teaching associated with traditional approaches to curriculum, is nevertheless still weighted in favour of the dominant group. He suggests that the distinctions between traditional and integrated approaches to curriculum reflect a struggle between the *petit bourgeois* and *bourgeois* (the *petit bourgeois* preferring the latter) rather than any attempt to ameliorate the educational disadvantages of minority groups (see also Chapter 1).

must operate within the learning arrangements described above and, accordingly, can only be set in place when they have been presented to and approved by the staff as a whole. Approval must also be sought for any changes in ropu organisation that occur during the course of the year, and any relevant theoretical justifications outlined by the teachers involved to support these changes. Once ropu timetables have been established children in particular ropu will know that at certain times each day they carry out particular activities. Each day may vary in what it offers, depending on the overall balance of the weekly programme, but children are always aware of what any given day holds for them.[7]

The advantage of this highly structured approach to timetabling is that children gain security from knowing what comes next. Hodson (1986) argues that children learn best in this type of secure environment where they can explore, test, share, communicate and develop their ideas in an atmosphere of trusted confidence. At Richmond Road strict timetabling 'ensures predictability of organisation, programme and social milieu.' (Staff Meeting Agenda, 24 November, 1987; 17 October, 1989; 27 November, 1990).[8] As John Matthews observes:

Matthews: I suppose that's why we don't have so many disciplinary problems. It's routines. The kids are used to the routines like we are.

Interviewer: And that makes for stability does it?

Matthews: Yes, it's continuity .... Once the routine's broken, that's when you get your problems. The kids don't know what they're doing, and neither do I. (Interview, 25 May, 1991)

The use of routines to provide familiarity for children is particularly evident in the organisation of ropu from year to year. Rather than reconstitute groups at the beginning of each year, with all the disruption that necessarily entails, the school programme for any particular year begins in the last two weeks of the previous year:

Luke Hiki: ...we work out the new groups for 1992 and we start in those groups in the last two weeks of [1991]. So we get them introduced to the programmes, the routines, the kids in their class, their teacher, so when you come back at the end of January you go straight into it. That's what's good about this school, you just go straight into the programme, you don't have to spend the first day of school calling out children's names saying 'you're in this class, and this is your teacher', and you don't have to get the kids writing about what they did in the holidays because you just go straight into the programme. I think that's

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[7]. The 1991 ropu timetables are attached as Appendix 2.

[8]. Key tenets of the school's organisation and pedagogy are often revisited in staff meeting discussions in order that new teachers are introduced to them and older staff continue to remain conversant with them.

the exact reason why that was instituted, starting the new year at that time. (Interview, 13 August, 1991)

The organisation of the timetable along these highly structured lines was introduced by Laughton without prior consultation. It was one of the rare occasions that he acted in this way. As Helen Villers recalls:

Villers: On one occasion he actually handed down to us a sort of *fait accompli* and we were sort of doing it but we hadn't had any input into it.

Interviewer: Was that the structuring of the timetable?

Villers: Yes. Is that still operating, the quick turn arounds?

Interviewer: I'm not sure. Certainly it's still very structured.

Villers: Incredibly structured, and that's where I went around for a while. I was very angry that was handed down to us at a time when I felt that we were developing something that was more flexible. But I had to concede after using it for a period of time that it was very effective, very effective in terms of children's learning. We probably lost a bit of the nice time you have with children if you've got the time to take your breath, sit around and talk things out a little bit further. But in terms of pumping in what's required academically, yes it worked. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

While set in place by Laughton to aid children's learning, the consequent loss of flexibility in timetabling is often mentioned as a point of concern by staff. Luke Hiki, for example, comments:

One thing about the routines in the school is that you've got your set programme ... and you've got to get your 15 minutes private writing, your 10 minutes silent reading and you sort of can't really overrun it. If you overrun it, you start running into the next thing. It's an endless task of getting them into something and then pack them up, but the motivation will still be there for the next day. Once you overrun that then you're catching up, you miss out five minutes of your next time. (Interview, 13 August, 1991)

A teacher in Cazden's study expands on this reservation:

I do feel the timetable has become too rigid. If you're really into a piece of work involving drama, or expression with poetry or prose writing, it's always breaking, and putting away, and coming back to. The afternoon's are freer, but the morning programmes are very compartmentalised. I think the *main* reason is that we've put such things as sustained silent reading, paired reading, paired writing, topic maths, number maths - all have to be scheduled. And although these things are very admirable, I think the adverse effect is that they've made the timetable very rigid. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 161; emphasis in original)

Flexibility can be accommodated within ropu timetables but the constraints are significant. Still, as Cazden observes, the benefits of such an approach would seem to significantly outweigh its disadvantages:

> Consider, just as an illuminating contrast, a possible alternative: each home group could operate as a single-cell class - retaining the vertical grouping but allowing each teacher more flexibility in planning the day. Although this would indeed give more flexibility in planning, the costs would escalate: decreasing the opportunities for children to learn from a larger group of their peers and from a more diverse group of teachers; and eliminating some of the need for teachers to work together and learn from each other. (1989: 162)

Obviously, all teaching and learning arrangements have their limitations, and issues pertaining to immersion and the flexibility of timetables are, perhaps, Richmond Road's. However, what distinguishes this school's approach to pedagogy from the majority of schools is its intrinsic connection with changes in school organisation and its coordinated and theoretically conversant approach to meeting the learning needs of its predominantly minority students. As Joy Glasson concludes:

Interviewer: So what were the key components of the pedagogical change then?

Glasson: I actually do think that probably one of them was bringing together the vertical kind of grouping, the actual bringing together of a wide age range. One of them was the acceptance of responsibility. One of them was allowing children to learn instead of blocking it, not trying to predetermine in fact what they all learn, but going with them and providing them ways of learning, and then helping them actually see what they've learnt and how they've learnt it, and then, of course, helping kids *become* - not tying, not binding them to the systems in school. And underpinning that, I suppose, a respect of difference .... While that's not pedagogy in one sense of the word that certainly is pedagogy. It's the systems that go into place to allow that to happen. (Interview, 29 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

The systems set in place for family group organisation have already been discussed, but those which pertain to the use of resources and the development of curriculum content can now be explored.

CURRICULUM AND ASSESSMENT: RESOURCING AND MONITORING CHILDREN'S LEARNING

> Incorporating the study of minority cultures into other subjects ... makes a useful symbolic statement, stressing the idea that the cultures of minority groups are part of the New Zealand cultural heritage, to be drawn on along with the dominant culture as valid and valued sources of knowledge and insight. As a strategy it is promising, but not without its difficulties. It requires a broadening of the base of education, and this must begin with teachers and the provision of good resource material. (Metge, 1990: 48)

In Chapter 2 the limitations of multicultural education, as popularly conceived, were discussed. One of the key limitations identified was the tendency to 'insert' minorities into the curriculum, most often in the form of subject content, with a consequent emphasis on the *lifestyles* rather than the *life chances* of minority groups. As Hulmes has argued, '[t]he voices of minority cultures are effectively ignored, except when they speak at [the] levels of cultural activity such as music, dance, cuisine and social customs.' (1989: 13) This expressive conception of culture and cultural difference(s) dominates benevolent approaches to multicultural education and, in terms of curriculum development, is usually reflected in the addition of an 'ethnic' component to an already prefigured (and monocultural) curriculum. Multicultural education as ordinarily practised is transmitted within dominant cultural forms and 'leave[s] obscured and intact existing cultural hierarchies and criteria of stratification.' (Olneck, 1990: 163) Within such an approach the 'selection' of cultural differences continues to be mediated by the dominant group and existing power relations are consequently little affected. The study of minority cultures may actually serve to reinforce dominant power relations by acting as a benefit to children of the majority culture rather than to minority children themselves. As Graeme Page has observed, 'it's an advantage on an advantage that the [Pakeha] kid already has.' (see Chapter 5, p. 92)

The inherent paternalism associated with the process of cultural 'selection' outlined above is specifically rejected by teachers at Richmond Road. Maggie Wood argues:

That's another thing actually that I've learnt [at Richmond Road], that you don't intrude on someone else's culture like a tourist because it's very easy to go bungling in, and it's also a very colonial thing to assume that you're doing a culture a great favour by picking up bits of it that appeal to you and using it. In actual fact that's someone's identity you're mucking around with. It isn't always [appropriate] for the white man to come and do this sort of magnanimous - 'this little piece of your culture interests me therefore I will pick it up and use it when I feel like it'. [It] isn't actually showing any real respect, it's just toying with something or trifling with it. I think a lot of New Zealanders have a nasty habit of collecting cultures. And I've learnt not to do that. (Interview, 12 August, 1991)

Wally Penetito argues, along similar lines, that paternalism is avoided at Richmond Road because the responsibility for cultural selection rests where it belongs - with the members of the cultural groups themselves:

I think that's built into the way their school runs too, that it kind of follows from that then that people in there, in the school, have access to some knowledge which belongs to their cultural group. And they're the ones who are the first repositories of it. And they should now be given opportunities to share it if that's what they want to do with it, and which parts of it, and how, and who, are the questions they've got to answer for themselves. And I think, I think Richmond Road started establishing ways of allowing that to happen, of facilitating that. (Interview, 14 October, 1991)

Along with the reciprocal learning relationships Richmond Road has established (see Chapter 6), one of the principal means of facilitating the inclusion of cultural difference(s) in the curriculum is the school's resource-based curriculum development programme. Maggie Wood goes on to observe:

The resources help a lot because you do, you get such a diverse pack of things that you are always working with some other culture and you have children there of that culture, therefore you pay a lot of respect to it. It's also the fact that each culture, I think, is still seen as a living thing. The children there often live an Island life in the middle of Auckland, therefore you have to tune in very quickly to what is important in their lives, how things are done .... It's not just a matter of saying 'that kid's a Samoan', you have to know things about Samoans, and the more you discover the more you take it into yourself so the more you feel comfortable with each culture, the more you see the differences and see the similarities. You almost end up feeling as if you're a multicultural person rather than just a Pakeha with an overlay of a few cultures. I don't know, this is how it works for me anyway. You start to actually, they become part of you, not in a superficial way, not just sort of picking them up like tokens but because you suddenly realise that you actually do and can feel similar things. (Interview, 12 August, 1991)

Resourcing Children's Learning

At Richmond Road the additive curriculum approach indicative of benevolent multiculturalism is replaced by the *incorporation* of other cultures *into* the curriculum and their integration *across* the curriculum. This approach to curriculum development began with the decision by Laughton in the early 1980s to resource certain topics in Social Studies. Recognising that the necessary first step to establishing a

multicultural curriculum in New Zealand was the inclusion of its bicultural heritage, he established the study of a major Maori theme each year. From this followed the development of themes relating to the various Pacific Island groups within the school, and subsequently, to all other ethnic groups represented at Richmond Road. The collaboratively made resources, outlined in the previous chapter, were to result from these curriculum initiatives and their development was facilitated by Laughton's establishment of curriculum teams which deliberately cut across the ropu teaching teams. These teams, still in operation today, are responsible for developing the curriculum resources during the course of the year, supervising these materials, and providing support for staff working in other areas. The involvement of all staff in this process leads to a significant coherence and consistency across the curriculum and a great deal of mutual support between teachers (Cazden, 1989) and the discussion of curriculum issues within the school is, consequently, well established, wide-ranging and inclusive.

'Most of our curriculum is based on our children'

Given that the process model adopted at Richmond Road accords priority to the use of quality resources, teachers are expected to spend a high proportion of their time on resource preparation. The curriculum teams form the basis for this development (and use) of resources within the school. They have varied in number over the years but presently there are four teams in the areas of science, music and expressive arts, health and physical education, and art. The teams comprise staff members from across the school and aim for a diversity of expertise and background experience. Maori and Samoan teachers, for example, are spread throughout the teams to facilitate the development of Maori and Samoan resources in all curriculum areas and staff with strengths in particular curriculum areas are often associated with those particular curriculum teams. Curriculum teams are also, however, regularly reconstituted from year to year to ensure teachers gain experience in curriculum areas they may be less familiar with (fostering, again, the notion that teachers are learners). The composition of curriculum teams along these lines enables teachers to interact with others beyond their own ropu, thus avoiding any possible isolationism that might occur between family groups and, at a more pragmatic level, ensures that there will be at least one teacher who is familiar with the particular resources developed in a team and who will be able to take the lead in its introduction to the teachers and children within a family group.

The task of each curriculum team is to plan and produce a set of social studies and associated curriculum resources on a given 'focus' topic. While these topics may be wide ranging, they are 'focused' by the exploration of a particular concept. These school-wide topics are studied each year in a two semester system and are part of an integrated three year cycle. Maori themes are given priority in this process - they run over both semester programmes in any given year - but over the course of the three years other ethnic groups represented within the school are also incorporated.

1991 is the first year of the latest cycle and the current three year plan adopted by the school can be seen in Figure 7.1:

	Semester 1.		Semester 2.	
	Team 1 & 2.	Team 3 & 4.	Team 1 & 2.	Team 3 & 4.
Year 1.	Maori.	Samoa.	India.	Maori.
Year 2.	Maori.	Tonga.	Europe.	Maori.
Year 3.	Maori.	Cook Island.	Niue.	Maori.

Team 1 - Science. Team 2 - Health. Team 3 - Music and Expressive Arts (MEA). Team 4 - Art.

Figure 7.1: Three Year Focus Plan. Adapted from Staff Meeting Agenda, 24 July, 1990.

In the first semester of 1991 the Maori focus topic was 'creation and origins through mythology' and the particular concept explored was mauri (life force; see glossary).[1] Thus the science team, for example, developed its curriculum resources (relating specifically to the study of water, air, earth science, and weather) by exploring science from a Maori conception - as the realm of Tawhirimatea (see glossary). Because Tuloto Mareko, the senior teacher in the Samoan bilingual unit is in this team, Samoan language resources were also prepared covering this material. As another example, the art team's focus topic of Samoa saw them exploring the particular concept of *Fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way). Their exploration of the social studies element concentrated on the historical and contemporary aspects of *Fa'a Samoa* and their curriculum area was incorporated by looking at carving, patterning and printmaking in relation to Samoan tattooing.[2] These resource kits, once completed, are rotated through the school along with others, staying in each ropu area for four-five weeks.

In planning the activities for use in each kit, each team member is responsible for developing a certain number of specific resources.[3] This is where the demands of resource making, discussed in the

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[1]. The particular concepts to be explored in the Maori focus topic in years two and three are tapu and mana, respectively (see glossary).

[2]. The social studies and curriculum aspects of a curriculum team's resources can either be integrated as one set of resources or used, in conjunction, as two sets.

[3]. These can be based on a variety of starting points - journals, picture books, legends etc. - depending on the particular context and/or level.

previous chapter, become apparent. In 1990, every staff member had to prepare two activities per reading level, per week (incorporating the variety of learning contexts already outlined) and present them to staff meeting. In 1991, the requirements were changed to reemphasise the need for open-ended activities (Staff Meeting Agenda, 19 February, 1991). Teams were allowed to present activities at three weekly intervals, at a number of reading levels, but covering only one learning arrangement. This also was subsequently changed when the school won a national contract later in the year to develop a consumer studies package for New Zealand primary schools. What followed was an intensive programme of resource preparation over a six week period[4] - using the curriculum teams, and the processes already established - to complete the package. While the accommodation of the consumer package demonstrates that the organisation of resource making in curriculum teams is very effective, it is also clear that the pressures on staff to prepare and present resources, in whatever form, are considerable. This concern surfaces on a number of occasions in interviews with staff (see also Chapter 6), as do questions on the nature of the resources themselves:

Interviewer:

You mentioned time a lot, about the time it took to make all those resources and do all those things. Would that have been the major detrimental aspect of all the things that went on at Richmond Road?

Lyn Malaugh:

It was very stressful to do those, particularly with this deadline hanging over your head, and particularly when ... you had to do this bulk of resources each term - it was very stressful. Unfortunately some of them seem to be rushed out because you had to meet a quantity deadline not a quality deadline. They overcame that a little bit last year [1990], but you still had to produce two per week and show the lot that you were doing in staff meetings. It did overcome the quality thing because you had to show everything, before that you had to show six, so you're only going to show your six best aren't you, and you could choose what you showed as long as there was a range. So that got over it. It also got over the fact that not everybody completed the requirement, and that was happening... (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

A number of teachers in Cazden's study, when asked what needs rethinking at Richmond Road, express a similar concern over resources. One comments:

Personally, the thing that comes to mind is the resources. It's *very* time consuming for teachers. We've done it long enough along the same sort of lines, and now we've got to the stage where we're just doing the same resources with different content. There's so much stuff there that the kids don't get full use of it. The kids are tired too, tired of the same activities being reproduced. I'd be more willing to carry on the way things are if I felt that the time I put in, and the understanding that I wanted the kids to get - not only through the resources but from the whole study - that they would be getting that. But I'm not sure that they are. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 162-163; emphasis in original)

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[4]. The school had a deadline from the funding body, which for various reasons, was a particularly short one.

However, these reservations notwithstanding, it is interesting to return to Malaugh (who has recently left Richmond Road for a senior teaching position at another school) and her response when asked what she most missed about Richmond Road at her new school:

> I did miss all the resources that are there. I did. I've gone looking for reading things and there's nothing, apart from being told. So I miss the 'book flood' and I miss all those reasonings that were behind that. I miss that because it makes it very easy in lots of ways. I haven't found my way around all the other things that are there [at this school], but I did say to the woman who's got the D.P.'s job there, who's in the junior school, what reading programmes operate here? What are the books I use? And she took me out into a little storeroom and said 'I think there are these', but she couldn't tell me. And then I went to her today and said, because I've started off, in maths, I thought I've got to do something, I'm looking at time. I've got a whole lot of resources that I've got myself. I went to her and said what has the infant department got for time? Have you got clock faces? Have you got this? Have you got that? 'No.' So those are the things that I miss, those very organised set-ups. (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

The curriculum resources, whatever their limitations might be, do provide it seems a rich base for children's learning at Richmond Road and, as Malaugh reveals, are not limited to just focus resources. However, before moving on to a discussion of the maths curriculum to which she refers, we need to briefly examine the significance of the various literacy levels underpinning the development of focus resources.

'...you had to tie it to developmental age, as well as concept, as well as your curriculum area'
While the development and use of focus resources now constitute the majority of work conducted in curriculum development at Richmond Road, it was not the first curriculum consideration given attention by Laughton. His initial concern, on which focus resources were to be based, was literacy and the accurate matching of children to their levels of reading ability. As he argued, primacy needed to be given to the development of reading proficiency because it

> gives students independence within the school system more than do other proficiencies (getting the cap out of the hand) ... [and] indicate[s] more than most things the culturally different student's acceptance of and ability to profit from the school experience. (Staff Meeting Agenda, 30 March, 1982)

The ten reading levels which were subsequently established within the school to monitor this proficiency determine the nature and demands of the various resource activities produced by teachers and, when in use, allow all children in a family group the opportunity to work on a focus topic with material that is appropriate to their levels of reading independence.

The literacy levels, and the activities conducted within them, have emerged from the school's exploration over the years of issues pertaining to literacy development. Some influences, such as Elley

and Mangubhai's 'book flood', and the development of various approaches to reading and writing, have already been discussed. Other influences include the work of Marie Clay, Ken Goodman, Courtney Cazden and Frank Smith on the development of early reading and writing, and the work of Brian Cambourne on naturalised learning (see Richmond Road School, 1983; 1985; 1986). Laughton's own background and knowledge of language issues was also to provide a significant impetus to these developments. The resulting literacy levels see closely monitored activities that range from the use of dictated text, allowing children to master early reading strategies such as left to right, return sweep and 1:1, and, in writing, the use of shared books for familiarisation with book language and story structure - through to fully independent reading and writing activities. Teachers, on producing focus resources, are aware of the specific demands of each level and gauge their resources appropriately. As Helen Villers comments, on being asked how focus resources were monitored:

> By I think a unilateral understanding of what was required at each level ... Because we all dealt so extensively with the boxed book system, we knew what each level was like. Because of our monitoring and evaluation we were very tuned in to the expectations of each level, and we did our combined resource presentations [at staff meetings] and got a very good sense of what was appropriate. And because we evaluated as we went. Resources that shot too high were always shiny and pristine by the time the boxes came back to you. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Along with focus resources, the mathematics curriculum also reflects a concern with matching resources to levels of ability and parallels many of its learning activities. Mathematics programming is divided into two daily sessions. One session (Number Maths) deals with the number system and number operations. The second session (Topic Maths) focuses on measurement, geometry and logic. The two sessions, in terms of timetabling, are kept separate in order to maximise interest and learning in mathematics for children. 'Topic Maths' kits which are allocated to ropu in a two weekly cycle are organised by an additional mathematics curriculum team. These kits include redistributed material from the national mathematics curriculum and are undifferentiated by level.[5] 'Number Maths' kits have been developed by staff at ten levels of competency and stay in ropu areas. The ten levels established for 'number maths' parallel the literacy levels used for reading and focus resources, and range from 'undirected maths experiences' which involve children in initial self exploration of number concepts, through to 'extended operations' which deal with multiplication and division.

The mathematics curriculum parallels learning arrangements which are found elsewhere in the school curriculum. Sustained silent maths (SSM) and paired maths apply the same principles as their counterparts in reading and writing. In SSM children choose from the resources and work with them

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[5]. Topic Maths kits, like focus resources, take a theme or topic. Examples of particular topics are: for geometry - shape, lines, planes, movement and position, and symmetry; for measurement - length and weight, time, money, capacity, and volume area; and for logic - sets, patterning, classification, and graphing (Staff Meeting Agenda, 9 December, 1986).

as they wish, experimenting, in so doing, with the processes involved in mathematics. Likewise, paired maths sees more able children tutoring the less able in paired activities. Another feature, this time specific to the curriculum area, is the use of elicitation procedures. Based on John Gay's (1974; cited in Richmond Road School, n.d) work on mathematics literacy, a distinction is drawn between elicitation - activities designed to develop and reinforce understanding of a mathematics concept - and maintenance. Elicitation procedures emerge from three principles identified by Gay in relation to mathematics learning: i) Mathematics knowledge is implicit in the structural elements of language; ii) Mathematics is present in essentially the same ways in every language; iii) Recognition, use and description of a concept precedes naming it as an abstract entity. (*ibid*) Teachers employ these principles by encouraging children to experiment and explore with mathematics concepts and to express in their own language what they are doing and why. Concepts which are initially established by children in this way are consolidated and extended by a spiral curriculum approach.

The approach to mathematics at Richmond Road is consistent with the process model employed in all other curriculum areas within the school. However, along with reading, it is also characterised by a detailed and rigorous monitoring system. Children only have the scope to learn in the ways they do at Richmond Road because they have the use of resources which are matched to their levels of ability. How this matching occurs may be examined more closely.

Assessment: Monitoring Children's Progress

> So then you come to the point of monitoring. Why you're monitoring children, which you should do regularly and as specifically as possible is for matching... (Lionel Pedersen: Interview, 26 February, 1990)

The individual monitoring of children underpins the pedagogical, curriculum and organisational initiatives undertaken at Richmond Road. In line with his notion of access to power, Laughton eschewed testing children and argued in its stead for a regular and reflective approach to the monitoring of children's academic progress. As he argues,

> our system is to *monitor* progress rather than to test attainment. Monitoring entails observation of behaviour in familiar contexts using familiar process, often focused on unfamiliar content at judiciously increasing levels of difficulty. The purpose is to find out how the student operates, what she knows and the priorities in what she needs to know. The function of familiarity is to facilitate access to underlying competence, imperfectly reflected at best in the student's performance. (1985b: 1; emphasis in original)

In relation to testing, Laughton goes on to suggest that,

the concept of testing carries rather more arbitrary connotations with an undue emphasis, it appears, on finding out what the student doesn't know. Such procedures are likely to inhibit her ability to give an adequate indication of her true levels of competence .... Therefore, when deliberating what techniques to use in assessing children's progress the need for paradigms that promote learning as well as the need for a more reliable indication of competence should prevail. (*ibid*)

Laughton's scepticism towards testing was based on its effects on children, particularly minority children, in the educational process since historically, assessment based on testing has played the role of legitimising the disabling of minority students (Cummins, 1986). As John Matthews observes:

> [Jim] used to say kids have already been tested, and they've already failed. What's the point in testing them? That's all they were. Tests were to make you fail. (Interview, 25 May, 1991)

A teacher in Cazden's study elaborates on this observation.

> Jim believed all people can go *somewhere*. When children leave this school, he hasn't put expectations on them that they would disappoint him with. The only time Jim says you will ever *fail* is somebody saying, 'This is the benchmark that makes you a success or failure'. And you have to have failure as soon as you say, 'Well at age 7, you've got to be here; at age 10 you've got to be here'. We don't do that. And it doesn't happen. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 155; emphasis in original)]

Laughton's reservations were also based, pragmatically, on the limited amount of information testing could provide:

Judy Hucker: So to say he had an aversion to testing would be true to a degree. He had an aversion to the sort of standardised, non-[child] based testing that the P.A.T.s [standardised New Zealand achievement tests] represented - and I would believe rightly, because what does it tell you? That a kid's on a certain percentile? The sort of testing and evaluation that he wanted was the sort of thing that would show us what a kid could do *and where next*. (Interview, 15 August, 1991; my emphasis)

For Laughton, individual monitoring was to provide this kind of developmental rather than prescriptive information on children. In so doing, the developmental learning emphasised in the organisation of family groups and the curriculum process model was reinforced. As Frank Churchward comments:

Churchward: Learning is a developmental task and kids have various rates of learning. Some learn quickly, some learn slowly. So you accommodate to the child's pace of learning. Because a kid's ten it doesn't mean he will be able to do everything that other ten-year-olds can do. He may do a lot more and you accommodate to where the kid is.

Interviewer: This is really individual monitoring?

Churchward: Yes, and that was very good. Otherwise how can I as a teacher say that John can recognise 56 letters and so on and so forth if I haven't monitored the kid carefully. We did that in maths and reading. Like, for example, one parent came to an interview a bit anxious about their child and I explained, and I used the running records as an example, and she said 'oh, can't do this, can't do that'. I said 'no, but *can* do this, *can* do that'. I think one of the strengths for us as teachers was that we had to know, really know, where a kid was up to, say in their reading and in their maths development. Some of the other developments are not quite so easy to pinpoint as those two in particular... So if a kid was ten and could only read at a seven [year old] level, so what? That's where he's at. So work with him, or work with her at the level at which he or she is because the better you work at that level, the more rapid will be the progress they make. The kids benefited from that point of view. (Interview, 28 May, 1991; emphasis in original)

Running records in reading and mathematics are kept on all children and teachers are required to individually monitor at least three children every week to ensure that records are kept current. These records include not only the children's levels but also specific information concerning the skills or cues used, needed or misused by individual children.[6] Movement from one level to the next requires children to meet stringent criteria. In reading, for example, a child needs to read fluently, independently and with understanding at her or his current instructional level, with 95% accuracy and at least a 1:3 self correction rate, before being able to move to the next reading level.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, these records are also used as resources by both children and teachers in the family group context. The competitive intentions most often associated with such listings in other school are not evidenced at Richmond Road. Through the records each child knows their own level of reading and mathematics independence and those of others within the ropu. They are thus able to choose for themselves resources appropriate to their level and if they want to work with more difficult resources they know whom they can go to for support. Likewise, children know whom they are able to assist in any given activity. Judy Hucker comments:

> The interesting thing for me was that children actually used it as a resource list. They didn't use it as a comparative thing at that time. I don't know if that's still current practice. The interesting thing was that as we moved out of there the things that were applicable to other places and some of the things that weren't ... for instance in a school like this [where Hucker is now principal] there's no way I would put up something like that because it would inherently be a competitive thing whereas at Richmond Road it wasn't... (Interview, 15 August, 1991)

And along with children and teachers, parents are also included in the monitoring process; facilitating their involvement and support in their children's education, which was Laughton's intention:

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[6]. Teachers undergo regular training and retraining in the use of running records as part of the staff development process to ensure that these aspects are accurately identified.

Interviewer: Why is monitoring so important? Would it not work without it, all the systems?

Lyn Malaugh: No. But it's also part of, the children need to know where they're at like teachers need to know where they're at. It's part of being accountable, and being accountable to parents. Parents can come into there and you can tell them exactly where their child's at, at a given point in time, in reading and in maths. I haven't got a clue where these kids are that I've got [at my present school]. (Interview, 27 May, 1991)

While monitoring is conducted informally in other curriculum areas as well (keeping files of children's work, for example), clearly the formal monitoring procedures adopted for reading and mathematics accord priority to these particular areas within the school. Both, particularly the former, were seen by Laughton as necessary core skills for children, and the emphasis he placed upon them ensured that the systems which fostered cultural maintenance within the school (such as family groupings and focus resources development) were coupled with systems which facilitated access to power. As a recent school document summarises it:

> Maintenance of programme development in Social Studies, Literacy and Mathematics and of the existing monitoring systems in Reading and Mathematics is essential to meeting the on-going needs of the pupils. The Social Studies programme encompasses the belief structure of the school emphasising family values and the search for a harmonious multicultural society. Its requirement on teachers is for cooperation within a pluralistic context and its teacher-product a vast array of resources. Literacy and mathematical competence have a direct bearing on life chances and in a family grouped school such as Richmond Road, accurate knowledge of the competence of individual children is a prerequisite to effective matching of pupil, task and resources... (Principal's Report, 2 August, 1989)

Admittedly, not all share this particular emphasis unreservedly. Two staff expressed concern, for example, over the lack of formal monitoring in Social Studies and written language, respectively. But these reservations aside, the effectiveness of the monitoring system at Richmond Road, and the curriculum and organisational systems it underpins, is clear. As Margaret Learning concludes, in her role as staffing inspector to the school (see Chapter 5), and specifically in relation to literacy:

Interviewer: ...that's why I was so interested in Richmond Road because it seemed to me to be a school that actually was aware of the position of minority students, it seemed to be very theoretically conversant with [that] ... but actually then took the theory and put it into practice.

Learning: And of course turned out students who were literate. They were much into the monitoring of children's progress although never very much into the business of publishing you know, how many were here and how many were there, but ... if you like to look, as I did, at the achievement in terms of literacy, and I'm talking about children's ability to read and handle language, I'm talking about children who came out of Standard 4 [11 years old], because these [teachers] were never hung-up on whether someone couldn't do something at seven

[yrs.].[7] They simply kept working with them .... So a child who couldn't do things at seven was not a cause for the roof to be lowered, in that it was a cause for teachers continually looking at where they were taking the child and the kinds of experiences in terms of language that they were getting. Because they thought they had different times of learning and different spurts of learning - so you didn't ignore them - *they kept on having learning chances and learning experiences. [And] the results to my mind were phenomenal compared with other [schools].* (Interview, 28 May, 1991; my emphasis)

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[7] This age is chosen by Leaming because of its proximity to the 6-7 year range used by the reading recovery programme operating in New Zealand schools.

NEW DIRECTIONS: RICHMOND ROAD WITHOUT LAUGHTON

And I've heard people saying, and other principals saying, with some jealousy I think, the reason Richmond Road works is because of Jim Laughton. Take Jim Laughton out and what will it be? I mean it's a kind of stupid statement to make to begin with. Of course it is, but I mean he's not the only person that's there. I mean what he was always working on too was trying to make the place self-sufficient .... he had absolute confidence in the people who were there, in the leadership that was there in his school ... he had actually made that leadership anyway, facilitated *it* the same way that he did so many other things like that. He kind of covered all those bases... (Wally Penetito: Interview, 14 October, 1991; emphasis in original)

Two months prior to his death, Jim Laughton wrote in his principal's report:

The objective of an administrator, it is said, should be self-redundancy. The evidence of the past three months, during my extended illness suggests that that objective has been attained. It is clear that the school not only can, but has become self-sustaining under the guidance of Joy and Lionel[1] and with the support of the staff and the School Council. I acknowledge the professionalism of the staff with gratitude. (Principal's Report, 19 July, 1988)

While Laughton's vision drove the educational innovations that were undertaken at Richmond Road, it was never his intention that those developments be dependent upon him. In fact, as seen in Chapter 5, the opposite could be said to be true. Laughton specifically set about establishing systems within the school which enabled his staff, both individually and collectively, to take increasing responsibility for the school's educational directions. Inevitably, his death has been a huge loss to Richmond Road and the school cannot be the same without him but nor, by all accounts, would he have wanted it to be. Margaret Leaming observes to this end:

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[1]. Joy Glasson and Lionel Pedersen, who were at the time of Jim's illness, respectively, deputy principal (D.P) and assistant principal (A.P), ran the school collaboratively on an associate principalship basis. After Jim's death, this arrangement continued until Glasson left to take up a position in the Education Review Office and Pedersen was subsequently appointed as Jim's successor. Shona Pepe and Jacqui Laughton, who currently hold the positions of D.P and A.P, have also continued to work together as associate principals.

Interviewer: One thing that people might say is that really Richmond Road is there because of Jim, obviously. Can it go on without him?

Leaming: I don't think [Richmond Road] can go on in the same way, and why should it? I mean [Jim] would have been the last one to have thought that he'd built a dynasty that had to go on, in my view .... he wasn't into personal aggrandizement in that way and certainly not into perpetuating himself as some sort of monument. So I would not see that about a place like Richmond Road at all, I would simply see it as a place which could not go on in exactly the same way, but that it could go on to do what it has done very well - because of the relationships that are there, and if the school focuses on those important things, about empowering people through learning, and learning in its widest sense - because that's what the school is about. (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

This process of continued evolution at Richmond Road within the parameters of what has already been achieved (moving ahead without losing sight of what has gone before) has characterised the school's development since Laughton's death. At first, more emphasis was placed on consolidation. When Courtney Cazden conducted the research for her article on the school in May/June of 1989, for example, staff at Richmond Road were still coming to terms with Jim's death and only one staff member had left the school in the intervening nine month period. One teacher's reply to Cazden's question about the future of the school reflects this period of transition: 'Everything's going really well. We just lost Jim, that's all. The thing is - Jim's still here, because of the way things are being maintained and moving on.' (cited in Cazden, 1989: 161) At the end of 1989, however, a number of staff left the school (for various reasons), and took with them their personal histories of Richmond Road under Laughton. The subsequent influx of new teachers in 1990, the appointment of Lionel Pedersen as the new principal, and the major educational reforms which also occurred in New Zealand at that time posed significant challenges for those who remained at the school, and particularly for Pedersen in his new role as principal. But as another teacher in Cazden's study observed, prior to these developments occurring:

One thing I'm sure is that everybody has got this aim: to not let it have been something for nothing. We're about change remember? But *our* change. We'll change, but [it will be] *our* change. (cited in Cazden, 1989: 161; emphasis in original)

And so it has been. The changes which the school has subsequently undertaken, in line with Laughton's philosophy, have been carefully introduced and closely monitored. In 1990, for example, the consolidation process was continued. A core of staff under Pedersen remained at the school and new staff were introduced to Laughton's educational philosophies via the staff development process which, for the year, concentrated almost solely on revisiting current school systems, the educational rationales underlying them, and the developmental histories surrounding them. As Pedersen observes,

this developmental process was necessary in order to give new staff a personal involvement in and understanding of the systems Laughton had established within the school[2]:

Pedersen: Last year [1990] was a learning environment in a tremendous context for people like me. It was a learning context to every new teacher here, but it was a very prescribed learning context in a way. We set out to introduce them into our maths programmes, into our reading programmes and all of those programmes that we've got running .... Of course, most things should change every year, they should be added to or taken away, but the learning context was a much more prescribed one [in 1990] so that we had everyone knowing the systems we're doing...

Interviewer: You would have needed last year to keep the systems going?

Pedersen: I believe we couldn't have done without it, like all learning, it was a progression .... Last year I suppose the best purpose for prescribed learning was because we needed it. This year it's not looking, it hasn't got that specific aim of introducing everybody into systems. Now it's looking at the systems themselves. (Interview, 11 February, 1991)

If Luke Hiki, a first year teacher in 1990, is anything to go by, the process outlined by Pedersen has been remarkably successful:

Interviewer: You've [only] been here since Jim died. Did you ever meet him?

Hiki: No, didn't even know him. I've just heard about what he'd done.

Interviewer: ...What's it been like coming in, not knowing him? How's his influence been shown in this school to you?

Hiki: You feel like you really do know him because you come in and you have a look at those personal folders, and all of his writings and his philosophies are written in there .... He implemented the programmes and now it's just up to whatever new staff that come here - [they] are pulled out of class for teacher release times and actually just shown how to do running records, how to use the reading record and the maths record, how to monitor the children. Just all his philosophies. Like paired reading, the teina-tuakana and the whanau grouping. If you have a look at the whanau grouping ...you participate in the whanau grouping and then you're actually told why that was implemented and that, so it seems to be like you really get to know what Jim wanted and those sort of things. He must have been a pretty freaky dude, but I never met him. And he must have had a lot of influence on people too because they're still here, just taking over from where he left off. (Interview, 13 August, 1991)

However, with the systems established among the newcomers, the process of change has begun again. As Pedersen comments:

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[2] For an earlier description of the principles underlying this process, see Joy Glasson's comment in the staff development section of Chapter 5 (p. 81).

> This year the real learning is - do they [the systems] need changing? Everybody can be part of that, just because we've experienced it and done it .... They're starting to be able to make their own decisions about what will work or not within the parameters of what they operated before.

(....)

> It's the basis that we believe in learning. If you're part of a process then that's it. If you're not part of a process it's difficult to actually know .... [However] now ... we've set a base, and we're not scared any more, we're not scared to drop things, we're not scared to look at it and really re-evaluate it and say forget it. (Interview, 11 February, 1991)

Consequently, 1991 has seen Richmond Road adapt its resource development programme to produce a national consumer education package for use in all primary schools in the country. Under recently introduced legislation, the school intends to recapitate at the end of 1991 to full primary school status[3], extending the family groups to include Form 1-2 children (11-13 yrs.). And the school also intends to participate in a national bulk funding trial for schools which, while controversial, accords with their aim of being as self-sufficient as possible within the educational system. These developments illustrate Richmond Road's move from 'self-sustaining' to 'self-generating' systems (see Chapter 4); a process Laughton always tried to encourage. Accordingly, within these changes, while Laughton's influence remains strong, other personalities have begun to exert themselves. John Matthews comments to this end that the result of being without Laughton has meant that '[p]eople had to get stronger, and that's what happened. People did get stronger - about everything. *So his passing away gave room for other people to grow.*' (Interview, 25 May, 1991; my emphasis) Maggie Wood, who came to teach at the school only subsequently to Jim's death, similarly comments (and expands) on the nature of this changing dynamic:

> [I came to the school in] '89 and he died the previous [September] so his ghost was still stalking around the school making its presence very strongly felt. It's been interesting .... It was really quite interesting because at the beginning it was virtually as if he was just in the next room because everybody spoke about him as if he was going to come in and start going on where he left off before. Gradually, all his writings were still quoted, the things he said, Lionel and Joy were still saying 'as Jim would say', and gradually this has petered out. Other people's identities have started to impose themselves. I think first of all everybody was sort of scared to change anything because he obviously had such a strong personality and struck such mana [see glossary] that everyone felt it was almost sacrilege, you know, that what he said was sacrosanct, that there was absolutely no way it could ever be altered. Then gradually it's come to a stage where people are no longer afraid to even disagree with things that he said, because of course times change and something that was relevant three years ago may not be relevant now. (Interview, 12 August, 1991)

A clear example of this changing mood within the school can be seen in the move towards more participatory decision-making under Pedersen's principalship. Laughton could be autocratic (and in

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[3]. See Footnote 1 in Chapter 4 for a discussion of the background to these changes.

terms of being able to establish what he wanted at Richmond Road, he at times needed to be) and, as we saw in Chapter 5, this sometimes created resentment. But as Cazden observes,

> these complaints about governance can be considered a tribute to Jim rather than a criticism. As one of the teachers explained his sometimes 'autocratic' leadership. *'Now* his ideas are being seen to be very innovative, and in lots of ways how education should be. But they weren't seen like that ten years ago. And maybe he had these ideas in his head and wanted to get these things *done'*. In the process of getting them done, Jim constructed 'systems' that have resulted in the high quality professional staff in which he expressed pride. It seems natural that members of such a staff should want to have more of a say in what happens from now on. (1989: 165; emphasis in original)

Pedersen comments, along similar lines, of the possibilities for greater staff decision-making in relation to his own leadership style:

> [It has been] much easier for me than for Jim I think to put into place those collaborative or consensus notions. He couldn't of course - we wouldn't have allowed him. I don't have that order. I could quite easily have pretended, [but] like all pretences they don't last long. You could have appeared quite a knowledgable fellow for a year or maybe two but then you would have had to run. (Interview, 11 February, 1991)

Pedersen's candour reflects the obvious difficulties he has faced in following in Laughton's footsteps. The school deliberately did not choose a new principal for over a year until the educational reforms undertaken in New Zealand in 1989 allowed them to do so.[4] And since his appointment, Pedersen - who has been associated with the school since the early 1970s - has gradually been coming to terms with what it means to be the principal of Richmond Road, and finding his own way within that. This process for Pedersen might normally be expected to entail an adjustment to the professional demands of the position but at Richmond Road other factors are also involved. As one teacher observed:

> ...it's also been a grieving process [for Pedersen]. Most new principals to a school don't have to contend with the past to that extent. Mostly you take up the reins and it's your baby and you just go ahead the way you want to. He's had to cope with everything that went before as well as being personally involved with what was before, as well as still having a Laughton on the staff.[5] It's quite complex ... and related to Jim as well, so he had personal grieving on various levels.

The Board of Trustees, in its newly appointed role of administering the school, has been undergoing a similar learning curve. As Graeme Page, the Board's secretary, observes:

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[4]. These reforms saw the abolition of the education boards which had administered primary schools and been solely responsible for appointing principals to schools. Under the new reforms, administrative responsibility was devolved to individual schools' Boards of Trustees (see also Footnote 4 in Chapter 3). Richmond Road delayed the appointing of a new principal until this time so that its Board of Trustees could appoint a principal whom they felt would continue what Laughton had established.

[5]. Jacqui Laughton, who has taught at Richmond Road since the mid-1980's and was appointed as assistant principal at the beginning of 1991, is Jim's daughter.

Page: I don't think it can ever be the same again, but I don't think it's fallen to pieces since [Jim's] gone. I think we've held our ground, perhaps others have caught up, but I think we're about due for a bit of a quantum leap ourselves. Yes, we've been marking time for a while...

Interviewer: Just regrouping?

Page: Well, [it's been] a big change. Jim was here for a long time, and I suppose we all looked to him and so all of a sudden we have to operate on what we understand it's all about. And a new principal. Lionel's learning the difference between being a 2.I.C. and the boss in his terms, which is a bit of a trial, but we all went through a bit of a downer when Jim did die. I think probably one of the worst moves we did was wanting to go to Form 1 and 2 [recapitation] which is what we should have done and we haven't... We actually set in on the road in 1989 and then some people couldn't handle it, or couldn't handle taking it on, just because they were in this state of not thinking straight into the future I guess. That was a definite mistake we made... (Interview, 14 August, 1991)

The Board of Trustees had initially wanted to recapitate the school at the end of 1989, but because it was still unclear at that time nationally as to whether the Board was legally entitled to, the decision was delayed. Consequently, the local community, which had been involved in and supportive of the move, lost some faith in the school. It has led Pedersen and the Board to reevaluate the school's relationship with the community and attempt to strengthen it. The subsequent setting up of ethnic associations to represent individual group interests to the school has been one example of this new approach.

Discussions on recapitation have also led the school to closely examine the reasons for the continued loss of student numbers and the means available to redress this. How can the inner city's decline and the attendant process of white flight (see Chapter 4) be addressed, and why can a school with an international reputation not attract more local pupils? Now that the national situation has been clarified, recapitation for 1992 is seen as one answer. While it extends the notion of long term relationships within the school it also, more pragmatically, should increase or at least hold student numbers. Extending the relationships established with pre-schools, and via the pre-schools, with local ethnic groups in the community is another. A Tongan pre-school, for example, has been seen for some time as the next language pre-school that should be set in place. Priority is being accorded to this development because the Tongan community in the school is equal in number to that of the Cook Island community (13%; see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4); the latter having established the most recent pre-school, the *Apii Reo Kuki Airani*, in 1989. More Tongan teachers are also being actively sought for the school itself.

There is also in all of this, however, a continuing recognition (following on from Laughton) of what the school is up against. Pedersen argues that one of the reasons why parents send their children to

schools of the majority group, particularly in times of economic depression (as New Zealand is currently experiencing), is because of the issue of life chances for them. White liberals, particularly, are caught in this dilemma. They may not be unsympathetic to multiculturalism but in the end they look elsewhere for their children's education (Interview, 25 February, 1991; see also Chapter 4; p. 50).

Along with societal trends, the educational establishment also continues to be viewed sceptically by the school. This scepticism has been borne out this year, for example, in Richmond Road's response to a review, conducted by the Waitemata District of the Educational Review Office (ERO)[6], which was critical of the school. In the report, which was conducted over a three day period, the review team asserted:

> The report commends the school philosophy expounded by the previous principal, Jim Laughton, the school policies, systems and many other aspects of school life. However, the reviewers closely examined the quality of the learning opportunities provided and the standards of educational achievement. The reviewers found that, in a number of dimensions *of the curriculum*, standards of achievement were low and improvements *to teaching programmes* should be made to increase learning opportunities *and standards*. (Education Review Office, 1991: 16; my emphasis)

In support of this claim, the particular concerns outlined by the team were:

> Individual instruction has value but *there is a need to group children with similar learning needs* for instruction so that more learning opportunities can be provided...

> Small group teaching needs to be a more regular feature of the programme to ensure that children develop real understanding of mathematical concepts. In some classrooms, *children's work needs to be marked more regularly.* Generally speaking, *there needs to be a higher expectation from teachers that children will produce tidy work.*

> The standard of written language was generally low .... most of the written language time [observed by the team] was devoted to children's private writing .... the narrow range of writing opportunities *limited teacher intervention and restricted the teaching of* written language skills .... peer modelling did not appear effective in teaching writing .... handwriting and spelling were not generally viewed as an important part of written language.

> The school attempts to integrate the teaching of social studies, art, health, science and music. Reviewers question whether *the integrity of these disciplines* is being maintained.

> In curriculum delivery, some timetables appear to hinder learning. Neither the mission statement [of the school; see Chapter 9] nor the coordinated timetable demands that learning be fragmented, yet, in many instances, reviewers saw learning arrested when children were

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[6] In the 1989 national reforms, the previous Department of Education (which had also included the school inspectorate) was replaced by two organisations: the Ministry of Education, concerned solely with policy issues; and the Educational Review Office, responsible for the inspection of schools. The review of Richmond Road by the Waitemata district team was part of the first round of reviews conducted by the newly constituted Review Office. While both Wally Penetito and Joy Glasson also hold positions in ERO (see Chapter 5) - Penetito as a senior manager in Wellington, and Glasson as part of another district review team in Auckland - neither were involved in the Richmond Road review.

just warming to the task at hand. Flexibility should be allowed in programmes to let teachers capitalise on 'teachable moments'. This flexibility can be gained by allowing longer periods of *uninterrupted time in subject areas*. School policy is to integrate learning. (*ibid*: 6-8; my emphasis)

Pedersen acknowledges that there is always room for criticism since, at any given time, the school is likely to be falling short in some aspect of its educational intentions, more so, perhaps, when it is in a period of transition. And the team has highlighted, for example, the reservations, already discussed in Chapter 6, concerning the lack of flexibility in timetabling (although the team's underlying educational rationale is not endorsed). But the school has, in turn, been particularly critical of the review in terms of: the nature of the review process; the educational paradigms employed; and the superficiality of the conclusions reached by the review team. These criticisms are outlined in their own (collaborative) document, a response to the initial draft of the review report:[7]

> The school's [principal] impression of the report is one of incoherence. The report is badly constructed, fragmented, at times contradictory and, overall, of little practical relevance and/or use to the school. In terms of educational theory the report is weak but its behavioural objectives for curriculum suggest that an endorsement of a transmission approach to education is implicit throughout. The philosophy of education which Richmond Road School has developed over the last fifteen years concerning the effect of such education on minority children stands in clear contrast to this perspective. Although platitudes to the school's educational approach are stated in the report, no real cognisance seems to have been taken of them.
>
> If there is an overall thrust to the Draft Report, it might appear to be the intimation that Richmond [Road] ... says a lot but does not put into practice much of what it espouses .... This statement presents no problem for the school and school community, since constant evaluation is intrinsic to the generative model of education that the school espouses ('self sustaining and self generating systems'). A process model, after all, means constant evaluation and examination *of all facets of political, managerial, organisational and curriculum* implementation. What is contested is the educational validity of the subsequent recommendations in the report. It does not context the school in relation to the changes that have both occurred internally and externally in this and the wider community and so has no reference points. It merely list superficial items, most of which are, and have been ongoing areas of evolutionary development subject to the priority goals of the whole... (Richmond Road School, 1991: 4-5; my emphasis)

The school goes on to argue specific points of concern arising from the Draft Report's preoccupations:

> There is no demonstration that the review team recognised or understood school systems that arise from [the multi-ethnic nature of the school] or that they elicited such information from the school. Neither does it establish or define what the school's view of learning is. The Draft Report does not demonstrate an understanding of the link between the philosophical base and ethos of the school and its organisation and structure.

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[7] While the school's critique is extensive and well-considered (see below), the ERO report, when published in final form, remained virtually unchanged.

There is no real reference to 'family' concepts and the underpinning nature of these, nor are there references to the [complementary] nature of individuals, groups and organisations where this is being attempted or has been achieved.

[There] is no explanation or acknowledgement of cognitive learning theory, knowledge as used here ... how it is incorporated into the school, or process based education in operational terms. There are, however, several attempts to match the school to a behaviourial base reflecting it appears the personal, educational and cultural [biases] of the reviewers.

There is no acknowledgement of how [the promotion of cultural difference] is inherent within the whole school context, nor recognition of how the curriculum deals with this linked to the key ideas of inclusiveness/distinctiveness. Nor is there recognition of the variety of learning contexts offered to children or the pivotal role of the negotiation process built into operations. The structures that are successfully operating to promote this are ignored.

The Draft Report fails to define how the operation, management and structures of both staff and community organisations operate. It does not consider the empowerment of people by the recognition of authentic knowledge [provisional authority] in pursuing alternatives in management, organisation and learning. (*ibid*. 5-6)

The principal conclusions drawn by the school on the ERO report concern its inherent superficiality, its functionalist and behaviourist underpinnings, and its essentially unhelpful (and non-reciprocal) nature. John Matthews observes of the process, on behalf of many of the other staff who expressed similar sentiments:

They came in for a few days, had a quick look ... that was a rip off and it didn't stop there .... The document itself, there were a lot of points there that they came up with which were true. But they were points that we already knew, and they were points that were written in the [school] documents anyway, in our folders and that, what we need to do, what we have to do. It was pretty clear. Handwriting and that, we already know that we're pretty slack on handwriting. How we deal with it, our assessment and that, that was another thing. They didn't even look at that .... Well they touched on it, a typical report, it was just bad things, that's all they wanted to look at. And there was no offerings to us on how to make it better *within our system*. (Interview, 25 May, 1991; my emphasis)

The school's response to the superficiality of the review process is reminiscent of Laughton's dismissal of those who were only interested in a summary assessment of the school (see Chapter 5). Likewise, Richmond Road continues to treat its detractors dismissively, as Laughton did, when it judges the criteria used to be invalid and/or inapplicable. As Wally Penetito concludes concerning the position of the school in relation to the review: 'Even on that little very small thing Richmond Road is in the same position it always was - fighting the battle.' (Interview, 14 October, 1991) It may have been a battle begun by Jim Laughton, on behalf of minority children, but it now goes on without him - carried by those who worked with him and who are now passing it on to others.

The ongoing nature of Richmond Road's educational enterprise, and the history of Jim Laughton's influence which underpins it, is nicely captured by Cazden, in the conclusion to her article on the school. There she talks of the oak tree that Laughton had planted some years ago at the school and which has subsequently had the deck to the Te Kohanga Reo built around it. He had loved that tree and at his tangi one of the tree's first spring shoots had been placed on his coffin. As she then observes:

> More than one staff member thought of that tree as Jim. 'Now he can look down and see all the roots growing and spreading.' 'The roots growing and spreading' are Richmond Road's children. They can be Jim's ideas too: spreading by being taken by former Richmond Road teachers to other schools, and to other areas of New Zealand life...; and growing deeper in the understanding of those who now can't rely on Jim but have to act and understand for themselves. (1989: 165)

Richmond Road may no longer have Jim Laughton to lead it, and the school has certainly been, as a consequence, through a difficult transition period, but those who remain *are* learning to act and understand for themselves, and have no intentions, just yet it seems, of renouncing the educational commitments and innovations he established along with them at Richmond Road. Moreover, as the recent changes in 1991 indicate (with regard to recapitation and bulk funding; see above), and despite its educational detractors, the school continues to take cognisance of the changing context of the times (and continues to use that knowledge to its best advantage) in realising an approach to multicultural education which makes a difference for minority children. Fittingly, then, it is a recent newcomer to the school who, perhaps, best outlines the school's current state:

Maggie Wood.   There's something alive at Richmond Road, there's something organic that just keeps growing and whether it is due to Jim Laughton because three years down the track, or nearly, you would think that his influence would have (pause) something would have diluted it by now. Because after all there are children there who've never heard of him. There's teachers there who could hardly avoid actually hearing of him, but who have no real knowledge of him at all. So there's something in the ... or whether it's just Pita Taouma [the Board of Trustees chairperson; see Chapter 5] who's been a constant factor all the way through, I don't know. But there is something there that *keeps* the school ... there is definitely something that overrides, that makes multiculturalism there work on a different level to [elsewhere]. When I read about it, it doesn't seem the same thing at all as what I'm actually living every day. (Interview, 12 August, 1991; emphasis in original)

CONCLUSION: A CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AT WORK

> If a school is in any way an institute of learning, it must be able to change the perception of things... (Lionel Pedersen: Interview, 25 February, 1991)

In Chapter 1 the various theories that have informed the debates in the sociology of education on the role of schooling were discussed. The 'liberal-democratic' view of education which had held sway until the 1970s and had seen education as politically neutral, as the key to change for all pupils, irrespective of social and cultural background, was effectively discredited by theorists of the new sociology of education. These theorists argued that the liberal-democratic view of education failed to recognise that the educational process is, in fact, a key form of social and cultural reproduction which is linked to the more general reproduction of existing social relations (Williams, 1981). By endorsing a functionalist conception of society, with its emphasis on consensus and its view of schooling as 'preparation' for the role(s) one assumes in adult life (without questioning what structural factors might influence the allocation of such roles) the liberal-democratic view concentrated on family-school relations and largely neglected the relations between school and adult society and the processes of political and cultural domination implicit within these.

In order to redress this, conflict theory emerged as an educational theory specifically concerned with the role of schooling in perpetuating existing power relations apparent in the wider society. Rather than assuming that schools were democratic institutions which promoted cultural excellence, value-free knowledge, and objective modes of instruction, the focus was instead directed in conflict theory to the use of power and its role in mediating between schools and the interests of a capitalist society (Giroux, 1983a). Conflict theory is based on the assumption of opposed group interests in society rather than some notion of consensual integration. It emphasises the importance of competition, recognises the existence of differential power relations, and argues that contest and struggle rather than consensus

and accommodation are the key elements in establishing, maintaining and reproducing the dominant social order in society.

However, conflict theory, particularly in the versions of Althusser (1971) and Bowles & Gintis (1976), was initially constrained by the economic determinism of the base-superstructure model that these theorists employed and, in Althusser's case, a level of abstraction which failed to relate theory to the concrete practices of schooling. The appropriation of Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony in conflict theory provided the means by which these limitations could be addressed. Hegemony, as interpreted by Gramsci (the notion was not original to him) is a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated or supportive of a single social or cultural group. It is a set of meanings and values which, as they are experienced, appear as reciprocally confirming and thus constitute a sense of reality for most people in society (Williams, 1976), allowing for the perpetuation of existing social and cultural relations. Given this conception, conflict theory has been able to move beyond a simple economic determinism to focus on the selection, organisation and interpretation of our common sense experience in education within an effective dominant culture; what Williams has termed the process of 'selective tradition' (*ibid*). In this view, school knowledge comes to be seen as problematic, as a *social (and cultural) construction* which is deeply implicated in specific power relations, and the school curriculum comes to be recognised as a particular 'ordering of school knowledge' (Giroux, 1984) which recognises and values the knowledge of some groups but not others. As Young (1971) argues, schools not only process pupils, they process knowledge as well. The contestability inherent within Gramsci's conception of hegemony has also been central to this developing view of schooling. For Gramsci, hegemony must always be actively *maintained* by the dominant group, it is never simply a given. Thus, the possibilities of agency and resistance are not precluded in a structuralist account, although recognition is accorded to the significant difficulties such agency would inevitably face, given the advantages weighted in favour of the dominant group.

Gramsci's explication of hegemony provides a useful account of the processes of social and cultural domination which operate in society and through schooling, but it is perhaps Bourdieu, with his parallel notions of *habitus* and cultural capital, who offers us the clearest understanding of how hegemony relates to school practice. As seen in Chapter 1, Bourdieu argues that despite appearances of equality and universality the pedagogical tradition in schools is only there for the benefit of pupils who are 'in the *particular position* of possessing a cultural heritage conforming to that demanded by the school.' (1974: 38; emphasis in original) Bourdieu argues that schools have a certain cultural capital, the *habitus* of the middle class, which they employ as if all children had equal access to it. This cultural capital is not explicitly made available to all pupils but is nevertheless implicitly demanded by the school via its definition of success; a definition which includes competence in the language and culture of the

dominant group (Harker, 1984). Possession of the dominant *habitus*, then, becomes a form of *symbolic capital* for its holders and its legitimation as a natural rather than social (or cultural) gift an exercise of *symbolic violence*. As we have seen, working-class and/or ethnic minority children are most often the victims of such violence.

Conflict theory, particularly as outlined by Bourdieu, presents us with a powerful explanation of why certain groups in society are consistently disadvantaged through the processes of schooling. Its subsequent critique by resistance theorists (particularly Giroux) for its inability to incorporate the notion of agency may be overstated. Also, as we have seen, resistance theory has problems of its own, most notably its inability to offer at the level of school practice an educational approach which moves beyond the idea of individual consciousness raising (see Chapter 1). Its agenda for social change is also diminished (and possibly extinguished) by an inability to incorporate a conception of what might be termed 'necessary' knowledge within an emancipatory educational approach. Fostering a 'relevant' curriculum as a critique of the social construction of knowledge is all very well, but denying children access to the core skills required in mainstream society may simply result in the further marginalising of the (already) marginalised. As we saw in Chapter 1, for example, Senese argues: '"dialectal" radical pedagogies threaten to retreat from knowledge structures that are the basis of requirements for intellectual power.' (1991: 15)

This dilemma - of, firstly, recognising existing power relations, and then being able to offer an educational approach which might effectively contest these relations - is no more clearly illustrated than in the field of minority education. The recent attempts to foster cultural pluralism as the answer to the social and cultural inequalities perpetuated under previous ideologies of pluralism (i.e, assimilation and integration), particularly in the form of multicultural education, have been consistently criticised for their inability to encompass an 'informing theory' (Mallea, 1989) which might effectively unmask the reproductive processes underlying such inequalities. What has resulted, largely, is an extrinsic and additive approach to curriculum implementation which emphasises the *life styles* (or *identities*) of minority children but does little to address or change their *life chances;* that is, what it is that determines successful negotiations for ethnic minority groups in their interactions with the dominant group(s) in society, and within education (Bullivant, 1981). Multicultural education, as popularly conceived, is simply additional (and thus, inevitably, peripheral) to an already prefigured and monocultural curriculum which is why, one might suggest, nothing much changes for minority groups within education. In the terminology of Bourdieu, the accumulation of cultural capital in favour of the dominant (ethnic) group is not significantly threatened while we still have a curriculum organised around the knowledge code

of the dominant group.[1] As suggested in Chapter 2, there appears to be an irreducible gap between the emancipatory conception of multicultural education as cultural pluralism, and the realities of school practice(s): 'the optimism of continued reduction of inequality [for minority groups] is tempered by the realization that the cultural reproduction thesis and its variants ... still holds.' (Bullivant 1986: 36) The failure to *incorporate* pluralism effectively *in practice* in most approaches to multicultural education is of continuing concern.

It was also argued in Chapter 2, however, that multicultural education can be effectively reconstituted to achieve pluralism in practice (and, in so doing, contest reproductive processes) if cultural pluralism is tied to structural pluralism (the structural reform of schools). An approach such as this, which critically reconceives the nature of cultural knowledge and practices as represented in school structures (curriculum, pedagogy, assessment and organisation; see Bernstein, 1971; 1990) is, of course, not easily achieved. Like the broader notion of emancipatory education outlined by resistance theorists, it may recognise the processes of social and cultural reproduction operating within education and attempt to contest these but it is then faced with the difficulties of offering a *viable* alternative which does not further disadvantage minority children. In the field of minority education, these difficulties have been clearly illustrated in Britain, for example, by the opposition of Afro-Carribean parents to attempts in community education to provide a 'relevant' curriculum for their children. Community education's preoccupation with affirming social and cultural *identity* led to their programmes stressing affective goals (self expression, self fulfilment etc.) rather than core competencies (such as reading and writing) and did little to change the position of Black children in British society (Nixon, 1984). In response to both the continuing educational failure and the resulting high levels of unemployment faced by their children, Afro-carribean parents withdrew their support from community education and established supplementary schools which concentrated on traditional skills. Pluralism, it seems, even critically reconceived, is no substitute for equality (Burtonwood, 1986).

What this account of Richmond Road School has attempted to demonstrate is that while there are enormous difficulties in effecting an emancipatory educational approach which makes a difference for minority children *it is, nevertheless, possible.* By combining an informed (conflict) theory of education with a 'formal critical practice' (Gilbert, 1987) where the interests of minority children *as a group* 'are sought, defined and promoted, both hypothetically, in critique and reflection, and actually, in classroom and school social relations' (*ibid*. 52), Richmond Road is effectively contesting dominant power relations as expressed in schooling. In so doing, the school demonstrates the possibilities of incorporating agency and resistance within a structuralist conception of schooling as well as addressing the apparent

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[1] See Chapter 2 (p. 39) for an outline of what constitutes that code.

impasse faced by resistance theory, and the attempts to put such theory into practice in community education for example, of how to combine the teaching of necessary knowledge *within an agenda for social change*. Richmond Road has shown that through structural change at the school level in all facets of school organisation, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment, the delivery of necessary school knowledge - the *cultural necessary* (Nash & Harker, 1988; Nash, 1990a; 1990b; see Chapter 4) - *need not necessarily be tied to a single cultural arbitrary*, that of the dominant group. Such an approach answers the criticisms directed at resistance theory without endorsing a return to the traditional (monocultural) curriculum which those criticisms necessarily imply. The cultural arbitrary of the dominant group can be separated, it would seem, from the cultural necessary in a pluralistic and critically conceived educational approach. In fact, as we have seen at Richmond Road, where children feel secure within a school which reflects the distinctive elements of their class or ethnic cultural arbitrary, their capacity to assimilate the cultural necessary of the school is enhanced.

In Chapter 3, the critically ethnographic nature of this account of Richmond Road was also identified. Critical ethnography seemed particularly appropriate to a discussion of Richmond Road's endeavours because of its attempts as a methodology to incorporate both a critical conception of schooling and the possibilities which inhere in human agency; combining a conception of macro-sociological forces operating within education with their mediation in the everyday lived experiences of human actors in a particular institution. As Angus has argued,

> Such mediation, given the essential human agency of school participants, will never be simple, enabling the automatic reproduction of prior arrangements, but will instead allow for *moments of contradiction* which will signal new social or institutional forces, or *the beginnings of new organisational forms*. (1986b: 75; my emphasis; see also p. 44)

These 'moments of contradiction' from the ordinary practices of schooling, and 'the beginnings of new organisational forms', which have been their result, abound at Richmond Road and what follows, in conclusion, is an attempt to summarise these within the ongoing debate on multicultural education.

Richmond Road School: A Critical Pedagogy at Work

> The multi-ethnic nature of the school governs our view of education. Our purpose is to create a learning community where children and adults grow in knowledge through being actively involved. All people are different and all are capable learners. We emphasise inclusiveness while recognising the distinctiveness of each individual and group within the school family. For our intention is to increase the alternatives in ways of management, organisation and learning, so that individuals and groups can become independent. (School Mission Statement, 1991 Annual Report)

Brown (1988), writing on the classification of educational ideologies, argues that past attempts to describe ideologies of education which differ from dominant conceptions of schooling have been limited to simple dichotomies - for example, teacher-centred/child centred, traditional/progressive, and in relation to ethnic minority education, assimilationist/pluralist. These dichotomies, she suggests, are limiting and conceal the variations apparent in real situations; one might even argue that they fail at times to address real situations at all.[2] The complexities of Richmond Road's educational approach, and the ideology of education underpinning it, clearly attest to Brown's concern. The framework of analysis she subsequently advocates, however, as the means to overcoming these difficulties will be used to structure the ensuing discussion of the key elements in Richmond Road's approach to multicultural education. As she states:

> What may be required is the kind of analysis which attempts to account for the element of complexity in educational ideologies .... The form of analysis used by Meighan & Roberts (1979) and extended by Meighan & Brown (1980) is suggested here. It consists of the following features of an educational ideology:
>
> (a) a view (or theory) of knowledge, its content and structure;
> (b) a view of learning and the learner's role;
> (c) a view of resources appropriate for learning;
> (e) a view of the organisation of learning situations;
> (f) a view of assessment that learning has taken place;
> (g) a view of aims, objectives and outcomes;
> (h) a view of the location of learning;
> (i) a view of language and its educational use.
>
> In the special case of curriculum responses to ethnic minority groups, it will also be worth considering something like:
>
> (j) a view of racial integration... (*ibid*. 56)[3]

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[2] In ethnic minority education, for example, the assimilationist/pluralist dichotomy is rendered almost meaningless by the range of ideologies of cultural pluralism apparent in the multicultural debate (see Chapter 2).

[3] While the components of her framework are adopted here they are not necessarily followed in the order she outlines. This is in keeping with her analysis since she goes on to suggest that the model 'provides a vertical or in depth perspective ... [and] consists of a list of features to be identified which are not necessarily hierarchical, although they may be connected with one another' (*ibid*).

A view (or theory) of knowledge...

The basis of Jim Laughton's conception of educational theory is clear. As Eric Mcmillan comments: 'I think ... conflict theory was what interested him .... He had read widely of educational theorists.' (Interview, 26 February, 1991; see Chapter 5) Perhaps this was the first, and underlying 'moment of contradiction' in what was subsequently to develop at Richmond Road. Laughton *knew* that traditional forms of schooling perpetuated inequalities for minority children. As he said of them: 'I don't know what's right in education, but over the years, these things have proved to me that at least for minority people, they haven't been successful. So what is the point of pursuing those same things?' (cited in Cazden, 1989: 145; see also Chapter 4) And as he has elsewhere argued, on the nature of assigned authority and its realisation in institutionalised power:

> The exercise of assigned authority [in traditional conceptions of schooling] has great influence on the educational opportunities and subsequent life chances of pupils. Boguslaw (1971) has defined this authority as 'institutionalised power' and power 'as the ability to apply force'. He says that force in this context refers to the reduction, limitation, closure or total elimination of alternatives to the social action of one person or group by another person or group. Children from groups with little access to 'institutionalised' power in New Zealand society may be, more than most, victims of such force. *It is the school's task to increase their alternatives.* (Richmond Road School, 1986: 1; my emphasis)

Laughton's pursuit of wider alternatives for minority children in education led him in new educational directions; directions which were to both obviate *and challenge* the hegemonic processes to which minority children are normally subject in and through schooling. The educational theories upon which he drew for this task were eclectic, arising both from his own extensive reading and his ability to incorporate the knowledge of others, but the principal influences on his thinking were, perhaps, the work of R.S Peters and Lawrence Stenhouse; the former for his distinction between assigned and provisional authority, and the latter for his advocacy of a resource-based process approach to learning. The two central tenets of Laughton's educational philosophy, however, were his concern for *cultural maintenance*, the fostering of identity and self esteem through the affirmation of cultural difference, and *access to power*, equipping minority children with the skills necessary to live in mainstream society. As the 1985 collective school document outlines:

> The first [principle] ... cultural maintenance ... is the right of every child to know and be proud of who she/he is. If a child is strong and proud in self-knowledge, this results in respect for other people's differences; differences are no longer a threat. At Richmond Road we promote difference and actively celebrate it. The second principle, access to power, deals with the teacher's responsibility to help children acquire the skills they may need to function in the wider context of the power society, as it exists at present. It is each child's choice whether these skills are used. (Richmond Road School, 1985: 2)

Both principles are necessary, he believed, if dominant power relations in society are to be effectively contested (and in so doing, as we have seen, move beyond the impasse faced by resistance theories

of education). In implementing these ideas, he saw certain values as prerequisite: difference is never equated with deficiency; co-operation is fostered not competition; cultural respect is seen as essential to developing a pluralistic society; and the school's function to this end is directed towards increasing a child's options rather than changing them. These concerns, as we saw in Chapter 5 (see pp.64-65), closely accord with the notion of the 'socially critical primary school' outlined by Morrison (1989) Morrison argues for the centrality of the developing autonomy of the child, for flexible learning arrangements in order to foster cooperation and collectivism among both staff and pupils, for the inclusion of the school community, and for the need 'to keep together the individual and a broadly socially derived curriculum.' (*ibid*: 14) Richmond Road's educational approach clearly demonstrates these characteristics in its pursuit of an emancipatory conception of multicultural education - initially under Laughton, and now without him.

A view of learning and the learner's role - and the location of learning

Along with a critically conceived view of the role of educational knowledge at Richmond Road comes a diversified view of learning (and teaching). All participants in the educational process - children, teachers, non-teaching staff, and parents - are seen as learners in given situations. Likewise, all those involved in the school have the ability *and opportunity* to teach where appropriate. The location of learning (and teaching) at Richmond Road can be anywhere. Laughton's promotion of the notion of provisional authority was to establish and facilitate the depth and variety of learning and teaching now undertaken at the school. Traditional hierarchies in school organisation - between administrators and teachers, teachers and pupils, and the school and its community - have been reconstituted in the process (another moment of contradiction) and as Cazden observes, in her study of the school, the result is that while 'Richmond Road is first and foremost a school for children, it's also - and more remarkably - a learning community for adults .... The adult learning is about teaching, about other cultures, and about oneself.' (1989: 146) One might add, of course, that these aspects constitute the children's learning at the school as well. The participatory, reciprocal and non-hierarchical relationships set in place at Richmond Road *facilitate* the learning of all those involved within them. Lionel Pedersen comments, 'I suppose ... what people started realising is that *everybody* can learn. All you differ at is the rate that you work at, kids and teachers, and it's always a two way progression. The more the kids learn the more we learn and vice versa.' (Interview, 26 February, 1990)

The reciprocity apparent in the learning arrangements adopted at Richmond Road derived from Laughton's concern to link knowledge with responsibility. For both children and teachers this has involved exercising responsibility for knowledge already held by contributing expertise and skills (and, in the case of teachers, knowing when *not* to contribute these in order to allow for the contribution of others) to the group as a whole. The *tuakana-teina* relationships established within the school - for

children within family groups, and for teachers through the staff development process - provide the principal means by which these reciprocal learning processes occur.

A view of resources appropriate for learning - and of assessment that learning has taken place

Another principal tenet in Richmond Road's approach to learning, particularly in relation to children's learning, is the emphasis given to the *process* rather than the *product*. While not uninterested in the educational product (given the emphasis on 'access to power'; see above) the school adopted a generative model of learning in preference to a goal-oriented approach because of its less prescriptive nature. Laughton came to the view that if children are to achieve control over their own learning and to derive enjoyment from it, the learning model adopted needs to be both child-centred and resource-based. Stenhouse's curriculum process approach provided such a model, and the key element within it of resourcing children's learning, has subsequently become a central feature of Richmond Road's pedagogical approach. The way resources are planned, prepared and utilised at Richmond Road illustrates the school's attempt to integrate rather than isolate curriculum areas: 'This gives concepts and activities an inter-connectedness. A holistic view of the world is promoted and options and choices for both teachers and children are increased.' (Richmond Road School, 1986: 5) Resources at the school are required to be both differentiated - '[t]his means they can be completed in a variety of ways, allowing for different learner abilities and results .... [r]esources must be open enough to allow for alternative means and modes of learning' (Richmond Road School, 1985: 4) - and problem-posing - 'they should be concerned with genuine questions not with providing answers' (*ibid*). Accordingly, resources developed by teachers at the school allow children to experience a wide range of independent and collaborative learning experiences and a variety of learning contexts at levels appropriate to their varying stages of development as well as being able to incorporate a recognition of cultural differences not readily available in school texts. Resource development and use is also underpinned by the close monitoring of children's individual learning in order to achieve the accurate matching of children to resources, while testing is eschewed because of its traditional association with academic (and cultural) prescription and the consequent disadvantaging of minority children. The result, as Margaret Leaming concludes, is a high degree of literacy among children at Richmond Road because they '[keep] on having learning chances and learning experiences.' (Interview, 28 May, 1991)

A view of language and its educational use

At Richmond Road the learning processes and opportunities outlined above are conducted within an awareness of the centrality of language and its legitimising role in the educational process. Richmond Road endorses Bourdieu's suggestion that 'language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power.' (1977; cited in Thompson, 1984: 46) In this, again, is a moment of contradiction since the school recognises the processes of exclusion and

domination which result for minority children in most schools in the uncritical acceptance of majority language use. In contrast, Richmond Road actively tries to redress these processes by the incorporation of other languages (and their attendant cultures) in and through the curriculum. Language is not seen as an end in itself (it is not divorced from culture) but neither is its centrality to cultural maintenance minimised, as it is so often in 'benevolent' approaches to multicultural education (see Chapter 2). As we saw in Chapter 6, this fostering of a diversity of languages and cultures, and its formal recognition in the bilingual curriculums operating within the school, arose from Jim Laughton's extensive background in language issues and his recognition - against the prevailing deficit view of the time - of the cultural and intellectual advantages of bilingualism. Laughton was specifically concerned to empower minority children by recognising and giving status to the languages they brought to the school and recognising and encouraging their development for the benefit of the whole school, and wider community. This may also explain the subsequent academic achievements of Richmond Road's students since, as Cummins has argued, 'the extent to which [minority] students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program constitutes a significant predictor of [their] academic success.' (1986: 25)

The incorporation of language(s) in the curriculum and the integration of language activities across the curriculum[4] is also a significant factor in the educational development of the minority children at Richmond Road. In this regard, the integrative approach adopted by the school is strongly reminiscent of Cummins's (1986) 'reciprocal interaction' model of pedagogy which he discusses within the context of bilingual education and the possibilities, therein, of fostering success for minority students. Cummins states:

> A central tenet of the reciprocal interaction model is that 'talking and writing are means to learning'.... The use of this model in teaching requires a genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities, guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher, and the encouragement of student/student talk in a collaborative learning context. This model emphasizes ... meaningful language use by students rather than the correction of surface forms. Language use and development are consciously integrated with all curricular content ... and tasks are presented to students in ways that generate intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation. In short, pedagogical approaches that empower students encourage them to assume greater control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborate actively with each other in achieving these goals. The development of a sense of efficacy and inner direction in the classroom is especially important for students from dominated groups whose experiences so often orient them in the opposite direction. (*ibid*: 28-29)

Such an approach stands in sharp contrast to the ERO review team's noticeable concern for more didactic teaching and subject demarcation, particularly in language areas (see Chapter 8). As the

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[4] See the discussion of 'language experience' in Chapter 6.

school's rejoinder clearly states, these are the very practices which have marginalised minority children in the educational process in the first place. The integrative pedagogical approach which Richmond Road has adopted (and the clear ascription to the status of language(s) and culture(s) within that approach) is seen as one aspect, albeit a key one, of effecting the school's aim to redress the process of marginalisation faced by minority students. While the school does recognise and accept the constant need for improvement in its practice it is also clearly unwilling to accept alternative educational paradigms which militate against its educational intentions. The signalling of 'new social or institutional forces', or 'the beginnings of new organisational forms' (Angus, 1986b) are, after all, only achieved through conflict.

A view of the organisation of learning situations

In Chapter 5, we saw that Laughton's attempts to establish new organisational forms at Richmond Road, particularly through the establishment of vertical *ropu* (family groupings), initially faced considerable opposition in some quarters, both from individual teachers and from some parents in the community.[5] Laughton's success in establishing these organisational systems within the school, however, was the result not only of his strength of purpose (which was considerable) but also his ability to instil and cultivate in others an enthusiasm for the project, and his willingness to allow people the necessary time to change. The development of family grouping at Richmond Road exemplifies these characteristics of Laughton's persona and practice. It was Laughton who directed the organisational changes inherent in family grouping but his plans for change were gradual and carefully managed. He drew in senior teachers who were willing to model the initial developments and he effected the structural changes required by family grouping across the entire school over a period of 8-9 years. This process of organisational change, in itself, is of considerable interest since in the field of educational adminstration, for example, while much has been written on the role of the principal, very little research has been devoted to the characteristics associated with successful innovators and even less research has been conducted on the strategies adopted by principals to achieve change (Ramsay *et al.*, 1991). Moreover, and again in relation to research in educational adminstration, very little work as yet has been attempted on providing accounts of minority schooling which recognise the processes of reproduction to which minority groups are subject within education. While a critical conception of the nature of school organisation is beginning to develop (see, for example, Ball, 1987; 1989; Bates, 1986; Connell, 1985; Connell *et al.*, 1982), the dominance of technicist models of schooling (as seen in rational organisation theory, or systems theory: see Gorton, 1980; Hanson, 1979; Hoy & Miskel, 1982; Orlosky *et al.*, 1984) has led to an essentially conservative and rampantly monocultural conception of

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[5] Pita Taouma, the present Board of Trustees chairperson, is a notable example of the latter. See Chapter 5 (p. 90).

school organisation in educational adminstration research.[6] It is hoped that this account of Richmond Road and Jim Laughton's role within it may be a start in a new direction. Certainly, the model of family grouping, with its emphasis on inclusiveness and mutual support, and its development of extended relationships, provides us with an example of what can be achieved for minority children through organisational change at the school level. Family grouping at Richmond Road is able to facilitate the recognition of cultural differences (while also according responsibility for cultural interaction). It has redefined the teaching and learning process for both teachers and children. And it is, as such, the basis on which the participatory, non-hierarchical, non-competitive and interactive learning and teaching arrangements established within the school can function. As it was argued in Chapter 2, without this kind of structural reorganisation an *effective* approach to multicultural education which will benefit minority children and contest the structures and processes of schooling which have previously excluded and/or alienated them *cannot* be achieved. Any attempt which excludes institutional change must remain extrinsic and additional to existing organisational structures that act to disadvantage minority children. That this reorganisation at Richmond Road was given such priority by Laughton, and that it forms the basis upon which his other educational initiatives can stand, attest to his recognition of this fact.

A view of racial integration

Family grouping has also been central to providing the means by which cultural *recognition* (the valuing of cultural differences) can be tied in with an emphasis on cultural *interaction* (the responsibility to realise intercultural relationships). As Laughton has argued, '[t]his school's educational provisions arise [from] the perceived need to recognise and celebrate difference and to try and weave from the many cultural threads a fabric, a unity that retains the colour and texture of each.' (Principal's Report, 9 February, 1988) *All* cultures are seen as cultural capital at Richmond Road and there is no privileging of one particular *habitus* over another. In so doing, Richmond Road's approach recognises and acknowledges the validity of cultural difference but also emphasises the notion of unity (although at no point does it confuse the latter concept with uniformity; see Chapter 5). This cultivation of a respect for difference, along with the reciprocal responsibilities required of all school participants to make intercultural relationships work, perhaps explains why racism is not apparent at Richmond Road. The school, given its recognition of power relations, is certainly not unaware of the broader processes of racism at work in society (as seen, for example, in their response to 'white flight'; see Chapter 8), but the nature of the relationships established at Richmond Road would appear to largely preclude (or at least certainly minimise) their effects within the school. These relationships (and the responsibilities which inhere in them) are modelled by staff and children in the organisational structures of the school,

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[6] For a more extensive discussion of this topic, see May (1992).

are supported by the reciprocal learning and teaching arrangements, and are reinforced by curriculum content. Tuloto Mareko, the senior teacher in the Samoan bilingual unit, recalls his own learning at Richmond Road along these lines:

> When I first came to this school I said 'we brown people, everybody's going to look down to us', that sort of thing. So everywhere I go it was (pause) I will just sit back and listen and watch, just observing the people and the way they react. When I came to this school it seems that they're not putting the brown people down, especially, I talk about me, but they're lifting them up and from there I learnt how to respect other people too, other people's culture, their way of life .... I always talk about cultural maintenance [here]. I always talk about that, how they promote the other cultures in the school and the different ways of promoting, maintaining the cultures in the school. To me the key thing in this school is everybody's working together - the teachers, the children, everybody is working together. (Interview, 29 May, 1991)

Lionel Pedersen comments, more broadly, of this collaborative enterprise at Richmond Road: 'The praxis of Richmond [Road] School is inherently based on understandings, commitment to these, and structures that support the implementation of its espoused pedagogy. As the process is the product, so is the theory the practice. What we say and do is who we are.' (Principal's Report, 13 March, 1990)

A view of aims, objectives and outcomes

What Richmond Road says and does has formed the basis of this critical ethnography of the school. While, as in all schools, there are limitations in Richmond Road's educational approach and while recognising that multicultural education is only one dimension of a societal response to cultural and democratic pluralism and that both it and the school are limited in their ability to effect social change (Lynch, 1986), the school's approach to multicultural education demonstrates a remarkable consistency between educational intention and actual practice. This interrelatedness between theory and practice - of 'understand[ing] the processes and mechanisms by which macro forces are mediated at the [micro] level...' (Angus, 1987: 31) has formed the basis for reconstituting these processes via the structural changes undertaken at the school. However, while the relationship between theory and practice within the school is central to effecting its aims, it is not, in itself, enough. For real change to occur, as Laughton argues, it must rest 'on the individual teacher's belief in the veracity of the ideas and their translation into practice.' (Principal's Report, 4 October, 1988) This veracity of belief was initially modelled and cultivated by Laughton among his staff but it is also clear that those currently involved with the school, which no longer has Laughton to lead it, have taken over this role for themselves. Possibly more than any other feature, what is most apparent at Richmond Road is the belief in what *can* be achieved for minority children *combined with* a realistic (and informed) appraisal of what it is that they are up against. Those involved at Richmond Road are realistic about the limits of schooling in changing broader processes of social and cultural reproduction at work in society but this recognition does not deter them from trying to accomplish as much as possible within those limits - more, perhaps,

than many might have imagined possible. Richmond Road recognises that it can do little for minority children upon their leaving the school, since it is aware (much more than most schools are) of the variety of societal factors which might subsequently impinge on these children's life chances. However, in response to the question inevitably asked of the school concerning the success of its educational 'products', it argues that if the *process* of cultural maintenance and access to power has been properly attended to within the school, the 'products' should at least be able to take care of themselves. By equipping minority children with both cultural recognition *and* academic skills, something usually denied them by schooling, the opportunity for such children to succeed in a society which invariably undermines them is much greater than it might otherwise have been. As Pedersen argues, concerning the present economic and social difficulties being faced in New Zealand society, for example:

> ...it's the dark ages out there. Well, I wonder if a whole lot of kids from here will handle a whole lot of that better than anyone else, and who knows what will grow out of that .... [I]f the Richmond Road model has any significance, the children who've been through here will be coping all right. (Interview, 12 August, 1991)

And as Laughton argues, along similar lines:

> We should aim to have [minority] children leave our institutions able, if not eager to face the burgeoning prospect of life - clients who can handle the prospect of unemployment or of employment. And that's a tall order. They need to be self reliant, to be independent in ways that we never were. And on the other hand, they need to be committed to community in the wider sense, across society, in ways that we seldom are... (Richmond Road School, 1983: 29-30)

High ideals, certainly, but imbued with a deep sense of realism concerning the enormity of the task at hand, a deep understanding of traditional education's complicity in the obstruction of these aims, and a deep commitment to realising a new educational approach which might be successful, against the odds, in promoting them. The continued effectiveness of Richmond Road's educational approach lies in its grasp of educational theory, in its ability to successfully relate that theory to educational practice, in its interrelatedness and internal consistency, and in its ability to involve and gain the support of teachers, parents and children in and for the process of change.

Conclusion

In a recent North American report on 'effective schools', Bryk & Driscoll provide a detailed study of the positive effects on students of schools which demonstrate 'communal school organization.' In their executive summary, they argue:

> Based on a review of recent research on effective schools and more general theoretical literature on the structure and function of communities, we argue that three core concepts comprise a communal school organization: 1) *a system of shared values* among the members of the organization, reflected primarily in beliefs about the purposes of the institution, about what students should learn, about how adults and students should behave, and about what kinds of people students are capable of becoming; 2) *a common agenda of activities* designed to foster meaningful social interactions among school members and link them to the school's traditions; and 3) *a distinctive pattern of social relations, embodying an ethos of caring* that is visibly manifest in collegial relations among the adults of the institution and in an extended teacher role. Further, we posit that all three of these features are essential. When they occur simultaneously, their influence is reinforcing, and in combination they create a coherent organizational life that has powerful effects on teachers and students alike (1988: 1; my emphasis)

Richmond Road, as we have seen, clearly demonstrates the organisational characteristics outlined by Bryk & Driscoll. In discussing this particular report also, Cazden reaches a similar conclusion:

> These features [outlined by Bryk & Driscoll] were derived from a study of 357 US Catholic and public high schools. But they seemed, from my many previous visits to the school, to fit Richmond Road amazingly well, and gave me an additional (and more international) reason to try and write about the school. (1989: 144)

Likewise, Richmond Road also clearly exhibits the characteristics outlined by Banks - a prominent North American commentator in the multicultural education debate (see Chapter 2) - as necessary for implementing an *effective* approach to multicultural education. As he argues:

> The radical critique of schooling is useful because it helps us to see the limitations of formal schooling. However, the radical paradigm is limited because it gives us few concrete guidelines about what can be done after we have acknowledged that schools are limited in their ability to bring about equality for ... minority students. When designing educational reform strategies, we must be keenly sensitive to the limitations of formal schooling. However, we must be tenacious in our faith that the school can play a limited but cogent role in bringing about equal educational opportunities for ... minority students and helping all students to develop cross-cultural understandings and competencies. In order [for this to occur] .... *[a] holistic paradigm, which conceptualizes the school as an interrelated whole, is needed to guide educational reform* .... Conceptualizing the school as a social system suggests that we formulate and initiate a change strategy that reforms the total school environment in order to implement multicultural education successfully. (1986b: 22; emphasis in original)

Banks's observations reiterate the conclusions drawn in Chapters 1 & 2, and the model he subsequently proposes as a possible answer to these concerns can be seen in Figure 9.1:

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  The school staff has democratic         │
│  attitudes and values.                    │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  Language pluralism  and diversity     │
                    │  are fostered in the school.           │
                    └──────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  The school has norms and values         │
│  that reflect and legitimise ethnic       │
│  and cultural diversity.                  │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  Teaching and motivational styles      │
                    │  are used that are effective with      │
                    │  students  from  different  social-    │
                    │  class, racial and ethnic groups.      │
                    └──────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Assessment and testing procedures       │
│  promote social class and ethnic          │
│  equality.                                │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  Students  from  different,  ethnic,   │
                    │  cultural and social-class groups      │
                    │  experience equal status within the    │
                    │  school.                               │
                    └──────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  The curriculum and teaching             │
│  materials present diverse ethnic         │
│  and cultural perspectives on             │
│  concepts, issues and problems.           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘

                    ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │  Teachers and students acquire the     │
                    │  skills needed to recognise various    │
                    │  forms of racism and take steps to     │
                    │  eliminate them.                       │
                    └──────────────────────────────────────┘

              ┌────────────────────────────┐
              │          THE               │
              │      MULTICULTURAL         │
              │   SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT       │
              └────────────────────────────┘
```

Figure 9.1: The Multicultural School Environment. Adapted from Banks, 1986b: 23.

Interestingly, Banks suggests that this model represents 'the reformed, idealized multicultural school' (*ibid*), something, one assumes, which may act as an example to work towards for schools exploring the implementation of multicultural education. It is the contention of this account, however, that Richmond Road's approach to multicultural education already encompasses all of the characteristics outlined in Banks's model, and that, as an example of what can be achieved *in practice* (and despite Laughton's reticence to tout the school as an educational model; see Chapter 5), it may prove to be a more useful reference point. Returning to Woods & Grugeon's (1990) concern to move the

multicultural education debate into the school arena (see Chapter 3), and for similar reasons to Cazden's (see above), this study of Richmond Road has been conducted because the school provides *a working model*, applicable internationally, of just what can be achieved in implementing an effective approach to multicultural education. Through the structural reform of *the total school environment*, Richmond Road demonstrates how the vague and seemingly ubiquitous notion of 'cultural pluralism' discussed in Chapter 2 can be rehabilitated into a recognisable, realistic and achievable form and, in so doing, move the multicultural education debate out of the mire in which it appears to have become entrapped, to address the issues of power relations as they affect the life chances of minority children in and through the practice of schooling. By reconstituting multicultural education in this way the notion of cultural pluralism comes to be situated within a *realist* conception of society that takes account of the processes of social and cultural reproduction inherent within it and, as such, can begin to effectively contest these reproductive processes. As Olneck has argued:

> If pluralism is to have any distinctive meaning or to be authentically realized, it must enhance the communal or collective lives of the groups that constitute a society .... Pluralism must recognize in some serious manner, the identities and claims of groups *as groups* and must facilitate, or at least symbolically represent and legitimate, collective identity. (1990: 148; emphasis in original)

Moreover, in exploring Richmond Road's educational endeavours via critical ethnography, this study has also aimed to account for the persistent criticism levelled at educational critical theory which, as Anderson identified in Chapter 3, is 'its tendency toward social critique without developing a theory of action...' (1989: 257) The theory of action at Richmond Road and the new organisational forms which have arisen from it are clearly apparent. The demands on schools (organisationally, pedagogically and relationally) of implementing a similar approach would be great, but Richmond Road shows that it can be done - *that multicultural education can be made to work*. As Laughton concludes:

> For me the Richmond Road School is a very special place. It is a place where we promote equality, not as a goal, but as a working principle. For as Ghandi had it: 'There is no way to equality, equality is the way'. (1984: 40)

While the limitations of schooling continue to be recognised, both by Richmond Road itself and in this particular account of the school, such educational initiative and innovation augurs well for the possibilities of change.

Richmond Road School Plan 1991

DOUGLAS STREET

Ropu 3

SS3

1991 4 Teachers
1992 3 teachers

Toilets

Toilets

Ropu 2   SS2
2 Teachers

Ropu 1   SS1
2 Teachers

Toilets

Empty
TS15

Empty
TS16

(Previously Maori
Bilingual Unit)

Dental
Clinic

(Remodelled)

TS17   TS18   TS19

Apiii Reo
Kuki Airani

A'oga Fa'a
Samoa

RICHMOND ROAD

Library

Office

TRR

Teacher
Resource
Room

Empty
TS14

Ropu 4
Maori Bilingual
SS4

3 Teachers
Plus a Kaiarahi reo

Ropu 5
Language Unit
TS12

Ropu 5

TS13

Te Kohanga Reo

Swimming Pool

3 Teachers
DP & AP Rotate

BROWN STREET

TS = Teaching Space

SS = Shared Space

RICHMOND ROAD SCHOOL   ROPU TUARUA (TWO) 1991

(2 home groups) TS 3/4

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	
9.00 / 9.15 / 9.30	ROLL / STORY / FITNESS			BIBLE	ROLL	STORY
					ASSEMBLY	
9.45	NUMBER MATHS (in home groups)					
10.00 / 10.15	SHARED BOOK / GUIDED READING / LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES		at instructional level(s)		(in home groups)	
PLAY						
11.00	SUSTAINED SILENT WRITING					
11.15	WRITTEN LANGUAGE (process writing)					
11.30 / 11.45	PAIRED READING / MONITORING					
	MUSIC / DRAMA / POETRY					
LUNCH						
1.15	SUSTAINED SILENT READING / ROLL / NEWS				ROLL	
1.30	TOPIC MATHS				FILMS WITH ROPU 3	
1.45 / 2.00	FOCUS	FOCUS	FOCUS	FOCUS STARTER STORIES CONCEPT BKS BIG BOOKS	TS4 LIBRARY	
2.15	Curric. resources		TABLOIDS (P.E.)	LEVEL ONE DEVELOP- MENTAL	TS3 S.S.R. TOPIC TOPIC	
2.30					MATHS MATHS	
2.45	COMMUNITY SINGING WITH ROPU 3	POLYNESIAN CULTURES CLUB	POLYNESIAN CULTURES CLUB	LEVEL 2	LIBRARY	
3.00				SPORT	S.S.R.	

Team meeting 7.30am Wednesday

RICHMOND ROAD SCHOOL

ROPU TUATAHI (ONE) 1991

(2 home groups) TS 1/ 2

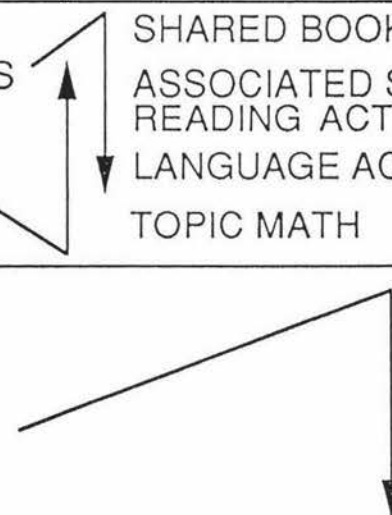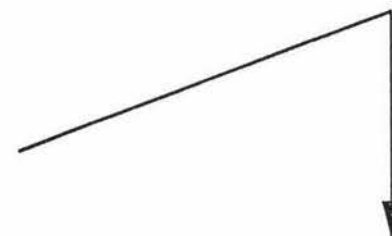|	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
9.00	ROLL CALL ADMINISTRATION SHARED STORY, CHAT, FITNESS			LEVEL 2 CHN. RELIGIOUS INSTR. LEVEL 1 DEVELOPMENTAL	ROLL, SHARED STORY,
9.15					ASSEMBLY
	LANGUAGE / INSTRUCTIONAL READING				FITNESS
	HOME GROUPS				
10.20					
10.30	PAIRED READING HOME GROUPS				
10.45	MORNING INTERVAL				
11.00	SUSTAINED SILENT WRITING (PRIVATE WRITING)				
11.20	MATHS : TS1 NUMERATION TS2 FOCUS MATHS				
11.35	NEWS, CURRENT AFFAIRS, SERIAL (GRADED STORY)				
11.55	MATHS : TS1 FOCUS MATHS TS2 NUMERATION				
12.00	POEMS, RHYMES, JINGLES				
	LUNCH HOUR				
1.00					
1.10	SUSTAINED SILENT READING				
2.00	ROLL CALL FOCUS DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES CURRICULUM RESOURCES				LIBRARY ⌐MATHS ⌐ ⌐ GAMES
2.05	AFTERNOON BREAK				
	SWIMMING	FOCUS		LEVEL 1 ART/ DEVELOPMENTAL	LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES
3.00	TABLOIDS (PE)	POLYNESIAN CULTURES CLUB		LEVEL 2 SPORT	COMMUNITY SINGING

Team Meeting: Thurs. Lunch

(4 home groups) TS 6/ 7 (Samoan bilingual TS 8/ 9 Non-bilingual

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY

WHOLE GROUP: ROLL CALL, SHARING TIME OR FITNESS PROGRAMME

ASSEMBLY

SHARED BOOK EXPERIENCE　　BIBLE

ADJUSTED GROUPS
TS 8/ 9

ASSOCIATED SHARED
READING ACTIVITIES

LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES

BILINGUAL GROUP
TS 6/7

TOPIC MATH

PLAY

TS 6
TS 7
TS 8
TS 9

PAIRED READING

GUIDED WRITING

GUIDED READING

MATHS; NUMBER

LUNCH

WHOLE GROUP
10 MINUTE BLOCKS
ROLL CALL

SUSTAINED SILENT READING , PRIVATE WRITING

FOCUS SHARE	LIBRARY	LIBRARY	MUSIC & DRAMA	FILMS
SINGING SS 2	FOCUS	FOCUS	L1 DEVELOPMENTAL / LEVEL 2 SPORT	PHYSICAL EDUCATION

TEAM MEETING

RICHMOND ROAD SCHOOL ROPU TUAWHA (FOUR) 1991

Maori Bilingual Unit (3 home groups)

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
9.00	KOHANGA	KARAKIA, ROLL, ADMIN; FITNESS			
9.15	(9 - 9.45)				
9.30	GROUP 2	TOPIC MATHS, CURRICULUM RESOURCES (MAORI)			ASSEMBLY
9..45	GROUP 1	SUSTAINED SILENT WRITING	NUMBER MATHS	SUSTAINED SILENT READING	
10.00	GROUP 3	GUIDED READING/WRITING , PAIRED READING			
10.15	GROUP 2	SUSTAINED SILENT WRITING NUMBER MATHS SUSTAINED SILENT READING			
PLAY	GROUP 1	GUIDED READING/WRITING , PAIRED READING			
11.00	GROUP 3	TOPIC MATHS, CURRICULUM RESOURCES (MAORI)			
11.15	GROUP 2	GUIDED READING/WRITING , PAIRED READING			
11.30	GROUP 1	TOPIC MATHS, CURRICULUM RESOURCES (MAORI)			
11.45	GROUP 3	SUSTAINED SILENT WRITING NUMBER MATHS SUSTAINED SILENT READING			
LUNCH		ROLL		F	
1.15				I	
1.30		CURRICULUM RESOURCES (ENGLISH L M / MAORI)			
1.45				S	
2.00					
2.15	LIBRARY CURRICULUM RESOURCES	POLYNESIAN CULTURES GROUP		L1 DEVELOPMENTAL (MAORI)	
2.30				L2 SPORT	COMMUNITY SINGING with ROPU 1, 4 & 5
2.45		TABLOIDS			
3.00					

Team meeting : Tuesday Lunch

Appendix 2.4

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
9.00	LUNCHES	ROLL	NEWS	STORY	

9.15 — FITNESS

9.30 — SHARED BOOK EXPERIENCE   ASSEMBLY

9..45 — LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES

10.00

10.15

PLAY — PREPARE BOOKS FOR SUSTAINED SILENT READING

11.00 — SUSTAINED SILENT READING

11.15 — (Independent) WRITTEN STORIES, DICTATED TEXT (dependent)

11.30 — PAIRED READING

11.45 — NUMBER MATH

LUNCH

1.15	LIBRARY	ROLL, SUSTAINED SILENT WRITING
1.30		TOPIC MATH
1.45		SINGING

CONSERVATION

2.00					
2.15	P.E. - TABLOIDS WITH ROPU 1	CURRICULUM AND FOCUS RESOURCES			
2.30				LEVEL 2 SPORT	COMMUNITY SINGING WITH ROPU 1 & 4
2.45			FILMS		
3.00					

Team Meeting

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