"IT'S NOT THE SCHOOL, IT'S THE PRINCIPAL OF THE THING": ADMINISTRATORS' TALK ABOUT ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE CONTEXTS

BY

MARCELLA DERKATZ

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Administration & Foundations
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

August, 1994

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ISBN 0-612-13073-8

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With special thanks to my advisors Dr. Jon Young, Dr. Rod Kueneman, and Dr. Tony Riffel and to my dear friends and family for their patience, understanding, and encouragement throughout this life experience,

this work

is dedicated

to the memory of my parents,

Anne and Bill Derkatz,

and

to the future of my Godchildren,

April Elliot,

Chad Dzisiak,

Myra Price,

Alexander Litinsky,

Catherine Litinsky.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE PRESUPPOSITIONS

On a table in a school staffroom is a coffee cup with the words: *"It's not the school, it's the Principal of the thing"*. These words suggest that what is reflected in the school is, to a significant degree, a reflection of the administrator's thinking and actions--a reflection of the administrator's will and intentions.

How likely is it that the will of the administrator[1] is the essence of, or at least makes a difference in, the school? If we accept subjectivist accounts of administrators about their work in schools, then the words match the assertion of one administrator in this study who says:

> so much of what happens in a school has to do with the Principal. The Principal has so much power that it's unbelievable as far as what's going to be happening in your school. So much of anything that goes on in a school comes from what the administrator wants...Principals really do have a lot of power in anything--not just in the area of multiculturalism programs...If you want to agree with something and make it work or if you don't, it's up to you as an administrator. In the end, it's all up to the administrator. That's why schools are so different (Anne)[2].

These comments reflect a perception among many administrators that what they do in a school does make a difference.

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[1]The term "administrator" is used to identify the person who holds the official legally designated administrative authority in the school. Henceforth this person will be referred as having "leadership influence". In most schools, this person is also known as the "principal".

[2]Methodological note: For purposes of preserving anonymity and confidentiality, ficticious names were assigned to all administrators in this study. This is noted in Chapter 2, page 26 and in Appendix F.

The purpose of this study was to examine administrators' views of their work as administrators working in a multicultural society and context. Between September, 1991 and December, 1992, 40 Manitoba school administrators[3] were interviewed to explore how they make sense of their jobs *(TABLES 1 & 2)*. The broadly cast question: "How do administrators understand, interpret, and operationalize their role as educational leaders in schools with respect to culturally diverse society?"[4] was of primary concern. Administrators were asked to elaborate on their understandings of two areas--their work as educational leaders and their perception of the relationship of schools to culturally diverse society. The analysis of administrators' talk[5] about what they valued and made important in their

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[3]*A total of 39 indicates the number of administrators described in the study. In the fieldwork stage, 1 of the 40 administrators, after reading the verbatim transcript of the interviews, asked "not to be quoted" in the report. See Appendix A for more specific details of the data collection.

[4]In the pre-fieldwork stage, the researcher tentatively defined "culturally diverse contexts" as any or all school contexts in multicultural/multiracial Canada because, as D'Oyley and Shapson (1991) point out, "The features of cultural pluralism in Canadian society dictate that all Canadian classrooms should be seen as multicultural ones even if they are not multi-ethnic in composition" (p. 27). In the field, some administrators defined "culturally diverse contexts" in a similar fashion and some did not. In other words, some administrators believed that, to some degree, heterogeneity was the norm everywhere in Canada while some perceived the existence of homogeneity in the immediate geographic and demographic area of the school [See Appendix A]. "Canadians" were sometimes described as a homogeneous group and often the plurality among perceived homogeneous groupings of people, like the First Nations peoples, was also not recognized.

[5]"Talk" is an important term in this study because, as Gronn (1982) states: *Firstly, talk IS the work in that it is the activity which appears...to consume most time and energy. In other words, administrative work is largely linguistic work. Secondly, talk DOES the work because it is the resource that school personnel use to get others to do things. Thirdly, talk DISPLAYS the work so that, if evidence of administrative activity is sought, it can be found in the words of school personnel (p. 30).*

TABLE 1
SCHOOL GRADE LEVELS AND LOCATION OF ADMINISTRATORS IN THE STUDY

GRADE LEVELS	LOCATION		
	RURAL	SUBURBAN	INNER CITY
N/K-6	1	12	6
K-8/9	1	5	1
7-9	2	2	
K/7/10-12	2	5	2

TABLE 2
GRADE LEVELS AND GENDER OF ADMINISTRATORS IN THE STUDY

GRADE LEVELS	GENDER	
	FEMALE	MALE
N/K-6	6	13
K-8/9	2	6
7-9		3
K/7/10-12	1	8

schools was based on the rationale that

> describing the values of practicing administrators is one part of a general effort to help administrators and students of educational administration become more conscious and reflective about the values that inform administrative action (Ashbaugh & Kasten, 1986, p. 248).

This endeavor was motivated by some challenging presuppositions in the literature of school administration,

cultural diversity, and qualitative research methodology. It is my contention that educators and, in particular, school administrators are continually making decisions about how issues of the contemporary world will or will not be taken up in schools. With the increasing plurality in society, diversity[6] becomes one such issue because:

> to many of us, those things that are different make us uneasy...They can present a threat to the intention we have of our world and our place within it. This has never been so true as during the latter part of this century as we struggle to live comfortably within our 'global village' (MacNeil, 1991, p. 5).

That struggle in its psychological, social, and political forms is characterized by tensions and conflicts about what is important and valuable for individuals in society. In schools that can mean that

> attempting to meet all students' needs will not only make unexpected demands on the conceptual framework and the ingenuity of administrators in education but will also generate heightened awareness of themselves as well as of the cultural groups which they serve (Wright, 1986, p. 69).

While there is a large literature on the importance of the administrator (Bates 1983, 1985; Dwyer, Barnett, & Vee, 1987; Hodgkinson 1978a, 1978b, 1983; Leithwood & Montgomery,

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[6]Roget's Thesaurus lists "diversity" as synonymous with "difference" and "heterogeneity". It's antonyms are "uniformity" and "homogeneity". For some, the concept of difference in "cultural diversity" is a demographic fact perceived as a asset to society. It connotes an affirmation of the acceptance of the distinctive uniqueness of the individual. For some, the concept of difference in "cultural diversity" is a demographic fact perceived as a problem to society. It connotes a deterioration of uniform status quo values in society. This tension between accepting or rejecting diversity, between concerns about social cohesion and cultural diversity (Driedger, 1987, 1989), is not unproblematic for those perceived as different and for those perceiving difference. The concept of difference as a "demographic reality" will be distinguished from the experience of difference as "lived reality" later in this study.

1982; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Renihan, Renihan, & Waldron, 1986; Sergiovanni, 1984), there is virtually no literature on "the multicultural administrator" or research that pays attention to administrative behavior in the context of cultural diversity. With specific reference to the relationship between school administration and the power and justice issues of cultural diversity, McKeown (1991) insists that the administrator is the key to race and ethnocultural equity in the school and has "the ability to shape, influence, control and direct the culture of the school and the learning environment created by and for staff and students" (p. 24). Examining some of the conceptual framework of administrative behavior and some of the influence which administrators are assumed to possess is an integral aspect of this research.

A particularly unique challenge to understanding school administration comes to light if we accept the critical axiom that the school is an agency which socializes its students with certain values. It is a place where competing values are contested and world views are constructed. "The culture of the school", says Bates (1985), "is therefore the product of conflict and negotiation over definitions of situations" (p.272). Greenfield (1991) emphasizes, the school

> is a crux of value and for value...Schools are obviously a reflection of the culture they exist within, but they are also a prime instrument for shaping and developing that culture" (p. 25).

In any school, administration is rarely devoid of tensions and conflict in the shaping of culture. Although

theirs are not the only views which serve to help define what schools are, by virtue of their administrative authority, the views of administrators have significant influence on that construction. As Bates (1985) argues,

> The administrative influence on school language, metaphors, myths, and ritual is a major factor in the determination of culture which is reproduced in the consciousness of teachers and pupils. Whether that culture is largely based on metaphors of participatory democracy, equity, and cultural liberation or on metaphors of capital accumulation, hierarchy, and domination is at least partly attributable to the exercise of administrative authority during the negotiation of what is to count as culture in the school (p. 272).

Administration , stresses Greenfield (1991),in its educative, moral, and political dimensions can be considered

> a matter of will and power: of bending others to one's will and of being bent in turn by others. The overlap between education and administration is then, therefore, substantial and unavoidable, if education is recognized as being the process of identifying the valuable, opening it to others and, yes, inculcating it into them (p. 27).

If what administrators choose to value and inculcate in schools varies with the individual, then it is imperative as, Greenfield (1973) again argues, that we

> must begin to understand more thoroughly and deeply the varieties of experience people have within the organizations we call schools...We need to compare the meanings, experiences, and understandings found in particular schools, in one time and place with those found in other times and places. It is only through such comparison that we may come to understand the frame of reference, the world-taken-for-granted, that defines 'school'... This requirement directs us to theory built from observations in specific organizations; it directs us as well to understanding the actions, purposes, and experiences of organizational members in terms that make sense to them (pp. 563-4).

This focus on meaning[7] is a significant emphasis in this interpretive study.

T. B. Greenfield has been a major proponent of a subjectivist, interpretive perspective in educational administration (Greenfield 1973, 1978, 1979/80, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1991) and this study takes up that challenge. It was planned to build on Greenfield's view of research in educational administration as well as to contribute to understandings about the contexts in which administrators act and, in doing so, inform the meaning of "multicultural education" or education which addresses "issues of cultural diversity".[8]

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[7]Gronn (1984) emphasizes that

meaning, the actors' definition of the situation...is never easy to pin down, nor to pin down unequivocally...That meaning is laborious to come to grips with is no substitute for eschewing its pursuit in preference and deference to tidy lists, tables, and pie charts of numerals and percentages (p. 127).

The study of meaning may further present challenges to the reading audience because, as in this case, the volume of talk included to replicate how meanings are constructed and negotiated in schools is substantial.

[8]Throughout the study, administrator talk about how administrative behavior is carried out specifically in relation the "**issues** of cultural diversity" such as racism, discrimination, and/or negative stereotypes in addition to how it is carried out in relation to cultural diversity as demographic fact is central to the development of the inquiry. Perhaps, one of the administrators in the study highlights the distinction best in saying that it is not only important to learn about people of different backgrounds but it is important to deal with the question: "What are the issues related to those people of that background?" (Aaron). Issues for some surface in debates about the consequences of accepting or rejecting the reality of diversity for those "labelled as different" and for those "labelling the different". Topics such as systemic bias, power differentials, and stereotyping as ways by which illegitimate "difference" is constructed and perpetuated as injustices to access and outcomes are perceived by some administrators as being fundamental to discussion regarding cultural diversity issues and by some it is not perceived so.

Further, I used the broad term "cultural diversity" so that the administrators would have some flexibility in defining more specifically what that meant to them. This allowed for administrators' definitions, concepts, and controversies to surface as they talked about "multicultural education", "anti-

The stress is on "issues" in this study not only because of the constant tension between proponents of cultural diversity and proponents of social cohesion in society but because of the complexity of the concepts, the lack of conceptual clarity in the field (Cummins & Denesi,1990), and the tensions created as result of competing interpretations in ideology, theory and practice. Not unlike Palmer's (1984) earlier querries, Mallea (1989) poses some insightful questions which highlight the nature of some of the issues:

> Are multiculturalism and multicultural education socio-political instruments for ensuring cooperation by the granting of limited concerns? Are they designed to realize democratic ideals or are they another form of social control? Do multicultural education policies assume knowledge will reduce prejudice and discrimination? Do they recognize and legitimize cultural differences while failing to deal with racism at the institutional, structural and individual level? Or, as some argue, do current approaches help maintain the myth about subordinate groups as 'problems to be studied', while leaving institutional and structural inequalities in tact (1989, p. 114).

Many such concerns are raised in Sleeter & Grant's (1994) distinctions between "Teaching the Exceptional and the Culturally Different", teaching "Human Relations", teaching "Single-Group Studies", and "Multicultural Education" approaches to cultural diversity. They choose "Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist" as the approach to equip all people to live in a just culturally diverse society but acknowledge that others make different choices.

Different choices can be attributed to the differences in

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racist education", "human rights education", or "education" in their own terms within the context of "cultural diversity".

perspectives regarding education in relation to culturally diverse society and to different perspectives regarding that society itself. For example, in analyzing Canadian society, Cummins & Denesi (1990) point out that

> the current rhetoric of multiculturalism, however, is frequently at variance with the continuing underground reality of Anglo-conformity. Given the relative recency of an official multiculturalism policy and the strong Anglo-conformity tradition that preceded it, it is hardly surprising that assimilationist orientations are still prominent in many Canadian institutions, including schools (p. 13)...The adoption of multicultural policies at the federal, provincial, and local levels is clearly a positive step in reversing this tradition of racism. Multicultural policies, however, are double-edged in that by celebrating superficial aspects of cultural diversity (eg. ethnic food and festivals), they can deflect attention away from the subtle and still very powerful forms of institutional racism. Thus, the myth that Canada has always been tolerant of cultural and racial diversity is reinforced by superficial displays of 'celebratory multiculturalism' in schools and elsewhere (p. 15).

With specific reference to schools, Lee (1989) insists that

> if we want multiculturalism that is genuinely antiracist (it is possible to have multiculturalism that is racist), we must critique and change the monocultural curriculum...A monocultural curriculum is essentially racist...There seems be much confusion about the nature of racism. If it does not take on an openly violent character, many do not recognize the acts of limitation, of humiliation, and the treating of people like objects, even likeable objects, on the basis of their skin colour, as acts of racism" (p. 7 in Morgan).

The critiques, tensions, and ambiguities inherent in the concepts of "multiculturalism" and "cultural diversity" are many.

It must be emphasized that, like in the literature, "cultural diversity" means different things to different people in this subjectivist study of administrators' meanings.

While some use the term synonymously with only racial, ethnic, religious, and language diversity, others extend or coalesce (Sleeter & Grant, 1994) its meaning to include diversity stemming from socio-economic class, ability, age, and gender as well. It is on the first four criteria that this dissertation primarily focusses because administrators in the study most frequently identified these areas when referring to "cultural diversity" or to "multicultural" issues.

For almost a quarter of a century, Canadians have been living with a federal multicultural policy and in Manitoba there is a policy context to "multiculturalism"--a term most commonly associated by administrators with issues of race, ethnicity, and language--which offers some direction in the area of cultural diversity concepts. First, the Multicultural Education Policy of Manitoba Education and Training (1992), built on the Manitoba Multicultural Policy (1990), outlines three thrusts for affirming a commitment to the multicultural ideal. Emphasis is placed on:

> A)-Education for Full Participation in Society
> All students, regardless of race, colour, gender, language, cultural heritage, religion, ethnicity, physical capabilities or intellectual potential, have a right to equal and meaningful roles in Canadian society. Education must, therefore, enable all students to develop those abilities and competencies which will promote effective social participation and equal status for themselves and their ethnocultural groups. Students whose mother tongue is neither English nor French must be assisted in the development of linguistic proficiency in each of Canada's official languages. Effective language programs, cultural awareness programs, identification of community liaison personnel and other initiatives that address the cultural differences and unique needs of minority language students are equally important to full participation of these students in the educational system.

B)-Education for Cultural and Linguistic Development
Cultural pluralism is a positive force in society. Education must assist students from different cultural backgrounds to develop self-esteem and a strong sense of personal identity as Canadians and as members of their ethnocultural group through an awareness of their own cultural, linguistic and historical heritage. Integral to this commitment under the law is the provision, through the school curriculum, of instruction in both English and French, as well as opportunities for heritage language study. Programs that support cultural development areas other than the study of languages and are equally valuable initiatives.

C)-Education for Intercultural Understanding
Education should assist students in developing self-esteem and a strong sense of personal identity through positive portrayals of their own cultural and historical heritage. Education should also assist students in developing an understanding of, and respect for, the cultural and historical heritage of others. Students should be given opportunities to explore the characteristics and values that represent various ethnocultural groups. This knowledge will assist students in dealing with incidents of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and racism (p. 3-4).

Secondly, and perhaps more directly aimed at the administrator are statements outlined in the Manitoba Educational Administrators' Handbook (appearing as early as 1983) under subsection 1.2.04 entitled "Culture and Language". The priorities emphasized in this document are as follows:

The broad goals of public education stress the developmental needs of students. Multicultural education is the process of making education more responsive to the cultural and linguistic diversity that characterizes our society. Its place within a core curriculum acknowledges the need to prepare all students to live in a multicultural society. Integral to the school program in its entirety, therefore, are objectives that seek to recognize and understand the many forms that culture takes, to assist students to develop and retain personal identity through an awareness of their own culture and historical heritages of others (p. 7).

Some insights into the extent and manner that policies are consonant with administrators' principles and practices in schools surface in this study.

THE THESIS OF THE STUDY

This research is intended to examine administrators' perspectives about administration and schooling in culturally diverse society. It strives to illuminate and provide an account of how these conceptualizations are taken up concretely in individual schools by particular administrators. By examining the way administrators construct value stances for themselves and for others in a culturally diverse society, the study seeks to develop and extend basic knowledge of administrative behavior in such contexts. The study is an articulation of the way administrators talk about the meanings they hold regarding what is appropriate administrative and school practice in these contexts.

In their daily experiences, school administrators are required to make some sense of their work in relation to the nature of Canadian society which is multicultural. How these conceptualizations come about, how they are identified, and how they are taken up has been identified as an area requiring exploration (Greenfield, 1984; Boyan, 1988). The purpose of this research was to provide an account of how administrators fuse perspectives regarding schooling and education in culturally diverse society with their work as educational administrators in schools.

This conceptual orientation ventures into a relatively undeveloped area of research in educational administration in Canada. Although some research has been devoted to

investigating how administrators' practices are affected by external influences that impact on their behavior, little examination of internal influences such as the personal will and values of the administrator has been carried out (Begley & Leithwood, 1990; Leithwood, Begley, & Cousins, 1991; Trider & Leithwood, 1988). Specifically critiquing this approach, Greenfield (1984) points out that

> the image of the school as a unit of production has dominated investigations of schools...The production model is a systems variant which sees the school as a set of roles and resources arranged to yield a product which conforms to predetermined goals...If we shear from our image of schools the notion of overriding goals and visible products, what are we left with? The image is now of pure process in which people strive to shape a social environment which is congenial to them and which they believe serves <u>their</u> purposes or the purposes which other people ought to have. The image of school is now not the factory or the system but the public utility (Pincus, 1974) which produces a service which people use for their own ends. It is not surprising in this conception of the school that people involved with it-teachers, administrators, pupils, parents, etc.-have strong feelings about what services should be provided and how they should be provided (p. 82).

Central to this orientation is a belief that administration must place value questions at its center because organizations such as schools are "created social realities" (Greenfield 1973, 1984) which are constructed and changed by people--in particular by people who are administrators in schools. A clarification of the nature of the relationships between values, conflict, and administrators is wanting because, in the words of Boyan (1988),

> as of the mid-1980's, the least amount of systematic study has gone into the interaction of personal and situational variables as a source of explanation, the very area that offers most hope for gaining a clearer understanding of why administrators do what they do (p. 93).

Addressing this general concern about the unexamined nature of educational administration by those engaged in it, Greenfield (1991), drawing on the work of Hodgkinson (1978), emphasizes that

> the administrator's task involves 'a major concern for value' requiring first an initial commitment to the role and its values, then a reflective disengagement from them, and finally a critique of the values and recommitment to them entailing a possible evolutionary or transformative change in them (p. 25).

Examining administrators' perspectives in this regard--how they concern themselves with values and principles and the processes whereby these are transformed into practices in culturally diverse contexts of Canadian schools--is a significant aspect of this study. Administrators "think" that their views count and, therefore, search out ways to ensure that their will features prominently in coming to terms with conflict and competing agendas in the administration of their schools. Their talk is about making sense of this experience. Their talk about the way they think, talk, and act with respect to education and schooling and their talk about the way they think, talk, and act with respect to living in schools and society which are multicultural and multiracial is what this study is primarily about.

CHAPTER 2

THE DESIGN OF THE STUDY

THE CHALLENGE

This research project was designed to use qualitative research methodologies to integrate work in educational administration and multicultural education. Currently, there is considerable controversy surrounding what constitutes useful and appropriate theoretical properties in educational administration (Bates, 1985; Evers & Lakomski, 1991; Foster, 1986; Greenfield, 1973, 1978, 1980, 1984, 1986, 1991; Griffiths, 1979; Gronn, 1984, 1985a; Hodgkinson, 1978, 1988). Similarly, the concepts of multicultural education are being debated (Banks, 1987, 1989, 1993; Cummins, 1988, 1989, 1990; Lee 1989; Lynch, 1987; Mallea, 1984; McLeod, 1987; Young, 1984). While multicultural education is often criticized for being ambiguous, administration has come under criticism over the last two decades as being overly technical and positivist. Because this view of administration is perceived to be too narrow, there is pressure for a reconceptualization of the field.

Recently, one strand of this reconceptualization has attempted to focus administrative theory on subjectivist perspectives and on the central role of values in administration. Initially addressing this argument in 1973, Greenfield is generally perceived to have been the most comprehensive and articulate spokesperson for this approach

(Foster, 1986). This study builds on the perspective of this "new phoenix" (Greenfield, 1991) in administration and attempts to ground it within the value context of multicultural education.

Educational policy and practice in Canada today are informed by many different orientations towards multicultural education. As Sleeter & Grant (1988) point out in an American context,

> 'Multicultural education' is a popular term educators increasingly use to describe education policies and practices that recognize, accept, and affirm human differences and the similarities related to gender, race, handicap, and class (p. 137).

These authors cite Gollnick (1980) for describing five goals of multicultural education as being:

1. Promoting the strength and value of cultural diversity.
2. Promoting human rights and respect for those who are different from oneself.
3. Promoting alternative life choices for people.
4. Promoting social justice and equal opportunity for all people.
5. Promoting equity in the distribution of power among groups (pp. 137-8).

The purpose and nature of this type of programming is much different than one centered singularly on cross-cultural festivities or what Cummins (1990) calls "celebratory multiculturalism" where the artefacts of cultural expression become central. There are significant differences between the emphases inherent in different terms and goals. While attempts are being made to clarify some of the pertinent terminology and definitions (Adam-Moodley, 1986; Brandt, 1986; Cole, 1990; Sleeter & Grant, 1994), many debates are

simultaneously occurring about the ambiguity of the concepts and the difference in approach between "multicultural" and "anti-racist" education.

Within the Canadian literature, Young (1984), drawing on the Gibson (1976) typology, outlines four distinct visions of society rooted in the four versions of multicultural education-"education of the culturally different"; "education for cultural understanding"; "education for cultural pluralism"; and "bicultural education". Magsino (1986) identifies six versions of "multicultural education" namely, "education of the culturally different", "education for cultural understanding", "education for cultural accommodation", "education for cultural preservation", "education for multicultural adaptation and choice", and "education for an emergent society". It is argued by Cummins (1988) that

> the overt goals of multicultural education can be realized only when policy-makers, educators and communities acknowledge the subtle (and the not so subtle) forms of institutionalized racism that permeate the structure of schools and mediate the interactions between educators and students...unless it becomes 'anti-racist', 'multicultural education' may serve only to provide a veneer of change that in reality perpetuates discriminatory educational structures...implementation of anti-racist educational changes requires *personal redefinitions* of the way in which classroom teachers and other educators interact with the children and communities they serve. In other words, legislative and policy reforms may be necessary conditions for effective change, but they are not sufficient. Implementation of change is dependent on the extent to which educators, both collectively and individually, redefine their roles with respect to minority students and communities (pp. 127-128).

Such arguments and strategies place "anti-racist education" at

the core of "multicultural education" (Lee, 1985, 1989).

The controversies generated by these debates are connected to the dissertation substantively and methodologically. In the area of educational administration, the emphasis on the technocratic procedures of management have been criticized for ignoring the inherent "valuing" component of administration. An interpretive approach requires that any understanding of administrators' work be based on the realization that administrators are powerful "value-bound" individuals. Further, there is an assertion that schools need to be recognized as social inventions, as creations, which are constructed by the values of individual administrators and others with whom they work.

The structure imposed on this study, then, is informed by: A.) an epistemology of schools as social constructions; B.) a belief that administrators play a central role in this construction; and C.) a qualitative methodology which contends some sense of schools and administrative behavior in schools can be made from what participants say they experience and from how they say they construct meanings about their experiences in schools. Greenfield (1984) argues the need for an interpretive inquiry into schools as organizations which are "places that distribute values in the form of information...by force, that is expressed through figures of authority called leaders" (p. 147). He further stresses that "such an investigation will take us into the study of human

purpose and interaction within organizations" (1973, pp. 562-3). As researcher in this study, I[9] am concerned primarily with an exploration of the ways in which administrators say they make sense of their environment in the culturally diverse contexts of Canadian society.

THE METHODOLOGY

Grounded theory (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) provided the methodological framework in the study for the investigation of substantive recurring concepts which were used to theorize about the variety of realities in the world of school administration. In describing the phenomenological[10] perspective, Greenfield (1984) emphasizes:

> The phenomenological view begins with the individual and seeks to understand his interpretations of the world around him. The theory which emerges must be grounded (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in data from particular organizations. That these data will be glossed with the meanings and purposes of those people and places is the whole point of this philosophical view. Thus the aim of scientific investigation is to understand how that glossing of reality goes on at one time and place and to compare it with what goes on in different times and places. Similarly organizations are to be understood in terms of people's beliefs about their behavior within them. If we are to understand organizations, we must understand what people within them think of as right and proper to do. Within this framework we would certainly not expect people everywhere to have the same views. In fact, it is the existence of differences in belief structures which provides us with the

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[9]As Greenfield did in his writing, I have chosen to use the first person, "I", instead of the third person, "the researcher", in the discussion of this subjectivist study.

[10]Although Greenfield did use the term "phenomenological", he preferred the terms "subjectivist" and "interpretive" (Gronn, 1983) when referring to his orientation--stating that it was based on "subjectivist philosophy and interpretive social science" (Greenfield, 1980, p. 26). He used these two latter terms interchangeably and that will also occur in this writing.

key to interpreting them. People are not likely to think of their own views as strange. Indeed it is only in contrast to other views that we come to understand our own. Theory thus becomes the sets of meanings which yield insight and understanding of people's behavior. These theories are likely to be as diverse as the sets of human meanings and understandings which they are to explain. In the phenomenological perspective, the hope for a universal theory of organizations collapses into multifaceted images of organizations as varied as the cultures which support them (p. 73).

To acquire some understanding of the meanings attached to the talk about experiences in the everyday world of the administrator, an open-ended inquiry was conducted. In doing so, specific attention was paid to retaining the integrity of administrators' comments[11] about their thinking so that there might be a "close match between the world as researchers construct it and the world as people perceive it and act in it" (Hodgkinson, 1978, p. 13).

An essential initial presupposition in this study was that the administrator uses her/his will and power within the school to try to influence and shape meanings and values within the school community which reflect her/his conceptualization of schooling and education. Particular attention in the study was paid to the way administrators construct value stances for themselves and others around the

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[11]Greenfield (1980) says:

I believe that it is possible to mediate between frames of subjective meaning in somewhat the same way that we translate form one language to another. It is done, it is accomplished, though it is hard to lay down rules for doing so. The method is that of hermeneutical analysis that demands as perhaps its only unequivocal rule 'a respect for the authenticity of the mediated frames of meaning', that is, respect for other minds and meanings (p. 49).

matters of cultural diversity. This emphasis was in keeping with the underlying premise that

> the efforts which promise to yield the most penetrating insights into organization and the most practical strategies for improving them are those efforts (March, 1972) which deal with the way the people construe organizational reality and with the moral and ethical issues involved in these construings (Greenfield, 1984, p. 84).

How administrators make sense of this reality with respect to issues of cultural diversity was of primary concern in this study.

THE RESEARCH

Forty public and non-public school administrators in Manitoba kindergarten to grade twelve schools were interviewed in the study. This research was conducted over a 16 month period and might be described in terms of two overlapping stages: "pre-fieldwork" and "fieldwork".

The Pre-fieldwork: January, 1991 to August, 1991

The pre-fieldwork for this study involved an examination of the research literature dealing with educational administration, multicultural education, and qualitative methodology as well as non-technical literature such as documents, reports, bulletins, and newspaper articles. Out of this work a research proposal was designed highlighting the basic question of the study: "How do school administrators make sense of their work in relation to schooling and education in a culturally diverse society?" (Appendix C).

Because no administrator works in an environment totally of her/his own creation, I constructed an initial grid to

indicate the potential environmental factors and internal thinking processes[12] which might have an impact on administrators' principles and practices *(Table 3)*. Much of the focus during the pre-interview data collection phase of the research was on the "outside" variables such as the financial, legal, organizational, social-political, and time variables. Pre-interview data collection instruments dealing with "Provincial", "School Division", and "School"-based requirements were designed to sensitize me and direct attention to these additional variables (Appendix D). These data assisted in sensitizing me to the specific research contexts prior to the interview schedule of the fieldwork experience. The "inside" interpretive variables such as perspectives, concerns, interactional, and planning processes with respect to ideologies, issues, principles, and practices received progressively more emphasis during the intensive interview fieldwork stage.

Because schools are "socially constructed places" of value contestation, debates commonly take shape in the "outside variables" of governance practices, regulation, staffing, staff development, communication, materials,

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[12]This is in keeping with Greenfield's (1984) suggestion that

it might be useful to think of two kinds of variables in a social situation-outside and inside variables. The outside variables are those which lend themselves readily to quantification and which involve a minimum of interpretation....these variables provide information about the characteristics of the people and resources found in a social situation. The inside variables are those which may only be expressed through interpretation of experience. Both kinds of variables are important, though in most organizational studies of schools, emphasis has usually fallen exclusively on the former category (p. 83).

TABLE 3

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION FACILITATION

"OUTSIDE CONTROLLED" VARIABLES

Variable	Type	Dimensions
FINANCIAL	General Budget	-Proportion of Divisional -Range of Discretionary Allotment
	Specific Budget	-General Program Allotment -Cultural Diversity Oriented Program Allotment
	Staffing	-Regular Programming -Specialist Programming
	Professional Development	-Dealing with General Educational Issues -Dealing with Specific Issues of Cultural Diversity
LEGAL	Institutional Mandates	-Federal Policy -Department Directives -MTS Policy -School Divisional Policy
	School Rules and Regulations	-Disciplinary Measures -School Procedures -School Calendar Observances
ORGANIZATIONAL	Governance	-Administrative Structure -Administrative Expertise
	School Structure	-Classrooms -Grade Levels -Special Classes
	School History	-Purpose -Development Phases -Accomplishments -Disappointments
	Staffing	-Mobility -Specialization -Diversification -Timetable -Support Services

Variable	Type	Dimensions
SOCIAL / POLITICAL	Global Issues	-The "Global Village" -Controversies regarding Culture, Ethnicity, and Race -Minority Rights and Education -Literacy
	Community Demographics	-History -Diversity -Fluctuations
	Special Interest Lobbies	-Academic -Grassroots -Multi-Issue -Single-Issue
	Teacher Organizations	-Priorities -Influence -Action
	Parent Organizations	-Priorities -Influence -Action
	Educational Administration Debates	-Administration is "Technocratic" Endeavor -Administration is "Moral" Endeavor
	Multicultural Education Debates	-Universalism vs. Particularism Objectives -Cultural Maintenance, Cross-Cultural, or Anti-Racist Focus (Segregated, Integrated)
TIME	Strategic Activities	-Supervision -Consultation/Collaboration
	Routine Activities	-Clerical -Seasonal Calendar
	Unanticipated Activities	-Values -Crises

TABLE 3--TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION FACILITATION (continued)

"OUTSIDE SEMI-CONTROLLED" VARIABLES

Variable	Type	Dimensions
ACTIVITIES	Staff Development	-Content -Frequency -Continuity
	Extra Curricular	-Content -Frequency -Origin
	Ongoing Commitments	-Staff -Community -Organizational -Inter-Organizational
	Special Occurrences	-Events -Meetings -Speaking Engagements
IDEOLOGY / VALUES	Purpose of Schooling	-Mission of School -Responsibility of Administrator
	Priorities in Policies	-Rationale for Choices -Degree of Decision Making Autonomy
	Significance of Societal Issues	-Relationship of School and Society
	Personal/ Professional History	-Intervals -Experience -Turning Points -Developmental Phases
	Perceived Administrative Successes	-Indicators of Successes -Modes of Feedback
	Perceived Administrative Disappointments	-Indicators of Disappointments -Modes of Feedback

Variable	Type	Dimensions
ISSUES	Curricular Objectives	-Ethnocultural and Visible Minority Group Concerns -Presentation or Liberation Emphases
	Structural Considerations	-Access -Equality -Equity
	Programming Considerations	-Teacher Expectation -Attitude Development
	Personal/ Professional Considerations	-Reflection -Critical Analysis
PRACTICES	Curriculum	-Focus -Content -Materials
	Pedagogy/ Methodology	-Orientation -Teaching/Learning Styles
	Assessment	-Procedures -Instruments -Placement Decisions -Program Evaluation
ROLES / RESPONSIBILITIES	Leadership	-Decision-Making Style -Instructional Supervision
	Staff Communication	-Meetings and Memos -Informal Modes
	Parent/Student Communication	-Meetings and Bulletins -Informal Modes

TABLE 3- TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION FACILITATION (continued)

"INSIDE"
VARIABLES

Perspectives
Concerns
Rationale for Concerns
Interactional Processes
Consequences
Action Strategies
Short-Term Goals
Long-Term Goals

curriculum, assessment, and extra curricular activities that occur in schools as well as in the "inside variables" of personal convictions which impact on decision making. The grids depicting these variables were used to identify significant features of particular settings.

The Fieldwork: September, 1991 to December, 1992

Throughout the sixteen months of fieldwork, the major concern was not with specific sites and people but with the "the representativeness of concepts in their varying forms"

(Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pp. 190-1). General permission from superintendents and specific permission from school administrators was requested to carry out the study (Appendix E). Using a Manitoba Schools Directory as the initial source of information, schools thought potentially to be most representative of "culturally diverse contexts"[13] in their immediate environments, such as inner and suburban city schools, were chosen as sites to begin the study. Later non-solicited recommendations from interviewees directed some site selection. Also for reasons of maximizing differences (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), contexts perceived by me to likely be less heterogeneous in their immediate demographics such as those in rural and city areas known for more homogenous populations were chosen.

Each administrator signed a "Letter of Consent", and, in a series of three progressively more focussed in-person interviews, each administrator was interviewed for a minimum of three hours each. The interviews[14] were then transcribed[15] by me and the transcript was returned to the interviewee for verification (Appendices F & G).

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[13]As indicated in footnote 4, it is a central tenet of this study that, by virtue of the national and provincial multicultural policies, no school could legitimately be considered not a part of this culturally diverse context of Canadian society. It should also be noted that the administrators studied were randomly chosen and most were Canadian-born, predominantly White, and male whereas their student and parent body demographics represented much more diverse populations.

[14]The number of interview hours for the study totalled 202.

[15]The number of transcript pages totalled 1217.

With a focus on perspectives, as an inside variable, the topics of vision (understandings and meanings); leadership/administration (power, will, influence); and ideology/values (priorities) developed from both the literature and informal dialogue with administrators were used as a framework for the "Preliminary Interview Schedule" (Appendix H). Only after this introductory broad-range inquiry had been "grounded" and there had been some "discovery" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of provisionally relevant concepts and relationships generated by this process did a progressively more focussed process of questioning the administrator for biographical, interactional, or organizational data occur (Appendix I).

Tentative interview questions elaborated upon the data provided in the earlier interview schedule. Further, I facilitated specific discussions on the "outside controlled", "outside semi-controlled", and "inside internal thinking" variables which might have an impact on administrative behavior. Additional probes into these areas dealing with specific definitions, issues, priorities, roles, and programming were carried out for elaboration and clarification purposes. Although the data gathering included examination of documents, observations of student, parent, and staff meetings, and informal interviews with some of the school

community with whom the administrators were in contact[16], the main focus of the investigation was on the administrators' own conceptualizations.

With all the interview data analysis questions such as: "What is this piece of information representing?", "How is this similar to the previous information and how is it different from it?", and "Why might this be so?" were used to compare incidents, events, and ideas from one interview with others in the same interview and with still others in different interview settings. Strauss & Corbin (1990) note of this approach:

> In each instance of data collection, we look for evidence of [a phenomenon's] significant presence or absence, and ask why? Why it is there, why is it not there, and what form does it take? Since we are looking for events and incidents that are indicative of phenomena and not counting individuals or sites per se, then each observation, interview, or document may refer to multiple examples of these events...In terms of making generalizations to a larger population, we are not attempting to generalize as such but to specify. We specify the conditions under which our phenomena exist, the action/interaction that pertains to them, and the associated outcomes or consequences. This means that our theoretical formulation applies to these situations or circumstances but to no others. When conditions change, then the theoretical formulation will have to change to meet those new conditions...Whether it be interviews, field observations, or documents that constitute the data, the data are comparable because they are sampled by representativeness of concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 190-1).

The ideas, events, and incidents about which administrators spoke and the information about relevant materials in the environment which were examined were recorded

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[16]The number of participant contacts other than the administrators totalled 72.

in the field notes and memos. In the analysis, these were coded and grouped together under conceptual labels. Incidents of administrative behavior were given names and similar incidents were grouped together under a more general umbrella of a particular concept. Similar concepts were grouped together and analyzed as a particular category of concepts. Categories were given names and were described as having properties. Several categories were grouped together to describe a particular phenomenon. What follows is a discussion of the major phenomenon and its three interrelated processes that emerged in the study. It is important to emphasize that these concepts were not predetermined in advance of the data gathering. They emerged as elements significant to the study because of their recurrence in the data.

CHAPTER 3

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

THE MAJOR PHENOMENON AND PROCESSES

One of the foundational phenomena of administrator talk about administrative behavior in this study was found to be what is referred to in this study as ***"valuing an intention"***. Each administrator values an intention--a vision of what the school and experiences in it should be like. In doing this, administrators talk about being engaged in three basic processes as they go about making sense of their work in culturally diverse contexts. These three concepts which were most representative and recurring in the study were named ***"justification", "advocacy", and "endorsement"*** *(Table 4)*.

Each of these processes is interrelated with the other and all are related to the one major phenomenon-*"valuing an intention"*. Each has its own properties *(Table 5)*. As will be described more comprehensively later, the *justification process* has *personal, professional, referring, and deferral properties*; the *advocacy process* has the properties of *communicating and monitoring*; and the *endorsement process* has properties of *initiating action and institutionalizing practices*. The sub-property of the *communicating process* which emerged most clearly from the data is that of *priorities*. The sub-properties in the *monitoring* process are *assessment and orientation*; in *initiating action*, these are using *leadership influence and staff development*; and in

TABLE 4

THE EMERGENT THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

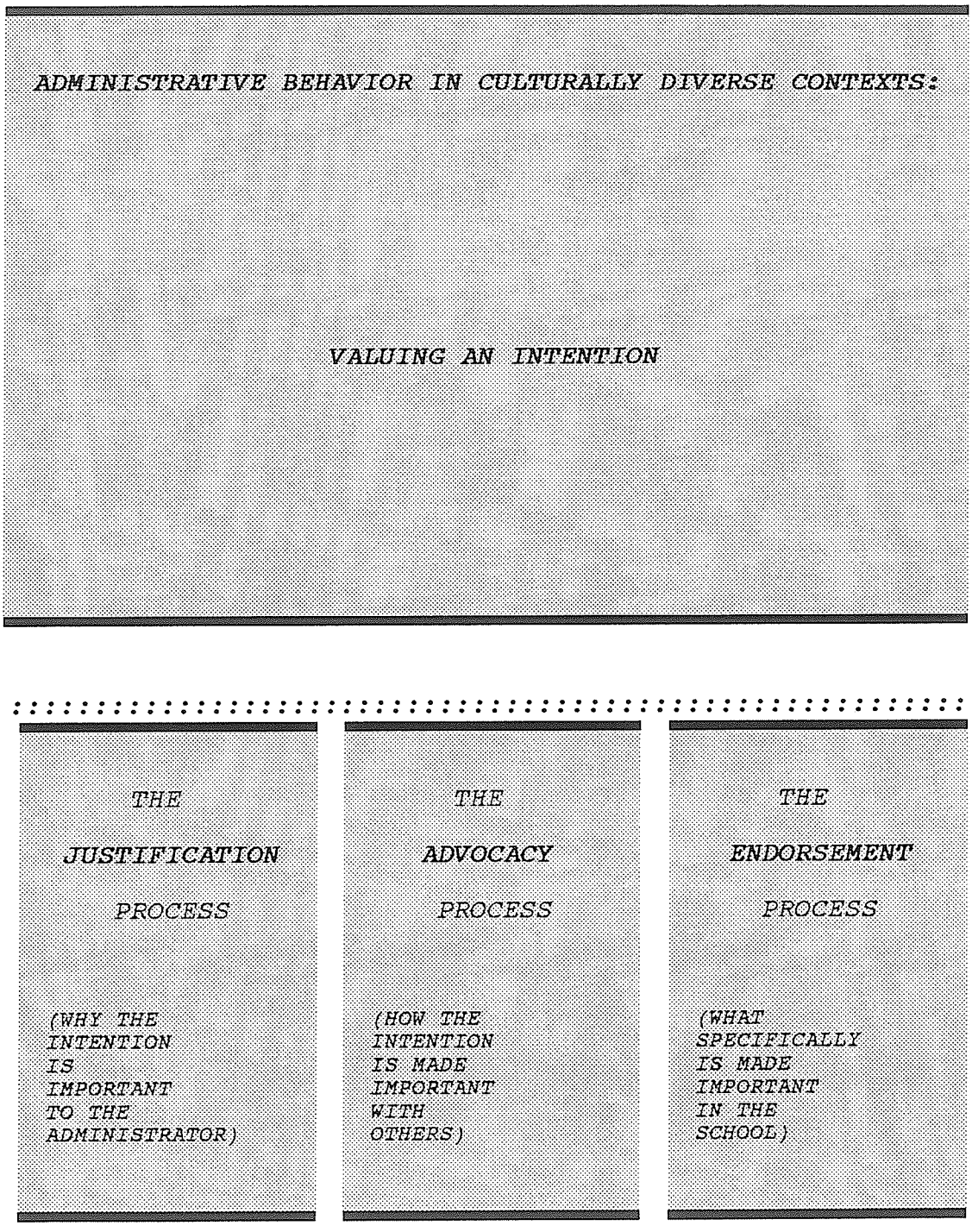

TABLE 5

THE THREE PROCESSES
and THEIR PROPERTIES of
"VALUING AN INTENTION"

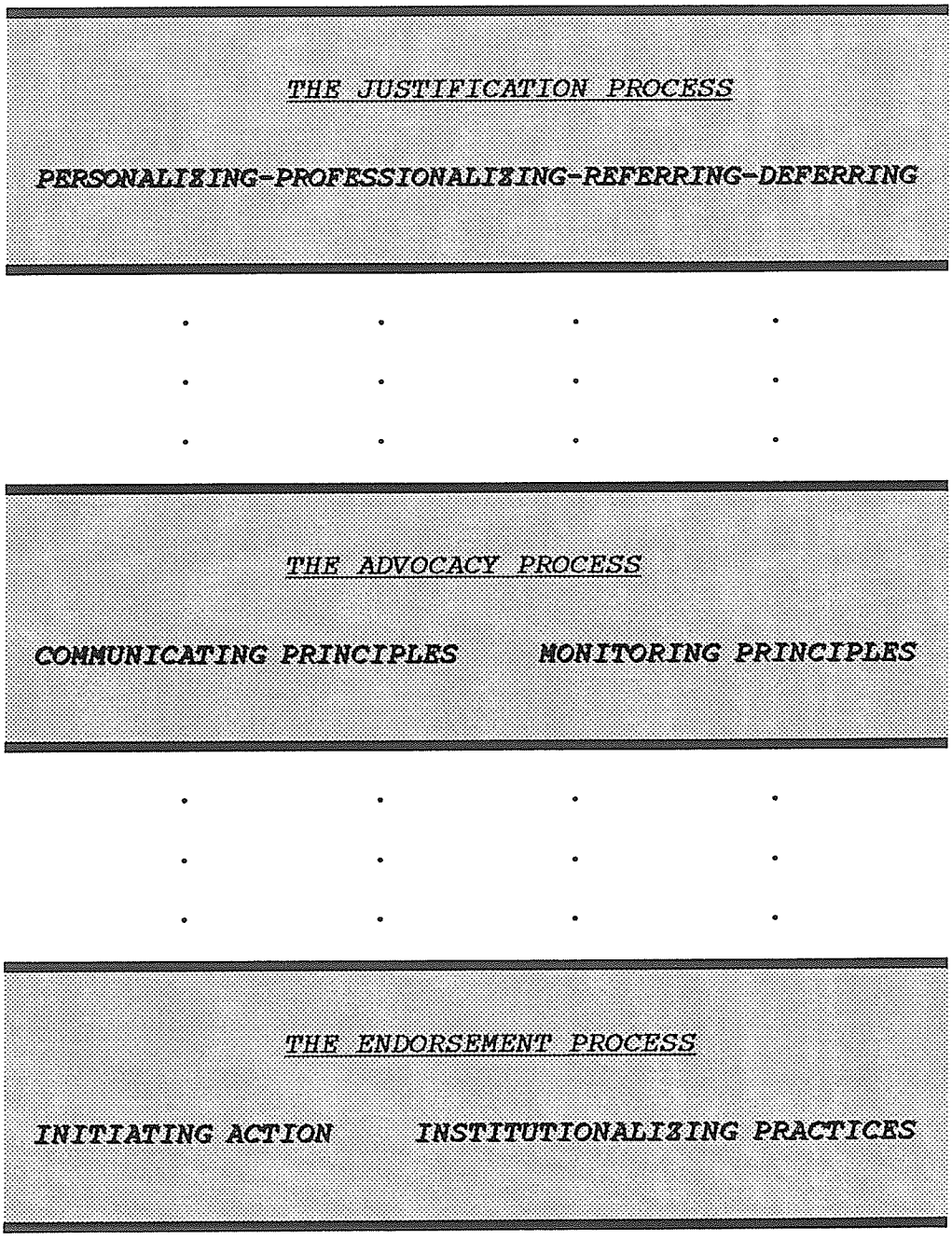

TABLE 6

THE THREE PROCESSES,
THEIR PROPERTIES,
and SUB-PROPERTIES
of
"VALUING AN INTENTION"

THE JUSTIFICATION PROCESS	
PERSONALIZING-PROFESSIONALIZING-REFERRING-DEFERRING	

THE ADVOCACY PROCESS	
COMMUNICATING PRINCIPLES	***MONITORING PRINCIPLES***
**PRIORITIES*	**ASSESSMENT* **ORIENTATION*

THE ENDORSEMENT PROCESS	
INITIATING ACTION	***INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES***
**LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE* **STAFF DEVELOPMENT*	**PUBLIC STATEMENTS* **SCHOOLING FORMATS*

institutionalizing practices, they are *public statements and schooling formats (Table 6)*.

Analysis of the key concepts derived from the study suggest that administrators appear to engage in interaction and action processes which position them as justifiers, advocates, and endorsers of their particular intention in a school. What this means, then, is that all administrators in this study talk about being engaged in different ways in one major phenomenon, that of "valuing an intention", by justifying, advocating and endorsing it. The kind of intention valued and the extent to which each administrator talks about being engaged in each of the processes varies with the individual administrator.

School administration in this study appears to be a process of "valuing an intention" where the three interwoven processes are continuously and often simultaneously occurring. Administrators' values embodied in that intention are justified, advocated, and endorsed as principles and practices consciously or unconsciously in the course of day-to-day administrative work. Not immune to contestation from others' intentions, administrators work at advocating their particular intention or vision of schooling; at justifying the legitimacy of holding the values pertaining to that intention; and at endorsing them through their leadership influence from their position of authority in the school. Therefore, a particular kind of thinking about intention with its meanings and

understandings is advocated; particular kinds of valued principles are justified; and particular kinds of valued practices are endorsed by administrators through their administrative behavior in the school.

THE THREE BASIC PROCESSES

All administrators have some kind of intention--an ideal plan for their school. This was one of the major characteristics that appeared common to all administrators in the study. Uniquely, each one to different degrees placed value on a particular kind of intention, a particular kind of ideal school environment. The three ongoing processes of administrative behavior appear to be at the core of their attempts to mediate that intention into reality.

The Administrator as Justifier

As ***Justifiers*** of an intention, administrators articulate ***why*** the intention is important and meaningful to them. When an administrator says, "I believe in multicultural/anti-racist education at the school because I don't want any children to be discriminated against as I remember some were when I was going to school", the administrator is acting as a justifier of a particular principle. Similar in some ways to Hodgkinson's (1983) value complexes, administrators in this study appear to rationalize support for what they value by either personalizing, professionalizing, referencing, or restating value stances. In rationalizing the importance of that which is deemed to be of value, the administrators are

justifiers. They justify to themselves and to others their values--their principles of practice.

Some administrators such as the one cited above ***personalize*** their advocacy by comparing their current behavior to previous experiences they have encountered. Some ***professionalize*** their advocacy by connecting to similar perspectives in the academic literature. Where administrators are strongly influenced by the lobbies from other constituents, then they tend to ***refer*** to the directives of others when justifying their intention. If they are strongly influenced by established mandates and principles espoused by higher authorities to whom they are responsible, they ***defer*** to that stance as a justification for their intention and subsequent action or inaction relating to it. Any one or all of these justifications, to varying degrees, might be used in providing a rationale for an intention.

The Administrator as Advocate

As ***Advocates*** of an intention, administrators indicate ***how*** they go about making their intention important with others. They express their will and influence by communicating and monitoring what they perceive is important in the school community. When an administrator says, "At staff meetings, I remind people of our commitment to inclusion and ask them to reflect on whether that is happening in their classrooms", the administrator is illustrating what is meant by advocacy by advocating for the principle of "inclusion". Advocacy is a

highly interactive process with the school community and highlights Gronn's (1982, 1984) perspective of "administrative talk as work". Meanings and understandings of the intention are made explicit. As they work at mediating the tranformation of their principles into practices, administrators identify *priorities* and ***communicate*** them. Mediation may be most evident as they ***monitor*** the appropriateness and acceptance of these principles of the intention through *assessment and orientation* of the school community. As advocates of what they justify, administrators champion that valued intention.

While administrators are communicating and monitoring what is of value--the priorities--in their school, they are, either intuitively or purposefully, placing less value on the ever-present conflicting values of others' intentions and priorities. As Bates (1985) points out, "what emerges in the course of administrative performance is negotiation in which language, territory, and status are employed by the principal to gain advantage and shape agreement and consent over decision" (p. 269). A status differential is, therefore, created in a school that tends to place in an advantageous position the values of "this"--"the administrator's"--intention for the school over any others.

Assessment and orientation are critical features of monitoring in this highly interactive advocacy phase of valuing an intention. The administrator as advocate,

constructs, for herself/himself and for others, a particular view and reality of the world, a "mindscape" (Sergiovanni, 1987), in which s/he works. As an ongoing and integral participant in this construction, her/his advocacy takes the form of communicating its features as priorities and of monitoring the acceptance of them. In any of the processes, it cannot be assumed that nurturing an intention to reality is unproblematic. Conflicts are present throughout and are perceived and handled differently by each administrator.

The Administrator as Endorser

As ***Endorsers*** of an intention administrators indicate ***what*** is important in the school. They operationalize ways of indicating how the intention is to be made important and what forms it is to take. Endorsement is a stage of intention realization where specific action tranforms principles into practice. In this process, administrators activate and legitimate their intention. They make it real by ***initiating action*** and ***institutionalizing practices*** in schools.

Initiating action to endorse the intention comes about through the way the administrator uses her/his leadership influence and through the way staff development, with respect to the intention, are given attention. The use of leadership influence for the legitimization of efforts and staff development for the internalization of concepts and efforts are two quite inseparable components of endorsing the principles and practices of intentions. The former in this

study emphasizes the individual behavior of the administrator as person in a position of power and authority. The latter highlights the interactional behavior of the administrator in this official position as negotiator of intentions and realities in schools.

Leadership, says Greenfield (1984), is a "willful act where one person attempts to construct the social world for others" (p. 142). Hodgkinson (1983) specifically argues that

> administration is leadership and leadership is administration ...good leadership is simply good administration and bad administration is simply bad leadership...It pervades the organization. No one can escape leadership acts and leadership responsibilities any more than they can evade administrative-managerial processes...Administration is philosophy-in-action...Leadership can be understood as the effecting of policy, values, philosophy through collective organizational action...Either leadership or administration is the moving of man towards goals through a system of organization. It can be done well or it can be done badly or it can be done indifferently, but it cannot not be done at all" (pp. 195-96).

In this treatise "leadership influence" refers more to the philosophical acts of administrators than to the managerial processes in which they engage.

Formal action is taken to institutionalize the intention as a reality when public statements and schooling formats are designed to reflect that the principles of the intention are being practiced on a school-wide basis. Ultimately, administrators function as endorsers when they institutionalize them in the procedures and processes of daily education and schooling within the school setting. When an administrator displays prominently in the school entrance hall

a public mission statement proclaiming: "Anti-racist education is a perspective that permeates all subject areas and school practices", the administrator is acting as an endorser who endorses the principles and practices of an intention which values anti-racist concepts. Endorsement is a consolidation of intention into a reality where the practice of principles becomes part of what is "taken for granted" in the school. Hence, a particular context, a particular school culture or climate, is negotiated and constructed framed by the principles and practices of a valued intention.

Through endorsement, procedures and processes in schools, which concomitantly influence the larger society, are internalized as a legitimate aspect of "the way this school is now". Certain programs, materials, events, and processes are highlighted as particularly worthwhile and are sanctioned as the administrator continually works, not unproblematically, to institutionalize the intention into the life of the school.

ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR AS VALUING AN INTENTION

It appears in this study, as Greenfield (1983) surmized, that planned action which results from administrators' conceptualizations and interactions is rooted in the values they hold. Their intentions and world views are reflected in action plans which express and develop particular orientations in, and to, school cultures. Administrators highlight significance and preference in their work based on what they value. In a complex world of negotiation where others

advocate and justify other values, administrators advocate, justify, and endorse what is of value to them and, in "administering", try to bring about that reality. "Only through participation in the struggle to shape institutions in their own image", Bates (1985) proposes, "can people find purpose and meaning in their lives" (p. 270). Life in schools, then, becomes quite highly reflective of administrators' perceptions of the ideal world of schools. To varying degrees, these perceptions also mirror the administrators' perceptions of what the broader world is all about.

The data gathered from administrators' talk implies that individual administrators value a particular intention for society and schooling which, to some extent, is their own unique creation. It appears that the thinking of the person within the structural role of administrator has a substantial influence on what happens in a school.

The phrase "it's not the school, it's the principal of the thing" suggests that the administrator is a pivotal person in a position of power who acts to influence others in the school community and as such has the potential to create a major difference in the set of human relationships we call "school". It follows that s/he thus also, has the potential to create a major difference between schools.

With the multiplicity of value stances impinging on the school and its administration, conflict continuously arises

from within the school constituencies and the larger society. Different people advocate for different purposes, goals, and intentions and a variety of orientations are established and realities perceived. By virtue of position, the administator has access to a certain amount of power and, generally, "administers" according to the intention and values s/he espouses to be most important. In that sense, administrators use their will, power, and ingenuity to justify, advocate, and endorse what they believe is valuable over those things other people feel are important. This primary proposition emerged as the major theoretical framework of this study.

A related proposition in this study extends the conceptual development of this framework into the area of cultural diversity and administration. The kind of intention; the degree to which administrators are engaged in the three processes of developing it; and, in particular, the extent to which there is inclusion or exclusion of issues related to cultural diversity in the valuing processes of administrators varied substantially among administrators in this study. Where distinctions in their responses became most evident was in relation to how they in their schools come to terms with issues of cultural diversity.

With the aid of a typology as a tool (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1989), some commonalities of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts were grouped together in this study. Four temporal general sets of

meanings regarding administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts were identified in terms of how the administrative processes of justification, advocacy, and endorsement related to issues of cultural diversity.

A TYPOLOGY OF SCHOOL CONTEXTS

In the analysis of concepts in the data, two interconnected questions became pertinent: "Is it perceived by the administrator that there is a will on the part of the administrator to explicitly address the issues of cultural diversity as part of a total school plan?" and "Is it perceived by the administrator that there is a collective way established to address cultural diversity issues on a school wide basis?" *(Table 7)*. The relationship between these two dimensions--the inside variable of **"personal significance"** and the outside variable of **"collective orientation"**--were used to create a typology of four general contexts in which much of school administration in the schools studied is carried out and within which different intentions of administrators are justified, advocated, and endorsed.[17]

The conceptual value of this typology is not to suggest there are four definitive kinds of contexts in which administrators work. It is rather a heuristic device to highlight some common themes or sets of meanings about which

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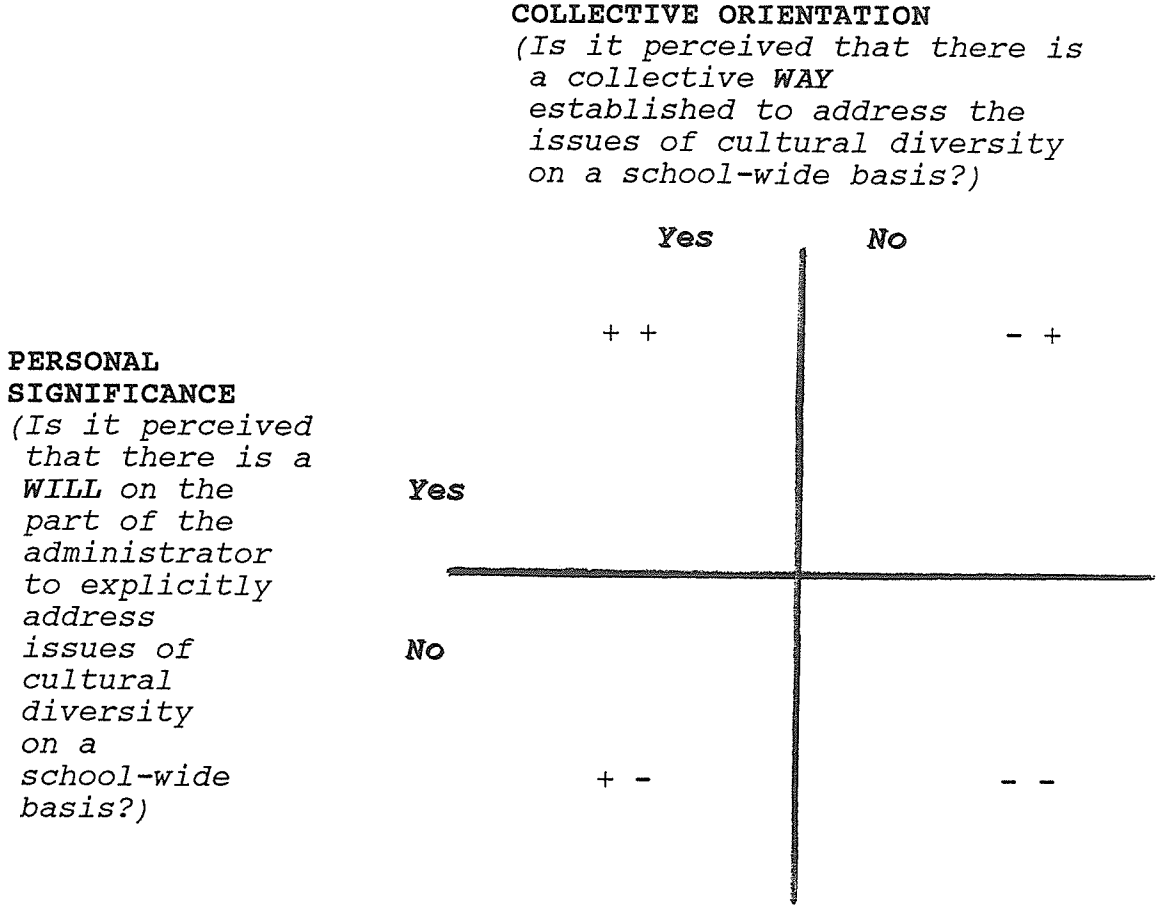
[17]In this treatise, the administrator's perception of personal significance is identified in the discussion on the justification process while the administrator's perception of collective orientation is developed in the discussion of the advocacy and endorsement processes.

TABLE 7

"VALUING AN INTENTION" CONTEXTS



administrators talked as they described their administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. As will be illustrated later, behavior of each adminstrator within and outside the typological conditions is of an idiosyncratic nature. The value of the typology is in suggesting that some commonalities of meanings are interwoven at least temporarily into the lives of these administrators. A group designation assists in communicating some of these general tentative understandings about their individual contexts and about

themes in "the world taken for granted" that some of the administrators as a group have in common at this point in time of their worklives in schools.

This attempt to typologize or categorize administrative behavior is not an attempt to homogenize the diversity that exists within each cell of administrative behavior or to ignore the uniqueness of schools as "cultural entities"--a recognition of their "their humanness (if not their humaneness)...their differences not their similarities" (Greenfield, 1984, p. 143). *It cannot be overstated that in this study, each administrator in interpreting the meanings of administrative worklife described uniquely different philosophies and priorities in their uniquely different contexts. It must also be emphasized that my placement of an administrator into a specific cell on the basis of the behavior they described was a further interpretive act*[18] *on my part as researcher.* I did this by using the typology criteria to make analytic decisions while keeping in mind the Multicultural policies and Administrators' Handbook guidelines in relation to cultural diversity issues.

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[18]Regarding interpretation Greenfield (1984) highlights:

The idea of organizations as nonnatural realities means that they are founded in meanings, in human intentions, actions, and experience. Organizations are therefore cultural artifacts: they are systems of meaning that can be understood only through interpretation of meaning. In this way of thinking, we cannot look to find what have been called 'the brute data' of organizations...the important facts of organizational life call non-brute data into play. They rest upon the interpretation and upon the interpretation of the interpretations in a process that continues without end and without ever reaching the definitive statement, the final judgment, or the ultimate social truth (p. 150-51).

TABLE 8

"VALUING AN INTENTION" CONTEXTS

Issues of Cultural Diversity are	*Issues of Cultural Diversity are*
VOICED	**SILENCED**
+ **Personal Significance Attached**	+ **Collective Orientation Established**	- **Personal Significance Not Attached**	+ **Collective Orientation Established**
>a personal will to address issues of cultural diversity	*>a collective way to address issues of cultural diversity*	*>no personal will to address issues of cultural diversity*	*>a collective way to address issues of cultural diversity*
10 administrators		**8 administrators**	
Issues of Cultural Diversity are	*Issues of Cultural Diversity are*
CONSIDERED	**IGNORED**
+ **Some personal Significance Attached**	- **Collective Orientation Not Established**	- **Personal Significance Not Attached**	- **Collective Orientation Not Established**
>some personal will to address issues of cultural diversity	*>no collective way to address issues of cultural diversity*	*>no personal will to address issues of cultural diversity*	*>no collective way to address issues of cultural diversity*
4 administrators		**5 administrators**	

In terms of addressing cultural diversity issues, the contexts of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts of the Manitoba schools studied *(Table 8)* can be described as follows:

A> The "Voiced" Context where significance is attached, orientation is established

B> The "Considered" Context where significance is attached, orientation is not established

C> The "Silenced" Context where significance is not attached, orientation is established

D> The "Ignored" Context where significance is not attached, orientation is not established

THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

Administrators in the "voiced" context explicitly address issues of cultural diversity. They give them a voice. There is a proactive consciousness-raising agenda toward issues of cultural diversity. Through approaches such as "multicultural education", "human rights education", and "anti-racist education", the school community is sensitized to issues of change, inclusion, justice, respect, and adaptability as they apply to school structures, procedures, and processes of curricula, programs, and pedagogy.

In this context, administrators have given thought to cultural diversity and personally regard the issues as being significant enough to include in the total school agenda to the extent that they have made formal public statements in that regard. They perceive their staffs as having achieved a

collective school orientation similar to theirs. The parents, community, and students are also familiarized with concepts that are deemed important in this regard.

Philosophical and managerial leadership considerations are directed at explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity. Integral to the administrator's intention for the school, then, is a consciousness-raising perspective regarding cultural diversity issues. This perspective creates a climate in the school where taking up the issues of cultural diversity is valued. As part of the administrator's intention, issues of cultural diversity assume a prominent place as a legitimate component of the socialization that occurs through schooling and education processes for the whole school population.

THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

Administrators in the "considered" context are challenged by the issues and give them some consideration but not an explicit voice on a school-wide basis. Here, the issues of cultural diversity are overshadowed by a preoccupation, on the part of the administrator, and sometimes staff, with perceived crises present in the immediate life of the school. Only by mandate or out of crisis-based necessity do issues of cultural diversity receive any substantial consideration in this setting.

In this context, administrators have given thought to the phenomenon of cultural diversity and personally, to some extent, regard the issues of cultural diversity as being

significant to include in some of the school agenda. They perceive their staffs, however, as not having achieved a collective orientation similar to theirs because the staff is considered "too busy" trying to simply survive in an environment which is potentially volatile.

Integral to this stabilization intention for the school, then, is a crisis-management perspective which may or may not be directly related to issues of cultural diversity. This perspective creates a climate in the school where addressing the issues of cultural diversity is not a top priority and likely will not be until the environment changes, at least in the perception of the administrator. Responses to issues of cultural diversity, when they are perceived to be necessitated, are centered more on managerial than on philosophical considerations. As part of the administrator's intention, issues of cultural diversity assume a less than prominent position as a legitimate component of the socialization that occurs through schooling and education processes for all in the school. There is a focus on crisis management, survival, and safety in the school and community--in general, on alleviating persistent tensions for students, staff, and community.

THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

Administrators in the "silenced" context do not explicitly address issues of cultural diversity. They either deem them non-existent or inconsequential as part of the total

school program. There is a reactive stance to diversity in which the priorities of continuity, conformity, and diffusion appear to be guidelines to responses. Issues of cultural diversity are, therefore, silenced and not given a voice.

In this context, administrators have given thought to cultural diversity as a phenomenon in society and personally regard the issues of cultural diversity as not being sufficiently significant to include in the school agenda. They perceive their staffs as having a collective orientation similar to theirs about not addressing issues of cultural diversity in the school setting.

It is commonly accepted in this context that "things get done the way they've always been done" and "there is no need to address issues now which have not been addressed before". Staffs, by virtue of experience or by accepting a job in a community whose nature is perceived to have a homogeneous value-base, are considered to intuitively "know" how to stress similarities instead of differences with students.

Philosophical and managerial leadership considerations appear to be directed at not explicitly addressing cultural diversity issues. Central to the administrator's conformity intention for the school is a maintenance of the status quo perspective where a diffusion or neutralization of issues regarding cultural diversity issues is emphasized. Issues are usually subsumed under generalized categories of "universal values" such as respect, tolerance, and appreciation. This

perspective creates a climate in the school where explicitly addressing these issues is de-emphasized. A focus on similarities and "integration"--a term perhaps quite closely related to "assimilationist" perspectives--is encouraged. As part of the administrator's intention, issues of cultural diversity do not assume a place as a legitimate component of total school socialization that occurs through the schooling and education processes.

THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

Administrators in the "ignored" context have not contemplated the issues of cultural diversity and therefore, no explicit voice is given to them on a school-wide basis. Here, the issues of cultural diversity are overshadowed by a preoccupation, on the part of the administrator, and sometimes staff, with specialization areas of school programming. Cultural diversity issues do not seem to get on to the administrator's agenda.

In this context, administrators have not given thought to the phenomenon of cultural diversity and, as a result, personally do not regard the issues of cultural diversity as being significant to include in the total school agenda. Instead, specialization in areas of curricula or staff development are foremost pre-occupations. These administrators perceive their staffs, like themselves, as not having a collective orientation toward addressing issues of cultural diversity in the school setting. The staff are

either intensively involved in the school's area of specialization or in some other independent projects as opposed to collective endeavors for purposes of professional development related to issues of cultural diversity. School processes and procedures are framed with the specialization area of the school in mind.

It appears that although philosophical and managerial leadership considerations occur in this context, they are not directed toward explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity. Because of the attention directed to their specialization intention for the school, there appears to be a marginalization of cultural diversity issues. This perspective creates a climate in the school where addressing issues of cultural diversity has not and is not currently contemplated as valuable. Any such issues remain on the periphery of the administrator's school agenda. As part of the administrator's intention, issues of cultural diversity have not been contemplated and, as a result, do not assume a place as a legitimate component of the socialization that occurs through schooling and education processes for all in the school.

Each of these four contexts in the typology has variant settings within it. Common to all of them, though, are the fairly definitive current stances, with respect to the two typological criteria which they have currently taken towards cultural diversity *(Table 9)*.

TABLE 9

**THE CONTEXTS OF "VALUING AN INTENTION"
BASED ON
THE ADMINISTRATOR'S PERCEPTIONS**

	THE VOICED CONTEXT	THE CONSIDERED CONTEXT	THE SILENCED CONTEXT	THE IGNORED CONTEXT
Thought given to issues of cultural diversity	YES	SOME	YES	NO
Will to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity in school	YES	SOME	NO	NO
Perceive collective staff way is present to address issues	YES	NO	YES	NO
Endorse formal statements regarding cultural diversity issues	YES	NO	NO	NO

CONTEXTS as EXCEPTIONS to the CRITERIA OF THE TYPOLOGY

There were some administrators in this study, however, who felt that they had not come to any definitive stance about addressing cultural diversity issues in the school but they had given and continue to give thought to doing such. These administrators' behaviors did not fit neatly into the confines of the two "conditions" of the typology so, in that sense, they present situations anomalous to the typology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Kuhn, 1962; Patton, 1980; Star & Gerson, 1986). Basically, they are in the process of making some attempts at deciding for themselves the personal significance aspect of addressing cultural diversity issues in school. They are at various stages of engaging in justification, advocacy, and endorsement processes within the school environment in relation to issues of cultural diversity in their schools.

Similarities and differences to cells in the typology can be found in these administrators' perspectives. Like the ""voiced"" context, they have all given thought to addressing issues of cultural diversity but unlike that context have not endorsed such in public statements. Like the "considered" context, they have given consideration to the issues and do not feel there is a collective orientation established to address cultural diversity issues on a school-wide basis. This is not because of a crisis preoccupation but because the leanings of staff and

community orientation have not yet been fully assessed and established in the administrator's mind. Like the "silenced" context, reservations about addressing issues of cultural diversity exist for most of these administrators but unlike those in the "silenced" context, these administrators are not convinced that continuity, conformity, and diffusion are the only solutions to the dilemmas they and the larger society face. Like the "ignored" context, much specialization in curricula and organizational areas is occurring in their schools but unlike the "ignored" context administrators, these administrators have not engaged in specialization to the degree of placing issues of cultural diversity on the periphery of the administrator's agenda.

Each context within and outside the typology is shaped in different ways because different intentions are important and "congenial" to each of the administrators. As a consequence, what is legitimized in the process of socialization which occurs in the way schooling and education are handled varies in each of these contexts as well. It follows that opportunities, access, and outcomes for students as they relate to issues of cultural diversity will also vary in the different contexts.

REFLECTION on the THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK of the STUDY

This study accents what it is that particular administrators conceptualize as important specifically with

respect to the culturally diverse nature of Canadian society; why they perceive that to be important; and how they operationalize that significance in the course of justifying, advocating, and endorsing their valued intention in their schools.

All administrators talked about administrative behavior in their schools. From this talk emerged the first level of this study's theoretical framework--that is that administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts is essentially "valuing an intention" which incorporates the three simultaneously occurring processes of justifying, advocating, and endorsing. Not all administrators, however, talked with the same amount of detail about their behavior in relation to issues of cultural diversity. From this more specifically focussed talk, emerged the typology which structured discussion around the second level of the theoretical framework dealing with explicitly addressing the issues of cultural diversity.

Because not all administrators' talk could reasonably be incorporated into the discussion of this study, this dissertation highlights those aspects of the theoretical framework that deal specifically with talk regarding cultural diversity issues. That means that a considerable amount of administrative talk which did not center on such issues is not included in this presentation. That also means that contexts in which much administrative talk occurred specifically about

those issues receive more recognition in this thesis than do those in which such talk was less. Because the specific frame of reference for this study dealt with locating the status of cultural diversity issues, that is, issues dealing with the multicultural/ multiracial nature of Canadian society within administrators' intentions and realities, the discussion which follows about the interactional processes and action strategies inherent in the justification, advocacy, and endorsement stances of administrators will primarily feature only those elements distinctly pertinent to school administration as it relates to cultural diversity.

The first quadrant of the typology, then,--the "voiced" context--by virtue of it being the most detailed quadrant where addressing issues of cultural diversity in schools occurs, will be dealt with in greatest elaboration in this treatise. It is with reference to this context that the discussion on the administrative processes of justification, advocacy, and endorsement is most comprehensively developed. In the remaining three quadrants, although it is correct to presume that sophisticated and commendable experiences are occurring in various aspects of school life, only those addressing the issues of cultural diversity will be examined. With that intentional emphasis my part, it is important to stress that items on the administrator's agenda other than those associated with cultural diversity issues are considered legitimate endeavors in schools but they are not the central

areas of investigative development in this study and, thus, receive little attention.

In presenting description, then, there is an attempt to present it in a way that is representative of the degree to which adminstrators talked about issues related directly to cultural diversity. Therefore, attempts are consciously not made to balance equally the amount of discussion in all segments of this dissertation if such a balance did not represent the amount of talk on cultural diversity which occurred in the interviews.

In the next five chapters, the individuals who live in these different contexts will describe their intentions and meanings of their work. Ten administrators in this study offer perspectives from the "voiced" context. They are referred to in this study as Angie, Art, Andrew, Alec, Aaron, Alice, Armand, Allen, Arnold, and Anne. Barry, Bob, Brian, and Bill are the four administrators whose comments provide perspectives from the "considered" context. Eight administrators--Carl, Cam, Calvin, Claire, Corey, Conrad, Chuck, and Clinton--detail their perspectives from the "silenced" context. From the "ignored" context, Darlene, Don, Diane, Denise, and David are the five administrators who explain their perspectives. How administrators outside the typology are interpreting and deriving meanings for administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts will be described by Marie, Martin, Jean, Paul, Phil, Lorraine, Ellen,

Robert, Lloyd, Jerry, Rick, and Jim later in chapter ten.

At the beginning of chapters four, five, and ten as an introduction to the people in the study, a short profile of each administrator's intention and justification is constructed to highlight the individual value stances revealed by administrators in the interviews. As Foster (1986) indicates, "The history of the individual administrator (biography) is important because it provides a context for understanding the intentions and meanings that occur" (p. 62). There is, therefore, no one profile of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. There are, instead, many individual profiles of administrators making their own sense of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts.

As an orientation to the format of these profiles and as an acknowledgement of my value-boundedness regarding the intention and justification of this research project, some of my personal and professional history will be used as an example of the profile design used throughout the study[19].

Hannia

SCHOOLS TYPE	***LOCATION***	***PERCEIVED DIVERSITY***
K-9 English/Language Track	***Suburban & Rural***	***Yes***

Hannia believes that demographically cultural diversity is and has

[19]At the beginning of each profile, the term "**Perceived Diversity**" is found. This refers to the diversity perceived by the administrator in her/his school community most commonly in terms of race, ethnicity, and language.

been a feature of Canadian schools and society. Not recognizing different histories encompassed in the experience of those whose being might be influenced by a particular race, ethnicity, creed, language, gender, social-economic status, ability, age, or lifestyle has often contributed to the creation of a hierarchy of rightness and rewards where sameness and "mono-ness" are perpetuated as ideals. Left unchallenged those ideals infiltrate mainstream thought where the world taken for granted is unidimensional. When individuals do not fit or are perceived not to fit that world, issues of justice arise. The questions: "Whose problem is it?" and "In whose best interests are the actions taken", as pertinent strategies for individual and organizational self-reflection, are often underused in the search for justice and equality in schools and society.

Hannia approaches both the study and the data as a woman; as a woman of Ukrainian background who entered school speaking no English; as woman of Ukrainian background whose second generation Canadian parents acquired four and five years of formal schooling in Manitoba schools growing up in an era where the legitimacy of that background was systemically and individually denied, feared, and denigraded by many.[20]

In her professional life working as both classroom and resource teacher, Hannia was particularly concerned about administrative decision-making in schools which excluded children from regular classroom experiences because they were perceived "too different to fit" as much as about the decisions regarding those with different needs being labelled "the same as everyone else" and not receiving the necessary attention and

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[20]A selection of archival comments about the history of education in Manitoba schools as it relates to "ethnic minorities" is found in Appendix J.

resources.

Having had travel experiences in some sixty countries and study and teaching experiences in Educational Psychology and Educational Administration, the relationships between schooling, education, and cultural diversity became a growing interest for Hannia. Professional reading further predisposed her to question the insularity of teaching (Lortie, 1975), the challenge of change in schools (Fullan, 1991; Goodlad, 1984), the dilemmas of teacher professional development (Pensagrau, 1984), the circumstances of oppression (Freire 1970, 1973; Onufriechuk, 1984), the concepts of cultural diversity (Berry 1977, 1984; Cole, 1989; Cummins 1984, 1988, 1989, 1990; Banks 1987, 1988, 1989; and Lynch 1986a, 1987), and the role of leaders in schools (Bates, 1985; Foster, 1985, 1986, 1988; Gronn, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985a; Greenfield, 1973, 1978, 1979/80, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1991; Hodgkinson, 1978a, 1978b, 1983, 1986, 1988). Aware of the Manitoba Multicultural Education policy and Administrators' Handbook recommendations with respect to cultural diversity issues, Hannia was interested to learn how these ideals were played out in schools.

To a significant extent, my personal and professional experiences have influenced the inquiry of this study. The emphasis on the concepts developed are not unrelated to the principles valued by me as person. The interviewees' dialogues were filtered through these principles with my full knowledge that such subjectivity is inevitable and also with the knowledge that such subjectivity need always be scrutinized by self and others' reflection in all aspects of decision-making in schools and society. In Greenfield's

(1984) words,

> An observation on what is happening in the world is a point of view. Both the critic and the scientist must strive, therefore, to make clear what their points of view are, because the observer and the observation are in some sense one...we cannot escape ourselves as we make our world and as we try to understand the world of others have made around us. The critic and the scientist must wonder at the artifice that inevitably goes into the making of social reality and into our interpretation of it (pp. 142-3).

I was aware of this challenge throughout this research process.

Different experiences, it can be seen in this study, serve to justify different principles and intentions about which administrators talk. Valuing "the actions, biographies, and language of the individual" (Foster, 1986) is central to subjectivist interpretation and for that reason, I give much deliberate attention to administrative talk in this dissertation. In presenting a profile of each individual's administrative behavior as articulated by the administrator and in including a great amount of administrators' talk throughout this discussion, I have intended to present the variety of alternative perspectives as valid interpretations of reality. In analyzing the concepts which were raised by administrator talk, I have interpreted their behavior in relation to the typological criteria which I constructed and in relation to the expectations in the Manitoba Multicultural Education Policy and Administrators' Handbook guidelines of which I am aware. Therefore, it may appear that those administrators whose talk did not pertain primarily to

addressing issues of cultural diversity in their schools were placed in an disadvantageous position in the study. Clearly, the cultural diversity lens which I chose to use highlights a tension which exists when presenting the different perspectives and analysis that administrators and researcher bring to the study. This study is about who each administrator is and who the researcher is as person with biases and about the values each holds. This understanding is critical to the orientiation which I have taken in highlighting the descriptive and analytical elements in this study.

It is to the justifications of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts about which administrators talked that this discussion in the next two chapters will now turn. In Chapter 5, justifications of administrators in the "voiced" and "considered" contexts will be presented while in Chapter 6, the justifications of adminisrators in the "silenced" and "ignored" contexts will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS JUSTIFIER: PRINCIPLES IN THE "VOICED" AND "CONSIDERED" CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

In their talk about their work, administrators' values surface as principles for guiding what they did in their schools. It appears to be these principles which are central to the intentions they justify for the school. As Greenfield (1980) states, "We act out of past circumstances and drive towards those we intend for the future" (p. 41). While some administrators in this study justify explicitly why and how they address issues of cultural diversity in their school, others do not. In varying degrees and on the basis of different principles, each administrator in the "voiced" and "considered" contexts expresses a will to address or to consider addressing issues of cultural diversity.

In the **"voiced" context**, administrators attach personal significance to addressing issues of cultural diversity and believe their staffs have a collective orientation to do so on a school-wide basis. In the **"considered" context**, although administrators attach some personal significance to addressing the issues, they believe their staffs are too involved in crisis-management and survival to have established a collective orientation established toward cultural diversity. Each administrator in each of the contexts justified a particular intention on the basis of personal, professional, and/or political rationales.

THE "VOICED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

TABLE 10-SCHOOL GRADE LEVELS AND LOCATION OF THE ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	LOCATION		
	RURAL	SUBURBAN	INNER CITY
N/K-6		2	1
K-8/9		2	1
7-9			
K/7/10-12	1	3	

TABLE 11-GRADE LEVELS AND GENDER OF THE ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	GENDER	
	FEMALE	MALE
N/K-6	1	1
K-8/9	1	3
7-9		
K/7/10-12	1	3

TABLE 12-SCHOOL TYPE AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

SCHOOL TYPE	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
ENGLISH	7	1
FRENCH IMMERSION MILIEU		1
FRENCH IMMERSION DUAL TRACK		
HERITAGE LANGUAGE		1
TRIPLE TRACK LANGUAGE		

TABLE 13-SCHOOL LOCATION AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
RURAL	1	
SUBURBAN	4	3
INNER CITY	2	

THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

In the "voiced" context *(Tables 10-13)*, the issues of cultural diversity are addressed in different ways with different emphasis on a school-wide basis. Diversity, as administrators understand it, receives a voice in that it is given attention by being acknowledged and valued in the intentions of administrators. Furthermore, these administrators value a focus on change and lifelong learning. This orientation is perceived by administrators as imperative for addressing issues of cultural diversity.[21] In the perception of these administrators, the responsibility for this learning and change rests primarily with the dominant majority or mainstream[22] teachers and population. This means

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[21]Addressing "issues of cultural diversity" means different things to different administrators. Some call "It" "multicultural education"; some call it "anti-racist education"; some call it "human rights education"; and still others do not specifically call it any of these but simply use concepts from such approaches in their schools. As the administrators describe their perspectives, different definitions for the concepts emerge.

[22]The term "mainstream" refers to that collectivity of people which has accepted fully the dominant established structures and processes which characterize, in particular, White Anglo-Saxon traditions (Cummins & Denesi, 1990). With that acceptance comes the power of dominance. There is a preference for Eurocentric thought and, quite frequently, a resistance to change which might disrupt the comfort which people ascribing to these values currently enjoy. There is an expectation that "the Other" (Onufrijchuk, 1984)--the person outside the mainstream in thought, presentation, and action--should make adjustments in her/his life to "assimilate" into the mainstream. The "mainstream" is perceived as the "best way" to live in society and people are rewarded socially and politically for doing so. A power differential exists between those who "belong" and are "accepted" as mainstream and the "Other" who is not part of the mainstream.

that rather than perceiving the "minority"[23] as having a problem and needing to change, the mainstream is expected to accept responsibility for understanding and change. In many ways, administrators in this context act as agents of such change.

To that end, administrators design their intentions. Although specific justifications and meanings vary with individual administrators, themes of change, inclusion, justice, equality, respect, and adaptability are bound together to form the common core elements of those intentions in this context. Change is not only recognized in the demographics of communities but also in the necessity to accept world views, structures, and practices that may be different from those historically accepted by the mainstream population. As an aspect of change, the inclusion or representativeness of students and staff with diverse backgrounds and value systems in the daily life of the school are of central importance. Issues of justice dealing with fair practices in the way schooling is designed and in the way

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[23]The term "minority" refers to sectors of society who have less access to power and opportunities than does the mainstream. By the mainstream they are perceived and treated as the "Other" and as different from the mainstream "norm". Historically in Canada, in terms of ethnicity, anglo-conformity movements for unilingualism and uniculturalism served to assimilate minorities into the mainstream (Anderson, 1918; Cummins & Denesi, 1990; Derkatz, 1993; Onufrijchuk, 1984; Palmer, 1984; Young, 1931). [See also Appendix J]. In terms of race in contemporary society, "visible minorities" are often subject to discrimination because they are perceived as different from the mainstream.

Cummins & Denesi (1990) and Marie in this study make the point that in Canada, people still have difficulty in acknowledging Canada's racist past as they often suggest that it is an "American" concern and not a "Canadian" one.

curriculum is presented also receive attention.

Heterogeneity in various forms is valued in this context. Diversity is considered an asset, an enrichment, to be nurtured in society. Related to the concept of inclusion are concepts of equality and equity. Challenging discriminatory practices and redressing previous violations direct administrators to social action stances where they consider past, present, and future actions--their own and that of others. In the perception of some administrators, striving for equality and equitable treatment for all is closely linked to respecting the culture of all people. That means not denegrading any culture to a lesser status than that of the mainstream. Respect for people's cultural backgrounds in this context refers to accepting and nurturing the historic and aesthetic aspects of culture which people might bring with them to the learning situation. Sometimes when change, and responses to it, are taken into account, adaptability on the part of the mainstream to living in a diverse, society may also become a prominent part of the administrator's intention.

Although there are definite distinctions between the individual intentions, all these administrators see value in explicitly addressing cultural diversity issues with all students, staff, and community and particularly with a focus on mainstream changes. In doing so, they take action, a type of social action, to give these issues a voice in the school.

THE ADMINISTRATORS' JUSTIFICATIONS OF THEIR INTENTIONS

Administrators justify their intentions to address cultural diversity issues under different names, definitions, and interpretations. The emphasis of their intention varies but some combination of the core themes exist in each *(Table 14)*.

Terminology is one of the most obvious areas of variation. Angie, Andrew, Allen, and Arnold use the language of "multicultural/anti-racist education" in naming their response to cultural diversity. The terms "multicultural /human rights education" are used by Art and Alec. Aaron refers to his response as "anti-racist/human rights education" while Anne describes her response as "human rights education". For Armand, the response is embodied in "immersion education" and for Alice, it is embodied in simply "good education" where both "traditional culture-based" and contemporary mainstream curricula are infused into programming.

The different labels which administrators use to discuss what they justify refer to different emphasis in approaches to addressing cultural diversity issues. Even if they use the same terms, they may not be describing the same conceptual understandings.

It is not so much the naming as it is the interpretation, the meaning, of the concepts dealing with cultural diversity that these administrators stress as important. For example, sometimes terms like "education" and "immersion" are used with

TABLE 14

THE "VOICED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

ADMINISTRATOR	FOCUS	MEANING
Angie	multicultural then anti-racist	inclusive, welcoming climate
Andrew	anti-racist	respect and value differences
Allen	anti-racist	build reflective non-racist school
Arnold	multicultural/ anti-racist	teaching approaches to meet all needs
Art	multicultural/ anti-racist	equality of access and outcomes
Alec	multicultural/ anti-racist	respect and just treatment
Aaron	anti-racist/ human rights	equality of status for all
Anne	human rights	accepting difference
Armand	immersion	respect and adaptability
Alice	education	respect and justice

the presumed underlying premise being that such education means by its very nature that it is "multicultural" and/or "anti-racist". Sometimes the term "multicultural education", which is commonly used by these administrators to acknowledge the presence and assets of demographic diversity, is also used to describe "anti-racist" concepts. The term "anti-racist education" is specifically used by a few of these

administrators to acknowledge the presence of mainstream systemic and individual bias against justice and equity for all persons. A number of these administrators comment that "human rights education" is based on the same tenet and specifically names race, ethnicity, creed, language, gender, socio-economic status, ability, age, and lifestyle as sources of discrimination. Each emphasis, with its concomitant focus on staff development, is a different way of giving diversity a voice--a way of giving meaning to and addressing issues of cultural diversity.

Although these administrators are similar in that they each give voice to addressing issues of cultural diversity[24], the individual descriptions which follow in which the administrator gives name, meaning, and justification to intentions in relation to the issues, are uniquely different.

PROFILES OF ADMINISTRATORS IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

Angie

SCHOOL	*TYPE*	*LOCATION*	*PERCEIVED DIVERSITY*
K-9	*English*	*Suburban city*	*Yes*

Remembering the day she was appointed administrator of a school not yet constructed, Angie recounts

I drove out to the site and, while I was eating lunch in my car, a Chinese gentleman and his wife walked by. I still see them do that now. Then a Black man walked by. Those three people made me begin thinking about the

[24]These administrators perceive themselves and others to be in a continual developmental "lifelong learning" process. Therefore, much behavior such as that related to biased language usage, for instance, may still be under-scrutinized.

future population of the school...As we began plans, we recognized that we were going to serve a very affluent population that didn't necessarily come from Canada...Over a third of our population would be children who come from a culture other than a North American all White culture so there was a normalcy in diversity here.

In naming what she was doing to address issues of cultural diversity, Angie initially used the term "multicultural" because she felt it was easier for people to talk about acknowledging the value of cultural diversity.

In orienting her mainly White staff and parents at her school from this previously cross-cultural emphasis to what she regarded as an anti-racist one, she felt that she had to clarify her definition of "anti-racist" education to rid it of individual "blame and shame" meanings associated with righting previous wrongs before she could use it to deal with systemic issues of justice and equality. This effort to have "minorities" and their cultures represented in the life of the school and centered on an inclusive, whole child approach, Angie believes, was similar to her previous efforts in developing acceptance toward children with special needs as part of the mainstream population.

Angie reflects back twenty-five years, to an initial teaching experience where she saw her students as being totally disempowered describing that

about three-quarters of my class were Dakota or Metis children and the balance of my class were mostly of Ukrainian descent. The policies of the school absolutely denied the rich and beautiful culture of the children. They were not allowed to speak their maternal language on the playground. The situation for staff and for children was probably the antithesis of empowerment.

Angie identifies with these power issues on a personal level by pointing to her sense of isolation in a dual track school because of language and to the "discrimination and exclusion" she has felt because of gender.

Further, she says:

I have a lot of difficulty when someone says to me that I should be able to read a document with 'He' and just read 'She' into it. I think the same sort of thing happens with kids. I think that we need to be fairly specific and fairly pointed in keeping the issue in front of us. I think we need to talk to each other. We need to include parents and be sure that all of the parents are feeling included in the school. By nature of the level of expertise in English, I think they sometimes feel excluded.

Although she had always thought she was "welcoming" in her approach to diversity, readings and professional courses have helped Anglie consolidate her thinking particularly on inclusion and representativeness. Explaining her initiative to incorporate some formal study in multicultural education, she states "I needed to think about the administrative perspective of a 'multicultural environment' or an 'anti-racist environment' and about what kinds of things I needed to do." In her school, she believes that means:

The bottom line for us is every now and then to stop in the mainstreets of our school and ask ourselves the question: 'Do we see everybody, everywhere, all the time? Do we see representation of our student body on our school teams? Do we see representation of our student body in the choir? Do we see a representation of our student body in the group of young leaders? Do we see children that were truly representative of the school?' That's sort of always our rule of thumb. I ask the staff to stop and ask themselves: 'Were all of our students involved or were just some of our students involved? Who are the team captains?' To me, those are all questions that need to be asked about the student population. We need to keep the issues in front of us.

The changing world, the global economy and communication systems, and the injustice "we do to the White child if we never expose them to aspects of other cultures in our global world" were additional issues Angie felt must be addressed through a more global perspective at school. She saw such programming as "clearly an area where administrators can and should exercise leadership" and acknowledges, "I have imposed a lot of thinking on the staff". Further, Angie suggests that there is a need to emphasize

that aspiring administrators become more introspective about "self" because for her the work of the administrator is more than just the management of budget, politics, and law but is centrally a moral endeavor.

Andrew

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-8	English	Inner city	Yes

Based on a premise similar to Angie's that good multicultural education "must" be anti-racist, Andrew believes that such education must strive for justice, equality, and equity as experiences for all in addition to valuing the cross-cultural artefacts and understandings of groups of people. He emphasizes:

We must deal head on with some of the issues that people experience. We can't leave it at good food and festivals. People are living their past in multiculturalism. Native people are living a past that's haunting them. We can't deny them an essential right that they've got to talk about it. The past affects the present. Anti-racist education has to be attitudinal education. We have to go back to not only 'What are our racial biases and prejudices?' but 'What are our ordinary one-coloured biases and prejudices--rich and poor, with and without?' Anti-racist education has to be done in every school and not just if you happen to have different cultures. People are different. We've got to acknowledge that, respect that, value that, and say so.

He takes this into account as he reflects on his school where 50% of the population is either Native or New Canadians of Polish, Laotian, Arabian, or one of the many African backgrounds. He observes:

There's a wide range of students in our community. We have some immigrants who qualify for Canadian visas. Their parents tend to be fairly skilled and well-trained. We also have exiles and refugees who come under different sets of rules. They're usually sponsored by some agency. Their parents tend to have fewer skills and the children themselves tend to have no school experience to speak of. They've been in refugee camps so not are they only in a new country but it's their first experience with the school. We try to be cognizant of those factors.

Involvement with "Native"[25] people has been a part of Andrew's life from the time he was nine years old growing up with a Micmac friend in a remote area of eastern Canada. Andrew considers a school like his to be

> a part of my general background. I've had some cultural awareness training from living on an Indian Reserve up North where we worked with traditional Native people. I spent years on a skidoo going across the tundra to Native Studies camps that we had developed as part of the school program. The people there spoke Askapi and we turned that around so that the children's first experience at school was 100% Askapi with the assigned teacher becoming the teacher aide and the teacher aide, who spoke Askapi, becoming the instructor. So we did some things a way back then that I thought were valuable.

Respecting the integrity of the person by valuing and accepting the varied cultural experiences people have is important to Andrew. He questions: "If we don't understand and learn about the varieties of cultural values that people bring to the system, then how are we going to educate our students to live in tomorrow's world?"

The major issue for Andrew is that multicultural education is everyone's responsibility. Like Angie, he perceives a world quickly changing with advances in technological communications and transportation. To meet the challenge of adapting students to new forms of international interaction, educators, Andrew stresses, cannot remain the "scribes and pharisees" of the past who maintain a static culture. Acknowledging that developing multicultural education in schools is a slow process, he contends that administrators have sometimes been the worst models available for life-long learning and changes because "often when you become an administrator, you rise to the top of the heap and from then on, you're the boss and tell other people what to do but you 'go to seed'

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[25]Throughout the study, there is a conscious attempt to use the language/terminology of the administrator.

yourself." Integrating administrative authority with personal initiative and energy is important to Andrew.

Allen

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	English	Inner city	Yes

Inclusion, respect, and equality are each themes surfaced in Allen's intention of addressing cultural diversity. When Allen began his teaching career in Canada some twenty years ago, he was given a segregated special education class where students, many of them Native, who did not succeed in any other school were placed. The experience of the alienation, stereotyping, and discrimination he witnessed had an impact on the rest of his years in schools. He recalls:

I listened to the way teachers and other people that I met spoke about Aboriginal people and it was an outrage. I couldn't believe that would happen here. I don't see it's changed terribly much. In fact, I can see some of those attitudes becoming even more entrenched as Natives start to exercise power and demand it.

In his current school, Allen perceives similar occurrances. Specifically, he points out his concerns about bias in the school community stating:

It's in the Aboriginal acceptance of the New Canadians. In Caucasian kids, it's the acceptance of Asians. In Asians, it's the acceptance of Aboriginals and the Blacks can be the target of everybody who cares to dump on them...Racism is ripe in the neighborhood. We've got a very angry neighborhood. There's violence. You've got people who have lost their jobs so are blaming immigrants and so anyone who is a visible minority seems to be more of a target now than ever before. So anti-racist education is the best thing to do with our kids right now in terms of showing them that we can have a community here at least that doesn't need to be that way. Maybe that might help later on...We also have been made aware that some of our kids going on to junior high who are no longer our responsibility are overtly doing some racist things. So we also see that we have a responsibility to start something in our school so that they have better developed attitudes to each other when they go on to another institution. That's a bit of a challenge for us to see if we can change

that.

With a team of teachers interested in addressing these current school issues, he has supported the implementation of "anti-racist" programming with a focus on self-reflection, "raising our own awareness and skill levels" and on building self concept which, Allen stresses, "validates people being different". Having heard children call others "burnt toast" and "chocolate bars" was a "trigger", he says, "but the focus is going to be much broader." Allen reflects:

> These 'little' things here can become quite large things in another setting when they're a year or two older...We hope we can change the way people think. At the very least, we can change what people do and say and if we can't change what they think, at least, we might cause them to think carefully before they say what it is they're thinking.

As administrator, imaging himself as a "gardener" nurturing that intention, Allen is convinced that

> the role of leadership is to initiate opportunities within the system for the system to respond. The people in the organization have the responsibility to pick up the response, make it their own, adopt it, and go with it.

It is in this process, that the staff at Allen's school is currently engaged.

Arnold

SCHOOL	*TYPE*	*LOCATION*	*PERCEIVED DIVERSITY*
9-12	*English*	*Suburban city*	*Yes*

"Multicultural anti-racist" education strategies are "evolving" at Arnold's school. From his perspective, such education is defined as meeting the needs of all individuals in the school with particular attention to "minority" groups. Emphasis on that interpretation rests on the inquiry:

Are there some special things to do in order for this student to learn? How are you going to make them feel comfortable in your classroom and how are you going to get them to learn? Will that mean a change in the way you teach? Do you have to have a different approach or can you just go along the way you've always done?

Arnold raises the question of "Who and what needs changing, the student or the program?"

Although he is now aware of inclusivity, equality, and change concerns, Arnold admits that

it would be fair to say that at one time multiculturalism was not important to me. The only reason multiculturalism became important is that as you notice the changes going on around you, you're kind of being forced to re-assess, and look at things. When you're trying to meet the needs of both the students and the teachers, you just start to think about it a little more and that coincided with the literature that then started to come out and the concerns other people were having related to the issues at their schools. That doesn't mean that we don't have 'little' incidents. We have had some individual incidents. For example, some young fellow who's being out of line with his remarks said something like, 'Oh, that 'stupid Indian' to a Native girl who's overweight in a non-academic class. So you get some of those things and then you have to deal with them by meeting with the student, having both of them together, talking to teachers, making sure they're aware of what had occurred in the classroom and making sure they keep their ears open and watch for any signs of some sort of racism which may be raising it's head. So you get into that whole scenario and, I guess, you just become more interested in multiculturalism. It just became a natural thing that evolved here and then it may have sat somewhat dormant for a few years had we not been into the general action plan for the school which the division reguested.

Moving from a reactive response to "little incidents" to proactive total school anti-racist thinking, Arnold highlights, is his objective at his school now.

In essence, the multiculturalism topic as a school-wide plan arose from a school profile and five year plan that the division recommended be established. As Arnold indicates,

the discussion of multiculturalism at our school came up more from the profile than from myself. There was a discussion on that which arose within the staff about multiculturalism when we discussed our profile and people started to realize, 'Wow, I walked through the halls and I guess I never really noticed that that high a percentage are visible minorities.

I just accept them as kids in school but I never sat down and came to the realization that they make up 33% of our population.' So we had more discussions on it and it came out clearly in the mission statement that we do have a multicultural school.

Along with some teachers who have taken courses and have interest in the area, Arnold has supported the development of a whole school plan to address issues of cultural diversity. Its format has changed as a result of staff discussions from being a multicultural education plan, which focusses only on accommodating diversity by "add ons" to the existing structures and curricula, to an anti-racist education plan, which focusses on making integral changes in structures and curricula that would re-construct the total school operation.

After thirteen years in the school, he specifically ponders a question related to the mainstream's adaptability to diversity: "Shouldn't we at least be aware of and providing opportunities for the student to become aware of our multicultural society because they're going to operate within a multicultural society?" The necessity for some changes appeared inevitable to Arnold. He reflects:

We've been very fortunate. For the most part, students have just accepted the changes that occurred and and as they look around the dining room, there are people of different colours and different races and it's just considered part of the school.

Arnold perceives, however, that his new awareness is a lasting one which will not be left behind if he leaves this building. He concurs with Andrew that multicultural education is everyone's responsibility and that in any school he serves

whether or not we have a large number of visible minorities, we should still be doing something and teachers should still be aware of A.) what's happening in our community in terms of the changes that are occurring and B.) the concerns that each group brings with them. We may happen to be in a suburban school that is homogeneous to some extent, but times are changing.

Although Arnold is comforted that students "get along" well together, he is determined to stir the comfort level of staff so that the school makes changes in keeping with societal changes.

Art

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
10-12	English	Suburban city	Yes

The changing times and demographics also propel Art's "multicultural/human rights" education approach to addressing issues. Materials, structures, staff, and human rights issues in his school have undergone scrutiny in this regard for some time now. When communicating priorities to the school community, Art says he talks about "the fact that the strength in our school comes not from homogeneity of us all trying to be the same, but that we are different and we need to understand our differences." Further, he explains that making a distinction between "tolerance" and "acceptance" is important because tolerance implies that

> you're just putting up with something rather than understanding where those people are, what their value system is, and then, as you understand what their value system is, saying, 'It's okay. I have this value system. They have that one.' We don't necessarily have to agree that yours is better than mine. We have to understand that we're coming from different spaces and different backgrounds and different cultures.

With a desire to create an open, inviting, caring environment for students, he is committed to making gender equality, student-focussed curricula, and the inclusiveness that comes with mainstreaming integrated themes in the school.

A real positive influence on such an initiative, Allen surmizes, comes from his early experiences. He reflects:

> I often wonder how that philosophical basis developed but I think a lot of it is experiential. I grew up in the North End of Winnipeg in what I

thought was a very multicultural society and so I think that had a real impact. I grew up in an area where there were many Eastern Europeans, Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, and Germans who all mixed as they were growing up. Many of them spoke a babal of tongues so I've heard all those languages spoken and it wasn't unusual to hear different languages or to eat different food or to see the way different people celebrated Christmas or Easter or whatever. So those things, that diversity of cultural experience, I think was a real positive influence.

Having been further influenced by central office and overseas teaching experiences, a major contemporary issue for Art is adaptability--that schools need to prepare students for the fact that

Canada is a diverse, multicultural country and we need to teach people to understand that so that they can get along with and accept each other. That's probably a key role that the schools have to play. They had to play it before. The answer back in the 20's and 30's when my grandparents came was 'make everybody the same. Teach them all English and then we'll be the same.' But that's not what this country's all about. It was never what it was about. If we don't deal with those issues, we're going to be having a lot of problems.

Observations of his local community growing in its heterogeneity left Art with a need to re-examine whether the school was offering education for the next century. The community, he says,

is continually changing. Four or five years ago, I would say that we had maybe five kids who spoke a language other than English or French. Today, I could show you a list of sixty-five kids who have named a language other than English or French as their first language. You have all kinds of immigration into this area like the Spanish-speaking students as well as those from the Caribbean, Africa, Nigeria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and increasingly, we now have about fifty Aboriginal students in the building.

The questions Art posed to his staff, not unlike Arnold's, were: "Are we meeting their needs? How can we do that in a better way?" In some cases, staff who were uncomfortable with such inquiry and longed for the "good old days" were moved out of the school.

"Multicultural/human rights education" for Alec is defined in terms of equality and equitable treatment. His understanding of education in a multicultural context is focussed on the respect for what it is that the

Alec

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-9	English	Suburban city	No

other culture brings to the learning act, the value system and the experiential background that comes with the child. Through a child-centered whole-child approach, the staff is challenged to develop the affective, the feelings and issues surrounding the experience of cultural diversity, as well as the cognitive areas of growth, the cultural artefact component often associated with diversity. "It would be easy," explains Alec,

to deal with multiculturalism from a curricular point of view. I mean it's not difficult for teachers to grab on to either substantive issues in society such as Oka or the Iran conflict that have a multicultural ring to them or to do it from the point of view of studying different countries. I mean we do that anyway. That's easy to do. We can have our Indian bazaar in our classroom and we can dress up and do all kinds of things that have a multicultural look to them. It's a different matter when one begins to deal with issues that have to do with feelings. When you get into that affective part it's sometimes a little like trying to carry a huge raw egg because it's not as definitive as curriculum, as cognitive stuff.

Alec states that there is a uniquely different challenge for his school to address issues of cultural diversity because

from its inception, the character of the school included a pretty wide socio-economic range. It is a fairly typical suburban community with the anomaly of having a number of subsidized housing units in it. One of the things that becomes a real issue for us because of that diversity is equity, equitable treatment, equitable approaches in terms of what we ask kids to do, what we can expect from parents, what kinds of programs are in the school...One of the things that made multicultural education difficult for us is that we don't have a heavy 'other culture' mix in our school. When we have a choir standing up, it has an Anglo-Saxon look to it. So the issue of multicultural education did not come from a particular group with an 'ethnic identification tag' on it. The character of the kids we're dealing with would not have generated the multicultural education issue for us. In that sense, when we started into multicultural education, there was some artificiality to it which we had to grapple with at first and that's where the concern came about it becoming a festival or

something else if we look at it as being different cultures and different colours of kids in our school. In that sense, it would be an issue only for a very small part of the school. So we had to look then at 'What are the issues involved in multiculturalism?' and 'Do they apply generally to the school as a whole?' We found they did.

Like Art, Alec stresses that difference and diversity in its various forms demands that attention be focussed on equitable treatment.

Alec believes that there is an appreciation for the issues which comes from an understanding on a personal level. As a minister's son, he remembers that

my Father made it a point to befriend people from various immigrant groups and make sure they felt welcome in the church and that included bringing them into our home. I remember many experiences as I was growing up with people of many different cultures, some of the most interesting people being of Aboriginal cultures...I think I've grown up with values that fit multicultural society.

The issues, in particular, for Alec arise out of the Canadian scene centered on the injustices Aboriginal people have had to endure and on the need for remedy. To that end, he believes in the necessity of greater communication on a personal level so that, in his words,

I can learn more about who they are and where they're coming from and what their message is and how I can better understand that message so that in this setting as an educator, I can respond to what I think is a challenge for educators today. To deal with that is really the most pressing multicultural and human rights question today.

Alec, like the others in this context, believes that "the administrator is the best person who has the opportunity to capitalize on the resources, hard and human, that come into a building" in order to address those issues.

Aaron

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-8	English	Suburban city	Yes

The definitive principle of Aaron's "anti-racist/human rights education", not unlike Alec's, is that all people have to be treated with respect and deserve equal status. He, like Andrew, explains that although the essence of this perspective is attitudinal development, there are practices that go along with that. As with any comprehensive version of multicultural education, he says, there is a process and an element of content that is involved. In Aaron's school, "anti-racist education", a term with which Aaron is most comfortable, includes

> equality of the sexes. Basically, it includes all equalities. It includes everything. So that crosses through special needs children, crosses through minority groups, that crosses through all things. There needs to be that equality of status for all people...We then look at why we need to do things differently than what we experienced or perhaps what we were trained to do.

Like several of the other administrators in this context, he looks for change to occur in the mainstream system rather than over finding fault with the individual or the group to which the individual is perceived to belong.

Aaron believes that he has an evolving orientation towards his perspective but states, too, that he thinks people respond to personal beliefs more than anything else. He describes his own history as influencing his current thinking and behaviors. He relates:

> I certainly always didn't want to become a teacher. In fact, I really hated school when I was in school. I hated it a lot. It was a terrible experience. I was a good student in terms of academic performance up to about grade seven or eight. Then I very drastically lost my interest in school. I got thrown out of one high school and went to a second. I didn't actually finish grade twelve. I went to work instead for a few

years before I decided to go to University and by then it was education that I wanted to get into. I very specifically wanted to do primary and so I was one of two males in the program and the only one who wasn't seventeen. I was twenty-one, married, buying a house, holding on to a full-time job, and in this room with everybody who was seventeen. There's a big difference between seventeen year old girls and married twenty year old guys. So that sort of 'out of whackness' has been there the entire time I think. And I had a great deal of trouble at University and was nearly not certified because I angered a professor...So I have a lot of empathy for people who I think deal with a mold that isn't right.

Difference, that "being out of whack", in Aaron's mind, should not be a stumbling block to just treatment. Although strongly influenced by his personal journey, major decisions in Aaron's school are undertaken based on educational research because the information, he points out, "has to come from somewhere and it ought not to be what you like or what you don't like."

Issues like those of "disadvantaged children" and the loss of identity for Aboriginal children concern Aaron as do the characteristics of his suburban catchment area which meet "innercitiness criteria" in terms of social economic status, number of second language students, number of Aboriginal students, mobility rates, and family structures. He believes schools can and must address issues which constantly create more inequalities and feels that he has the autonomy that "allows you a lot of latitude to pursue things of that nature." Part of that job, as he perceives it, is

to help people, hopefully, see that there are some things that are worth doing, that are beneficial, that might be different from what they currently do and believe and to make sure that we move that way but I can't make that happen...So my lucky opportunity in a job like this is that I have more power to influence more people to make things try to go that way. So I have the power. I sit in this chair and I get a chance to influence people that way.

Aaron has a particular interest in changing established structures, the status quo of how things have been carried out in the past, so that there

is a greater chance of issues being brought to the forefront of practices in his school. To that end, he takes special pride in empowering the human rights student group which he believes is a powerful dynamic being developed in his school.

Anne

SCHOOL TYPE		LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	English/Heritage Language	Suburban city	No

Anne's intention for all her work in the school embodies "human rights education" principles similar to those Aaron utilizes in his school. She defines this approach as a way of learning "to accept the difference in people that are different" from the mainstream population of the school. That means that the inclusion of all people regardless of ability, race, ethnicity, creed, gender, or socio-economic status in all aspects of school life is necessary. In her "very homogeneous" school, the thrust has very much been trying to sensitize staff to the heritage language, the heritage language culture, and also to the heritage language students in addition to sensitizing the combined staff to heterogeneity, to diversity. As she sees it, her challenge is with an academically-oriented community which

> likes homogeneity. They want their children with the 'brightest and the best.' That's sort of what's said. 'I want my child challenged. I want my child with other children who are challenging. The parents want homogeneous grouping. I question, 'What is bright?' and I don't know that I have them long enough to change their attitude.

Anne believes that the primary influence on her perspective came from her father. She says:

> I think I am the way I am because of the way that I was raised. I try to raise my kids the same way--that you accept all people. I remember my Father hammering on about accepting poor people. We were fortunate we had

lots of money in a little town. I mean it looked like we did. My Father kept after me all the time that you accept people who are different. I don't know that that's the beginnings but probably that's where attitudes usually form.

Through her professional practice in the area of exceptional children, Anne has had exposure to many schools and states that her experiences revealed that

there were blatant human right violations in many schools. In some schools, you'd walk in and see the name of the teachers and then there would be the name of the 'Trainable Mentally Handicapped' teacher totally out of space and focus. It would be the same with labels on the 'Life Skills' areas.

By extensive reading on Native issues, she consolidated her concern regarding diversity by doing some research on the disproportionately high numbers of Native children in segregated Special Education programs.

An issue for Anne is the inattentiveness and unresponsiveness to such incidents of stereotyping, segregation, and discrimination on the part of educators and administrators. With specific reference to addressing issues of cultural diversity, she explains:

It's easy to escape it and just say, 'Well, we have just no reason to phone the Race Relations Officer because there's just no reason to do that.' There aren't problems on the playground now but there sure can be problems when these kids grow up and go downtown and meet different people or have a person from a different culture right beside them. I don't think they're sensitive enough to respect others because they don't have the same values as they do. I know a number of the parents just don't see that as a concern. They feel there's nothing to be controversial about here except about kids who are 'exceptional' or maybe 'slower than' or 'not as pretty as'. All the research, of course, supports the fact that the negative attitude expressed towards minority groups is exactly the same towards exceptional children. So negative attitudes are obviously there.

Anne contends that it is these mainstream people who really need to have good attitudes towards other cultures. They need to change and adapt to the diverse world. Anne accepts much responsibility for that development by using her leadership influence in hiring staff who appear to be "open

minded about different values and different cultural beliefs."

Armand

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
7-12	French Immersion Milieu	Suburban city	No

From Armand's perspective, the concepts of multicultural/anti-racist education that deal with respect, change, and adaptability are inherently embodied in French Immersion education. Students learn, he believes, through their immersion experience that there are other values and cultures besides their own. In the long term, Armand believes that the society these people create is probably going to be one where "people are very respectful of other cultures" because they are developing strategies and attitudes that are multicultural in nature by virtue of learning in another language. He admits, however, that parents still see mostly the utilitarian and not the cultural nature of Immersion programming. He elaborates:

As far as parents are concerned, the basic purpose of this building is to have students become bilingual and get a job. It's take time. More students will have to say, 'You know, there's more to it than just being competitive. There's the personal satisfaction of being able to communicate and to be able to touch in depth other people, other cultures.' There's an excitement about it which is hard to explain but it's there. That I don't think is a very strong aspect yet in the building. I think it's gaining ground though.

His commitment to immersion education is rooted in his early family experiences in which he was one of sixteen children. He credits his parents for inspiring in him a love for people, his language, and his culture. He says he lives his life very much from a perspective of where he comes from and this is his rationale for his placing importance on his intention. With twenty-six years in the educational field, professional

experience, for Armand, provides more direction than studying or "listening to experts". He further acknowledges that the Superintendents' Department is very supportive of his efforts at his school.

Issues which cause concern for Armand include the necessity of educating people to work at the international level in the 21st century. In addition to technological skills, he suggests that students will have to understand other cultures. With observations of the demographics of his school community, he points out that

> this is not a multicultural school in any way, shape, or form in terms of the make-up of the students. It's very much British and French. It's a British Anglo-Saxon type of school with a few African, Chinese, and Japanese students. We really don't look like the United Nations. We have very few minority students in this building.

The feedback from this population on the advantages of becoming fully bilingual, Armand contends, is encouraging. Further, he states that because the students engage in exchanges with countries like France, the strength of the program is that it is really starting to establish some international people. Armand perceives himself as having the leadership influence which can contribute to the success of such programming because

> the value of what you say is taken on by so many more people when you're a Principal. The Principal has incredible power. Now I understand why intelligent Superintendents and School Boards are very careful when they hire Principals. It is so crucial to education. You have incredible power and an incredible power to do nothing, to allow nothing to happen in your building. It's almost frightening if you take that seriously. The lack of professional development in your building is your doing. The lack of student behavior is your doing because you're doing nothing about it. You don't have programs to work it out. This job isn't necessarily known or understood. It involves so much responsibility, accountability, and influence.

Alice, an administrator with a different experience and a different history has a different emphasis in addressing issues of cultural diversity from most other administrators in this study. This emphasis is

Alice

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-12	English	Rural	Yes

closely connected to her story. Alice recounts:

I grew up on a Reserve and went to a boarding school where I was in isolation of everybody and my culture. It was there that I found out that I was an 'Indian'. It was shocking to me. I remember when I went to get a drink at the fountain of my public high school, the girls made comments that I shouldn't be drinking from there because I was a 'squaw'. I couldn't really figure out what the word meant. I thought to myself, 'Why was I being called a 'squaw'?...I tried to figure out 'What is this Indian thing all about?' Nobody told me about that. Nobody prepared me for that. Nobody told me, 'You know, you're 'Indian' so you might have problems.' At first I started to blame several people. I blamed my parents and I started believing that I'm not going to be 'Indian'. I'm going to do things the way the White man does it. So I'm going to change my whole aspect of life...I did housework for a family and I found myself thinking, 'Was I being a maid because I was 'Indian'?' I had all these questions about being 'Indian' to ask myself. So after the two years of boarding, I came home 'White'. My Mom said, 'You know, you think you're better than us.' I started to have fights with my family. The curriculum infusion then was done wrong. I don't want it to be done that way with these kids.

Alice addresses issues of cultural diversity in terms of promoting respect for cultural development, incorporating inclusion, and encouraging adaptability to contemporary society through a focus on Native history in conjunction with the broad goals of curricula on her Reserve school. Developing respect and pride in Native culture and an adaptability to contemporary life are major emphases for Alice in her school. She explains:

We want to infuse into our curriculum something about ourselves as Indian people so that the kids have a feeling of being proud to be Indian...I want them to know from little kids that 'I am an Indian'. There's nothing wrong with that. I also want them to learn what the White people learn. So our kids are learning about the treaties like 'Why are there treaties?' 'Why are there rights as Indian people?' 'What is racism?' We've got to deal with all of that. We have to infuse it into their curriculum now...What we're trying to do is bring back the history to the Reserve and have the kids develop good feelings about Indians and 'Indianness' and

also about respecting the past. It's their life. I think it's important that the teaching in the school has to be open to that...So that is why we are teaching Native Studies in the high school as a credit and there is Native Studies taught in the social studies program throughout the school. There is also the Ojibway language that is taught so that the children will have respect for those things. They need to know that that is a part of their way of life regardless of what church they go to. They still are Indian people. I think it's important to know that. For me, if we're not teaching about that history and way of life of our people, then our kids should go to public school because we really have nothing to offer here about Indianness.

Although Alice stresses that teaching history is not teaching spirituality, she describes a community which is very concerned that this might be the case. There are many different denominations on the Reserve and there are some issues surrounding Christianity and Spirituality about which the community is very sensitive. To overcome, their skepticism of the school, Alice tries to welcome them into the school at all times and feels she has succeeded in building their trust level. Similarly with staff, Alice pays particular attention to developing in them sensitivities that would allow the community to remain comfortable with the school. She conveys:

I think it's important that the teachers know from day one that this is the kind of school it is. I have a vision of the school and this is what my school looks like. You're the people that are going to build that school...You have a job to go to your classrom and teach the curriculum. Keep in mind always the philosophy that this is an Indian Reserve and these are Ojibway people.

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

Under different names, these administrators in the "voiced" context all attach significance and give voice in different forms and forums to initiatives which explicitly address cultural diversity issues. The intentions of most of these administrators appear to be to move beyond what Banks

(1988) refers to as the "contributions" and "additive" approaches of "celebratory multiculturalism" (Cummins & Denesi, 1990) to more wholistic approaches focussing on "transformation" and "social action" in school structures and experiences for all the school people. Most of these administrators adopt versions of multicultural education emphasizing a social justice argument. They use an anti-racist approach like that suggested by Lee (1985) to challenge systemic inequalities dealing with power issues. Some of these administrators used Lee's (1985) definition of "anti-racist" education to describe what they were doing in this regard with some understanding that

> anti-racist education is a perspective which permeates all subject areas and school practices. Its aim is the eradication of racism in all its forms. Anti-racist education attempts to equip us as teachers, and our students, with the analytical tools to critically examine the origins of racist ideas and practices and to understand the implications of our own actions in the promotion of, or struggle against racism. It provides us with the skills to work collectively to combat racism (p. 7).

Some of these administrators use a "human relations" version of multicultural education and a global awareness argument which focusses on "getting along better" in our immediate and global world. Although these administrators do not totally deny the role of the "cross-cultural" version of multicultural education with its emphasis on cultural artefact and festivity programming, they tend to see it as a peripheral, more cosmetic surface interpretation of the issues of cultural diversity more than one which touches the core of

real life issues of cultural diversity. In all versions, however, there is some degree of "celebrating" differences as opposed to simply "tolerating" them. The major difference in approaches is in the degree to which the struggle and/or celebration of cultural diversity are emphasized.

For most of these administrators, the approaches are interwoven. While there is some degree of comfort with cross-cultural awareness and cultural maintenance for Armand and Allen, there is a fair degree of movement into the anti-racist stance by Art and Aaron. They stress that equity for all is a key component and that the "mainstream" system rather than the individual or the "minority" has to undergo some significant reconstruction so that equality and justice are achieved. In this context, there is a noticeable scarcity of discussion on English as a Second Language (ESL) programming beyond it being a temporary resource for assisting students to integrate into the school. Such mandated programs are not perceived as core solutions to comprehensively addressing issues of cultural diversity. The extent to which inclusiveness and equality are seen as requiring curricular and structural changes, as Arnold, Angie, and Anne propose and the extent to which students' knowledge and experience are included in programming, as Andrew, Alec, and Alice suggest, as opposed to the extent to which all students are being included in an unchanged Eurocentric curriculum will become evident as the administrators advocate and endorse their

principles and practices discussed in chapters six through nine.

Administrators in this context perceive that there is a way, a collective orientation, which they have established primarily with staff, but in some cases with the community as well, to address these issues on a school-wide basis. They justify their conviction that the time has come for the mainstream system to change in order to accept the perceived "different" as "equal". Change, in this regard, is interpreted as part of a social responsibility. They, as administrators, believe they have a responsibility to exert leadership influence in this endeavor. These administrators appear willing to risk challenging the status quo. Administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts to these administrators means that administrators are agents of change.

THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

The perspective framing the intentions in the "considered" context *(Tables 15-18)* is one where addressing the issues of cultural diveristy has been considered but has been sidelined because of perceived immediate circumstances requiring attention in the school. Administrators perceive their main function as establishing order to stabilize their environment because perceived crises or near-crises, are continually occurring or constant attempts are being made to prevent them from occurring in these settings. Addressing the

THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

TABLE 15-SCHOOL GRADE LEVELS AND LOCATION OF ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	LOCATION		
	RURAL	SUBURBAN	INNER CITY
N/K-6		1	1
K-8/9			
7-9	1		
K/7/10-12			1

TABLE 16-GRADE LEVELS AND GENDER OF ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	GENDER	
	FEMALE	MALE
N/K-6		2
K-8/9		
7-9		1
K/7/10-12		1

TABLE 17-SCHOOL TYPE AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

SCHOOL TYPE	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
ENGLISH	2	2
FRENCH IMMERSION MILIEU		
FRENCH IMMERSION DUAL TRACK		
HERITAGE LANGUAGE		
TRIPLE TRACK LANGUAGE		

TABLE 18-SCHOOL LOCATION AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
RURAL		1
SUBURBAN		1
INNER CITY	2	

issues of cultural diversity is considered but no planned school-wide strategies for follow through are established.

Because problem situations or crises are precipitated by what are perceived to be potential dysfunctional activities within the school community--some related directly to diversity and some not--the administrators may feel compelled to attach some significance to addressing issues of cultural diversity but they perceive they do not have the time and the energy to specifically pursue them in a sustained way on a school-wide basis. Frequently isolated "add-on" program elements such as mandated ESL[26] or special cultural/linguistic programming supported by resources outside the school are considered appropriate on their own merit as cultural diversity programming. Helping the students fit into the system somewhere, albeit in a segregated manner, appears often to be an accepted primary purpose of such programming.

What tends to preoccupy these administrators is problem-resolution programming. Conceptualizing what "multicultural" or "anti-racist" education is, or might be, does not seem to have been extensively worked out. The concerns of multicultural/anti-racist education which emphasize going beyond looking at particular groups to a whole school perspective is not a consideration in this context.

It appears that these administrators consider addressing

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[26]From this point on, "ESL" will be used to refer to English as a Second Language.

the issues but collective staff orientation in that regard has not been established. Teachers, according to what administrators said, respond to cultural diversity concerns on an individual basis and not from within a framework of concepts developed collectively by the staff in relation to cultural diversity. There is no long-term plan for staff development in this direction. Administrators believe that the community, school or parental, is "too busy" with daily "survival" objectives to demand anything other than "the basics" from the school. The "basics" means stabilizing a situation perceived to require some order.

Some of these administrators seem to feel overly taxed with responsibilities, those at their school and those imposed on them from the larger system. Programming for issues of cultural diversity, then, would be seen simply as one more additional demand for which time or energy were not available. It may be for that reason, that little administrative talk in this context focussed on cultural diversity.

THE ADMINISTRATORS' JUSTIFICATIONS OF THEIR INTENTIONS

The way administrators specifically interpret the emphasis of their intention varies but the core theme of survival through problem-resolution exists in each *(Table 19)*. There is a scarcity of talk specifically about cultural diversity issues except for when concerns are perceived to be interrelated with the problem-resolution agenda.

Among this group of administrators, Bill's intention for

TABLE 19

THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

ADMINISTRATOR	FOCUS	MEANING
Bill	keeping school safe	disciplining
Brian	keeping students safe	conflict management
Barry	keeping school calm	"tight ship" disciplining
Bob	developing staff	working on effective teaching

a disciplined environment directs him to look at monitoring behaviors in the school so that everyone can "survive" and "be safe". Brian is also concerned with these same areas and similarly believes he has little time to devote to discussion of cultural diversity issues. Barry "runs a tight ship" and is constantly working to keep it that way so that the community remains comfortable with the school's efforts. Bob's time is taken up in attempts to develop a working relationship with staff so that the school operates in a progressive manner. When his staff reaches a successful point

in development beyond the crisis he currently perceives, cultural diversity programming, he surmizes, might be incorporated into the school's agenda.

There is a sense that these administrators are preoccupied with their problem-prone situation. These situations are not delineated by geographical location but by circumstance. Administrators appear overwhelmed by the perceived problems and do not seem to find it congenial to turn their attention to getting on with "other" things like issues of cultural diversity to any great extent. All have, however, some will to consider addressing issues but the individual intentions, justifications, and issues are uniquely different and are not centrally focussed on cultural diversity issues.

PROFILES OF ADMINISTRATORS IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

Bill

SCHOOL	*TYPE*	*LOCATION*	*PERCEIVED DIVERSITY*
10-12	*English*	*Inner city*	*Yes*

Bill's intention is to provide the discipline necessary in his volatile school community so that the teachers are safe and so that the students leave prepared for a job with a "little bit of understanding about getting along with people and decision making". He explains:

We've got these incidents, all are not racially-based but there are racial overtones in most that we're dealing with non-stop and they could become very, very ugly. Each group like the Filipinos, the Vietnamese, the Natives congregate in their own area in the school. They don't bother each other unless something serious has happened somewhere...Seldom have I heard derogatory words uttered here between say the Vietnamese or Filipino students but the White kids will sometimes use slang terms like

'Flips' and, of course, I will pull them up short and say 'Excuse me' on an individual basis. We do anti-racist activities as they come along but we don't give a lesson everyday on it. We just try to get along as best as we can with these kids...My job is like a 'glorified cop'. My aim is to make sure that when I'm walking around that they all get along together in school. I really think that with the great mix we have, the potential for trouble is there unless you're watching it...Now, I would imagine some schools would have a program and try to do a lot of multicultural things. We have a Human Rights Club organized by our ESL teacher but only on a limited basis because you just don't have the energy.

Influences on Bill's perspective come from his own school experiences of being expelled and being told things like "just shut up and do it". He says he contests the system because it perpetuates some pretty bad things. With thirty-two years of experience in education, seventeen of those in administration, he contemplates that

maybe the system in schools is discriminatory, not purposely but the broad structure doesn't fit. Part of the structure is teachers who say 'We were brought up with this structure' and they can't see all that much wrong with it.

Concern about students being ready for jobs is a prime issue for Bill. With a demographic change from "the epitome of a middle class Germanic and Scandinavian population" to large groups of recent immigrant, ESL, and Native students, he believes changes in students' needs have occurred that are not being recognized by the system.

It is Bill's contention that he's made school "a little more bearable for lots of kids and then 'God help them'. Now a lot have done quite well and fit right in but a lot haven't and I know them. There's loads and loads of unhappy people." He feels that one of his main contributions as administrator is his support of teachers when "they want things. They come and I listen and we'll get things fast. We don't talk about it. I say, 'You let me deal with that and we'll get you that' and they get it." Bill believes he is "doing the best he can in a trying

situation."

Brian

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	English	Inner city	Yes

Brian sees his school as one that has a high migrancy rate and a broad range of students in terms of ethnic background. The community is a "violent" one where "poverty is enormous". Because Brian perceives education as "the only equalizer", his intention for the school is to develop safety and survival programs for the kids. He sees students who often get angry. Handling conflict and feelings is a prime area of work in the school. There's a sense of trying to subdue an environment in which there's

tension between some of the Asian students and the Native students and the whole issue of juvenile prostitution and money is just enormous. It's going to blow and unfortunately, a lot of the political stuff we do, feeds it. As an administrator, what I have to do is to sort the stuff out and then see how I can work it in the building here and a part of that is keeping as much of that stuff out of here and picking and choosing what we can deal with...The school seems to be the place where we try to solve all the problems of society. It's based on a sound philosophy that if you teach the young group, then of course, it's going to make a change. But one of the things as an administrator you have to do and you do it with the staff to a certain extent, but there are times when you just do it yourself, you have to say, 'How much more can I ask those people to do?' and you have to make some choices. In terms of the things with racism and that, it's almost as if we look at a school like this and we say, 'Okay, things are quiet. The kids are getting along okay. They're not fighting because this one's Native and this one's Taiwanese. So let's just go with it and we'll keep on doing what we're doing because it obviously works.' But I don't think that we're really dealing with and fully coming to grips with the whole idea of 'It doesn't really matter what you are'. It's an artificial scenario that perpetuates the idea that there is no problem.

While acknowledging that issues of cultural diversity require attention, those issues do not necessarily become integrated into any total school plan as Brian explains:

There's a lot of survival skills involved with the teachers here as well as for parents. There can on any day here be absolute chaos in terms of the workers, police, probation officers, and people apprehending kids because of something that's happened the night before. We have programs set for the kids but the teachers know that at any given time that can be blown apart by some kind of a crisis. So a lot of what we do here is based on the idea that you have to be ready for just about any eventuality that comes your way as well as have time for the academics. So a planned program of some kind on multiculturalism or racism doesn't get transmitted into a priority here...There's just too much else to do...An extension is that many, many of our kids and our parents live and work in the here and now, right now in the concrete, in the 'This is what I have to do today to get on to tomorrow'. There's not a lot of time or effort in their lives generated towards more abstract things like multiculturalism or racism in relation to school unless it becomes a problem. Schools like this too often become very crisis management oriented. You've got your best laid plans and and then you've got these other things that cut into there so you're constantly planning something, doing that until something goes wrong, then picking up the pieces and doing it again and dealing with something that comes in. Less concrete things like philosophical issues are not things that get dealt with in this community.

It has been his experience of working in special education that has most influenced Brian's thinking about his present job. He says he was sensitized to knowing children cannot fit into molds although systems try to put them into places like special classes. He believes, however, that it is much easier to integrate someone with a handicap than it is to do so, in terms of acceptance of race and colour. Suggesting that ingrained stereotyped attitudes towards difference create negative bias, he says the "culture of our society" makes this integration difficult.

Issues for Brian arise around the concept of multiculturalism where celebrations are promoted. He suggests these activities are elitist and of little relevance to people with whom he works who are focussed on basically providing meals for their children. Academic expectations with a particular emphasis on Native student programming are of central concern for Brian. As an administrator, he supports teachers by keeping them free of unimportant things so that they can get on with "the important things

of teaching". Those things, he perceives, are personal safety and academic survival skills.

Barry

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
7-9	English	Rural	No

Although Barry is aware of incidents at his school regarding some recent immigrants being ostracized for "being different", his intention primarily concerns itself with general parent communication and support because the values the school promotes or "things that we may not allow" are a result of the general feeling of the majority of the community. In describing his disciplinary and communication strategies for a very overcrowded school, Bill points out that

> this is a fairly structured school. Regulations and rules are well defined. The students are fully aware of consequences...I feel that, given the nature of the kind of students we have, the middle years young adolescents, there needs to be some room to develop but within well-defined parameters so that they don't go in all kinds of directions...The one thing the community wants is law and order. They want to feel comfortable that someone's in charge of this building; that kids behave themselves and parents are contacted; that learning can take place because it is well-structured...I think if people have the feeling that their concerns are being listened to, there's a lot of little fires that can be extinguished rather than suddenly having a forest fire.

The preoccupation with order dominates Barry's intention of what is important in his school.

Barry sees himself as "the one in charge" of the school discipline and believes this is a way of inculcating a "respect for authority". In a very overcrowded school with a "rambunctious bunch of grade sevens" coming from many different schools, there is, as perceived by Barry, a confusion about proper behavior codes in the school. In addition to personally speaking to students in their classrooms and in assemblies,

Barry assigns teachers to monitor hallways during break times. He expresses his concern that

> it's impossible for the teacher to notice everything. There's a lot of milling about but you hope to develop an attitude within the kids that they don't have to wreck things; they don't have to get after people. There's no need for that. The grade sevens are creating a bit of a problem this way because someone pushes, the other pushes but hopefully by the time they get to grades eight and nine, they'll know they are being bumped because it's very crowded and you don't have to bump back.

For Barry, it is his Protestant religious background and his familiarity with the mores of the local community in which he has grown up that serve to guide him. Throughout his fifteen years as administrator of this school, he says that professional reading has also presented him with some useful insights.

Although not a major concern on his school agenda, assimilation is an issue for Barry. He expresses concern that Canada is being "Americanized" and has a hope that a "new consciousness" is being born to preserve cultures. In what is perceived to be a fairly homogeneous community where most people have a similar cultural background and in a school which promotes some absolute values like respect for authority, Barry believes that being an administrator is "a powerful position in many ways. You influence by recommmendation."

Bob

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	English	Suburban city	No

Bob's intention is focussed on getting staff to look at the culture of the school in an effort to dispel some outmoded teaching behaviors and to replace them with more progressive approaches. He is encouraging staff to become active participants in decision-making which he believes will

impact positively on how staff will more fairly use power with students in their classrooms.

The previous very authoritarian administrator, in Bob's estimation, engaged in preferential treatment seemingly based on ethnicity in terms of staffing and programs. In taking over, Bob analyzed the heritage language situation which he did not see as serving the needs of the school any longer due to a low demand for it and phased it out. He now continues to work on attitudes and discipline concepts within his school.

Bob is attempting to reflect less selectivity and more inclusivity in terms of staff recruitment. In an effort to get staff to accept students who may behave differently than they expect is appropriate "good academic behavior", he is encouraging staff to acquire strategies to deal effectively with all students and not just those who have strong academic inclinations.

From Bob's perspective, the current staff response to those "behaving differently" would be synonymous with their response to those "being culturally different". He elaborates:

I need to get to a place where the people in the building are committed to dealing with kids in a way that kids maintain their dignity and their self-esteem. Things previously were being done to students and to teachers and the staff was quite comfortable with that. For example, although mainstreaming of special needs children was not a new concept, the reception here was always cool and the suggestion is still sometimes that those students would be better off in another school in separate classes...I think, in every way, and it's most obvious when you talk about the cultural and ethnic backgrounds, there's something that people may not have thought about and that's the integration of people who behave differently. They were always called the 'behavior problems'...But few teachers will change the activities in their class to accommodate a 'behavior problem'. It's not necessarily because they don't really want to but they have grown up thinking one way and have been doing things for so long one way that it just isn't there to think about things in any other way.

As Bob puts it, it is crucial at this point in time at his school to

get people to think of teaching-learning relationships which are more student-focussed than has been the tradition of the school. Consequently, redefining the concept of discipline which touches on some aspects of justice related to cultural diversity issues, is foremost in his mind because

> certain individuals seem to be 'out to get' students and I don't think they know that they're doing it but they are making it much more difficult for students who are weak academically or have behavior problems. Maybe those two happen to go along with the racial differences and it just so happens that they do in these cases. It seems that some staff always tend to go after, 'zero in on', and make life miserable for those students and their families by pointing fingers and saying 'that's why they are the way they are'...And those particular staff members are probably the most resistant to change because that's exactly what those students are doing via their behavior. They're asking the teacher to change a bit. The teacher is not going to change because the teacher is really into 'No, we're not going to do it any differently. You're going to have to live with the laws or rules of this classroom or you shouldn't be here.' So kids were sent out of the classroom. I'm assuming that that was okay before but it isn't now...I talk about the concept of fairness and respect more than I talk about mathematics, more than I talk about social studies, more than I talk about science because my feeling is that's an area that I still see lacking in some people. School was a place for teachers where the 'teacher's right' in everything he or she did and the parents had no business being here or asking questions about what's happening here. We're taking slow steps at getting teachers to make this a place for students and parents, too. Then we can go on to do other things like multiculturalism with our program.

Although Bob is preoccupied with the problematics of the current situation, he presumes he will succeed in his endeavors. It is then that issues of cultural diversity may receive more constructive attention.

Emphasizing that much of his early work experience was in coaching, Bob states this has had an impact on his attempts to develop good working relationships with his "team" in the school. Having been an administrator in three of the five different schools he has worked during his educational career, he feels that facilitating teachers to work as a family in delivering "quality education" is what his job is all about.

Specific issues of power arise for Bob with the staff in his school. "When people feel that everything they do as staff has to be run through the office", he asserts, "there's no responsibilty for actions because you're given orders." He contends that in giving teachers some freedom and autonomy in terms of what they do, students have benefitted. They "seem to move around the building more freely and in a more relaxed and less of a military style but there's still a long way to go." In feeling the urgency to attend to his staff development concerns, specific attention to cultural diversity remains in the background of Bob's agenda.

REFLECTION:ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

Athough administrators in this context consider addressing in different ways the issues of cultural diversity, such intentions are placed "on hold" for some less problem-ridden time. Currently, they are preoccupied with other immediate circumstances in their schools. Some perceived negative aspects of cultural diversity appear to surface intermittently throughout this context where administrators are working at establishing some means of "stabilizing their sites" but there appears to be little focus specifically on addressing issues of cultural diversity on a proactive school-wide basis.

No matter what the problem preoccupation of the individual administrator is, each has the will to attach some significance to addressing issues of cultural diversity. Some "survival in the system" type of cultural diversity programming may have been added into the school but no

concerted total school effort to initiate a challenge to the issues appears present. Because of the concerns about volatility and unpredictability in their particular environments, they do not perceive that there is currently a collective orientation to address the issues because staff are preoccupied with other things.

Administrators justify their intentions of "survival" programming and feel they have little choice other than to maintain a particular kind of order in a volatile environment in an effort to stabilize it. These administrators believe they can exert their influence in that direction so that current problems are dissipated and others are not precipitated. Administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts to these administrators means that administrators act most commonly as agents of stabilization at the moment.

REFLECTION:ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIORS IN THE "VOICED" AND "CONSIDERED"CONTEXTS

The intentions about which administrators speak in all four contexts in this study vary with the individual. There is no one recipe for administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. Each administrator contextualizes that for her/himself. Yet, there are some commonalities within contexts that shed light on some common themes.

In the **"voiced" context**, the intentions justified highlight the perceived importance of addressing issues of cultural diversity. This is done on a school-wide and not an "add-on" basis. It is felt by most of these administrators

that giving voice to issues is a feature of empowerment which serves to promote justice. In this context, administrators value diversity as a positive asset. There is an appreciation and celebration of such diversity as well as a consciousness that often "difference" is not equated with "equality" and that discrimination comes "hidden" in many forms. Zero tolerance for discrimination in word and deed are ideals toward which these administrators work.

By giving voice to the issues, these administrators are taking direct action to influence others regarding cultural diversity issues. They have intentions of socially reconstructing (Sleeter & Grant, 1994) some established ways. Like Bhola (1988), many of these administrators are growing in an understanding that

> multicultural education assumes an educational philosophy of social reconstructionism-that education should directly influence society. This means that the implementation of multicultural education must encompass 'a course of study' and 'a course of social action' (p. 104).

As they work at justifying, advocating, and endorsing their intentions, it will be seen that they do, indeed, engage in both study and action.

What is important to point out is that the heterogeneity of the immediate school community is not necessarily the factor, or the only distinguishing factor, prompting the move to address issues. There is a general conviction that addressing these issues is everyone's responsibility whether or not diversity overtly characterizes the immediate

community. For that reason, many of these administrators believe that attitudes, behaviors, and structures of the dominant mainstream society require scrutiny everywhere and at all times.

Acting as agents of change, these administrators are willing to address the conflicts inherent in trying to change established ways of living which are no longer perceived to be constructive. They question the power and dominance of status quo Western eurocentricism and are willing to risk challenging the established ways. Administrators see this as a moral leadership responsibility. The Manitoba Multicultural Education Policy and the Administrative Handbook guidelines focussing on cultural diversity and education for full participation, for cultural and linguistic diversity, and for the development of intercultural understanding appear to receive considerable attention in this context.

Intentions in the **"considered" context** highlight the fact that although issues of cultural diversity are considered, the attention of the administrator is deflected away from the consideration because it is directed to issues of stabilizing the school environment. Due to their problem-resolution preoccupation, issues of cultural diversity are perceived by these administrators as less urgent, less concrete agendas than those to which they are currently attending.

Although some aspects of diversity are considered in an isolated fashion, these administrators are generally agents of

stabilization who see problem-resolution as their immediate pragmatic responsibility. There is little risk taken to engage in addressing the issues of cultural diversity as the administrators seem hesitant to invite any additional conflicts into their school lives. Some of the Manitoba Multicultural Education Policy and Administrators' Handbook guidelines focussing on cultural diversity such those dealing with cultural and linguistic development receive some attention in this context.

In both these contexts, there is personal significance attached to addressing issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis. What differentiates the two is the extent of the will to pursue that agenda particularly in ways that effect the collective orientation of the school community to address the issues. The collective orientation is perceived to be established in the "voiced" context while it is perceived not to be established in the "considered" context. In the former, issues are given a voice while in the latter, there appears to be little opportunity for this to happen.

Different justifications for intentions and principles that are valued give rise to different behaviors in each of these contexts in this study. In the next chapter, administrative behaviors take on yet different meanings from both of the contexts discussed in this chapter. The personal significance variable is the delineating feature between the two pairs of contexts. The discussion of the "silenced" and

"ignored" contexts which follows highlights some of the emphases promoted when personal significance is not attached to addressing issues of cultural diversity.

CHAPTER 5

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS JUSTIFIER: PRINCIPLES in the "SILENCED" and "IGNORED" CONTEXTS

INTRODUCTION

What is valued in each context and by each administrator is different. The principles articulated in the intention justify different stances towards addressing issues of cultural diversity. While in the ""voiced"" and in the "considered" context there appears to be some will on the part of the administrator to address or to consider addressing issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis, in the "silenced" and "ignored" contexts, that will, for different reasons, does not appear to exist. The administrators in the **"silenced" context** do not attach any personal significance to explicitly addressing the issues on a school-wide basis and perceive their staffs collectively oriented in a similar fashion. These administrators do not believe that there is value in addressing these issues as a school.

In the **"ignored" context**, administrators appear to not attach personal significance to addressing issues of cultural diversity not because they disagree with doing so but because they have not given consideration to addressing them. They appear to be preoccupied with developing specialty programs at their schools and perceive that their staffs do not have a collective orientation to addressing the issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis. Again, as in the other two contexts, each administrator in each of the contexts justified

a particular intention on the basis of personal, professional, and/or political rationales.

THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

In the "silenced" context *(Tables 20-23)* issues of cultural diversity are not addressed explicitly on a school-wide basis and, therefore, are not given a voice. The choice in this context is to focus attention on the importance of highlighting the perceived similarities of all people rather than on any differences experienced by them. In that sense, issues of cultural diversity which point to any kind of difference are silenced. It is generally perceived by administrators in this context that there is a collective orientation in and outside the school to not explicitly address such issues. No school-wide plan for staff development in this regard is established because such an endeavor is deemed unnecessary.

Remaining publically silent on these issues appears to maintain an environment which is perceived to require no change with respect to cultural diversity. Often challenges to such continuity tend to be perceived as problems by these administrators. The consequence of such a stance appears to be the diffusing of difference by focussing on similarities. This is perceived to standardize and maintain an environment that "works well" without change. Emphasizing conformity is perceived by most of these administrators as being in harmony with the concept of justice.

THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

TABLE 20-SCHOOL GRADE LEVELS AND LOCATION OF ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	LOCATION		
	RURAL	SUBURBAN	INNER CITY
N/K-6	1	3	1
K-8/9			
7-9		1	
K/7/10-12	1	1	

TABLE 21-GRADE LEVELS AND GENDER OF ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	GENDER	
	FEMALE	MALE
N/K-6		5
K-8/9		
7-9		1
K/7/10-12		2

TABLE 22-SCHOOL TYPE AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

SCHOOL TYPE	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
ENGLISH	2	3
FRENCH IMMERSION MILIEU		
FRENCH IMMERSION DUAL TRACK		1
HERITAGE LANGUAGE		
TRIPLE TRACK LANGUAGE	2	

TABLE 23-SCHOOL LOCATION AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
RURAL		2
SUBURBAN	3	2
INNER CITY	1	

Almost all of these administrators say they have no problems with cultural diversity in their schools and for that reason, they do not need to consciously focus on diversity. Most feel that they reflect the larger community in that regard. One administrator

comments:

> An anti-racist appproach would be discouraged by my division because it doesn't like issues that get negative public opinion. It likes a sense of calmness so I don't raise anything about anti-racism because I'll lose support (Conrad).

What many of these administrators do articulate is that there should be a tolerance of differences. Where the uniqueness of difference appears to be acknowledged in this context is in the entertainment value which cultural cuisine and artefacts offer the mainstream population. Attention given to those "outside" the mainstream majority in any other manner appears to be deemed unnecessary.

Quite commonly, some form of ESL programming in these schools is usually mandated by the larger system and there is a preference among these administrators for "integration" to be the objective in such programs. For some, the interpretation of the term comes close to reflecting the concept of "assimilation" where making the "Other", the "them", similar to "us" receives emphasis. Unlike the "voiced" context where the concept of inclusion expects change to occur in the practices of the mainstream population, in this context, it is expected that "they", those others who are not part of the mainstream power structures, should make the

changes to "fit into" "our" society.

Administrators perceive that their staffs, like themselves, abide by the "similarities" position of the administrator's intention. Administrators indicate that pressures from the community and school toward conformity and continuity of the established status quo appear to exist in these environments. Further, it is often the contention of these administrators that teachers do not have the time or desire to think about what are perceived by these administrators as "abstract" notions like cultural diversity. Therefore, administrators by virtue of their administrative authority make decisions about such "abstractions". They believe that their staffs are comfortable to live with that orientation. As a consequence, no intention or attention appears to be given to orienting staff or others to addressing the issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis. In a sense, because these administrators do not take action to address the issues, they silence those issues at the school.

THE ADMINISTRATORS' JUSTIFICATIONS OF THEIR VISIONS

The way administrators specifically interpret the emphasis of their intention varies but some combination of the core themes exist in each *(Table 24)*. Conrad, Claire, Chuck, and Calvin in this context have agendas to develop the theme of "similarity" in these schools. Similarly, Cam and Carl, address that theme by viewing the school community metaphorically as "one family". Clinton and Corey diffuse

TABLE 24

THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

ADMINISTRATOR	FOCUS	MEANING
Conrad	similarities	"Canadian first"
Chuck	similarities	human emotion of anger is problem
Claire	similarities	difference causes balkanization
Calvin	sameness	pluralism causes problems
Cam	family togetherness	no differentiation of culture needed
Carl	family togetherness	minority should not impact on majority
Clinton	getting along values	people react to things like racism
Corey	similarities	treat new immigrants neutrally

issues of cultural diversity by focussing on similar universal values that they perceive require "inculcation" in all children.

Although their individual intentions differ from each other, the administrators in this context share the commonality of not having the will to place significance on explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis. Each differs in the way they silence such

issues from being addressed. Each offers a unique justification for the principles and practices stemming from the intention.

PROFILES OF ADMINISTRATORS IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

Conrad

SCHOOL TYPE		LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	French Immersion Dual Track	Suburban city	No

Conrad's intention is focussed on developing each student as a similarly "Canadian" student. Emphasizing the linguistic utilitarian function of the immersion program, he points out, "We don't stress the culture" because "we're not here to make French Canadians out of them".

"Respect" and a particular set of "values" are taught in the Family Life program "in the new year", says Conrad, continuing:

> We don't have such a large contingent of other obvious cultures that comes in in such a large number that we would have to put multicultural education or anti-racist programs in place...We wouldn't make a point of veering off and getting involved in the races and cultures and things like that...I'm not going to push differences' because often it's misinterpreted and, if you push something too far, people say 'Hey, they have a problem there' and we can create a problem. There's certain things that should be 'left in the closet' because if you take them out, they're going to create an issue...Why would you want to wake a sleeping tiger? You 'can't stamp out racism'. I think if we preach tolerance and respect, then eventually, it will go away. Also what's happening in society as a whole is we're becoming much more tolerant. We're beginning to accept all sorts of things that we never did accept at one time.

Conrad's father was an immigrant who said, "Listen, if I liked it so much where I came from, I would have stayed" and "that's kind of where I'm coming from", iterates Conrad. He feels his central office would discourage anti-racist programming because "it doesn't like issues" and "delegations" but likes, instead, to portray a "calm" image.

Conrad's perspective and presuppositions regarding cultural

diversity issues are most clearly articulated in his statement: "It irks me when people come from other places and they want to impose their values on our society. If that's what you believe in, then why didn't you stay where you came from?" Conrad notes that another issue for him is Native self-government. He questions "Will it heighten our respect for our Native People if they have self-government, especially if I have to pay for that self-government? I mean if you're self-governed, that means you have to pay for your own."

Conrad sees his catchment area as a "pretty good mixture" of middle class people from a "variety of ethnic groups". Illustrating his influence as an administrator, Conrad says he does "all kinds of little things just to arouse in people the fact that they're 'Canadians', 'Canadians first'. That's what I kind of drum into people's heads."

Claire

SCHOOL TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
7-9 Triple Track Language	Suburban city	Yes

The statement, "I don't believe in multiculturalism, historically and personally" forms the base of Claire's intention where similarities are emphasized because multiculturalism "is what causes problems like the 'balkanization' we see in Europe." "What we are", says Claire in much the same terms as Conrad, is

'Canadians' and what we have to develop is that our Canadian identity involves a tolerance for differences but let's focus on what's the same--respect for each other which fosters tolerance and appreciation. We haven't and wouldn't have an inservice on 'Well, we have to tolerate each other' because I don't believe that leads to tolerance. I think that leads to intolerance. The more we start talking about that difference, you accent it, and I think that's what draws the flack. I think it's better when you don't talk about differences and we talk about how we're

the same. We're human and if we can get that into these kids, I don't think we'll have to worry about defining multiculturalism or defining our country.

Having strong feelings about "some of the things that were done to me at school, including getting expelled," Claire believes one of the things he'll always work against is "ghettoization of this school". He stresses, "I totally disagree with the schools that want to be all immersion because my son was in immersion and hated it." Claire believes you do not have to have a knowledge of culture to understand the language. In his triple track language school, then, he says, "Let's not push the culture. Let's push the language and talk about respect for cultures." It is his feeling that administrators don't necessarily make a good school but they make a bad one.

With respect to his leadership influence, he comments:

It is always the Principal's fault if the school's bad...I always looked upon it as people really inept running schools and running them badly and I was damned if I wanted to work under that anymore. That's the only reason I went into it and basically that's why most of us did--to try and fix some of the stuff that really bugged us.

Supporting language programs as linguistic objectives separate from culture and "integrating" language students among each other are ways Claire believes he can "fix" any tendency toward school "ghettoization".

Chuck

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	English	Suburban city	Yes

The focus on similarities between all people is central to Chuck's intention. Rather than using the term "anti-racism", Chuck says he prefers to use "respect for each other" with reference to dealing with

issues of racial tensions which he admits do arise in his school. Chuck elaborates on how issues of cultural diversity are diffused at his school. He relates:

> We don't have a specific program per se that's done on the multicultural or anti-racist theme or anything like that. It's all done in an incidental and integrated fashion. The ESL group is handled as a group that has special and unique needs. We stress the similarities rather than differences because the whole idea is to mainstream these children. In the ESL program, you're helping them to be fully integrated and become regular students, so to speak. So you don't want to play up that racial tension issue too much. We work very, very hard to snuff out anything like that by enhancing the similarities between the cultures rather than the differences.

Because the school has some "legitimate ESL children and Native children", he lobbies his school division for some extra support.

His professional life, Chuck believes, has given him opportunities to hone his skills for this job. He thinks his basic personality is "tolerant" because he has "travelled extensively", taught overseas, and been an administrator of a dual track French Immersion school.

In general, Chuck feels that issues in communities are "never just a racial issue but a symptom of something else" like anger. In his particular community, there is much diversity in terms of socio-economic status and he likens the cultural diversity to that of a "'United Nations' cultural mix of about five main language groups", many of whom are refugees. In terms of administration of his school Chuck says, "the school becomes a perceived centre of fairness and equity, if you like, and my role as Principal is to make sure that that cuts across everything. I'm the judge."

Calvin

SCHOOL TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
10-12 Triple Track Language	Suburban city	Yes

Sameness is an important concept in Calvin's intention for the school. Explaining his stance, he comments:

The notion of anti-discrimination and anti-racist things makes me think that that heightens our consciousness of differences. We would rather promote the sameness in the sense that we're all in need of friends and we all like each other and we like fun, we like sports, we like music, so where are the differences? The differences are probably not as marked as sometimes made out to be. Focussing on sameness is in harmony with justice because we approach each other hopefully in the sense of equality and justice. Now, when you have a serious issue, you may have to do something specific but we do not have that particular issue here that requires a different approach and, in this sense, probably we assume that maybe we'll never have a serious problem. We believe in that philosophically because we're good people and good people have tolerance and appreciation for other people's differences. There are not specific statements and discussion of differences in the school...Tolerance means that you allow other people to have an opinion and a position but it doesn't mean that you recognize that it's equal to yours.

Calvin believes he has developed his attitudes towards what is important by talking about moral fibres and values as part of his upbringing. This is something he says that he did not shy away from throughout his professional life.

For Calvin on a global level, pluralism is fraught with problems. It doesn't "offer you the truth". His concern in some ways is similar to Conrad's. He explains:

In our society, we are led to believe that the minority frequently impacts on the majority significantly. The idea of democracy is that majority rules. But then you write a Charter of Rights which challenges the democratic methods. There are people in Canada who have grave misgivings about the Charter of Rights. The minority, then, has an impact of major significance on the majority because they have rights according to the Charter that this majority cannot change except with great effort. I would say that we need to worry ourselves about the balance of rights and responsibilities.

In his "stable", "middle-class North American" population, the students' parents come from about 40 different countries but the students are "assimilated Canadians". Calvin believes that as an administrator after a number of years, he has made a major impact in his school in that "you set a major tone or flavor to the school. So whatever the school is, in a general way, is certainly influenced by the administration in the school."

Cam

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
N-6	English	Inner city	Yes

A focus on academics and describing the school community as "family" are central to Cam's intention. He mentions that teachers in his school do a "variety of things" to reflect the different cultures as part of the "multicultural concept" but he stresses that "if we're all a family, there isn't any differentiation in our family of different cultures. We're not accentuating all the differences." He stresses that although some students may be "sensitive about their culture, the term 'anti-racist' does not specifically come into play here." Further, Cam relates "I guess, basically, when you talk anti-racist education, it all comes under the little things like there on the board, the 'Fair Play' poster from the government."

Cam came to this school from "the least inner-city school in the Division" and describes his orientation to administration in different schools as one where "you just jump in and find out." He has been particularly influenced by the idea which suggests that "you try to get the school working so that they can do without you." Cam basically

delegates responsibilities to individual staff members assisting and encouraging them to take advantage of external funding sources for "add-on" multicultural projects such as festive food fares and displays. If people were told that they had to do a particular program, Cam believes, they would probably resist it, because "it's not coming from them". Operating in a setting where the transiency rate is over fifty-five percent and where over ten percent of the students speak English as a second language, the ESL program "fits very well" into the school and the perception is that the students "fit very well" into the program. Multicultural resource personnel are infrequently used.

In a school where many people are perceived to have administrative and leadership qualities because of the "many years in education", Cam supports "whatever they want to do" and believes that pre-planning for cultural diversity is not appropriate in a "transient" school because administration is

like a chess game. You never know where the pieces are going to move or how you are going to have to move the pieces. You can't program yourself to move in any one way. You pick up things...What's a mission statement in a chess game?

Carl

SCHOOL	*TYPE*	*LOCATION*	*PERCEIVED DIVERSITY*
K-6	*English*	*Suburban city*	*No*

Not unlike many of these administrators, developing a "sense of family" where "everyone is equal" and "gets along" and has a sense of "being Canadian" are central to Carl's intention. He, very much like Conrad, insists that his family has always felt

if we've left another country to come to Canada, we've kissed that country good-bye and now we make a new start in life and that new start includes

learning the English language. What good will other languages aside from French do here, anyway?

Perceiving the ideal Canada as a unilingual Anglo country, a focus on government is key to the Social Studies program in Carl's school and "very little on multiculturalism happens here."

Carl says he was strongly influenced by his father's determination upon immigration that

> this was going to be a new life for his children...so we'll burn the old bridges behind us. It's hanging onto the old without wanting to assimilate with the new that we don't like. The English language is very important to us. I believe that if one comes to this country from another country, that one embraces the country and I would have no regrets that my Mom and Dad and my brothers and sisters sort of gave up our birthright and embraced this country and we have not hung onto our culture in terms of language and customs. We assimilated because if you want to be successful in this country, you better know the language. When in Rome, do as the Romans do, so in Canada, you do as the Canadians.

At issue for Carl is the necessity of unequivical loyalty to Canada. When he sees Folklorama where people "really hang onto something that their grandfather and grandmother brought over", he feels you have to question, "Where are your loyalties?" Further, he feels that "the Native people do not have a loyalty to Canada but rather there is a loyalty to their particular culture." Carl, like Conrad, is uncomfortable with the recent developments in self-government saying, "the country supplies them with millions and millions of dollars in order for them to live and now they want the right to self-government which we'll have to pay for." Concerns about racism, Carl perceives, are connected to the Anglo-Saxon community fearing

> that they're going to become a minority. I think maybe some of those fears are well-founded. I was in Los Angeles this summer and I felt so much in a minority particularly in the area where I was. I was just surrounded by Oriental people from Vietnam, China, Japan, and I just have the feeling Los Angeles is being taken over by Orientals. We're going to be pushed out. We're going to be a minority soon. The Orientals will be

running the United States and, I guess, when you go further out west to Vancouver, you get this feeling, too, that you're almost in the minority as White, Anglo-Saxons in this country.

In terms of his leadership influence, Carl sees himself as a co-ordinator within the school.

That does mean, of course, that if certain things have to be done and have to be said, that I expect that to happen. We have policy and it's easier for me to refer to page six of the handbook and point out to the teachers what policy is rather than coming down rather heavily on them. People tell me I give good advice.

Clinton

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	English	Rural	No

Clinton's intention revolves around the premise that "getting along" and understanding other people per se is important. His teachers use the "Second Step" program which, he believes, "goes way beyond just the the racial or cultural differences." The school, he points out, also has a commitment to the conflict mediation process which presumably assists in that understanding. "I'd much rather than than zero in on a conflict because of the racial origin or whatever look at conflict as a larger problem because I think the roots of many of these things are the same," says Clinton.

The influence of his home and upbringing and particularly his religious beliefs, Clinton states, have had a major factor "to play in what makes me as a person." With twenty-six years of experience and most of them in administration, Clinton explains an external influence on his decision making. He says:

I think you have to be a bit careful when you start to throw in terms like 'facist', 'nazism', 'racism'. I think you have to be a bit careful how you deal with those issues. You know, not all parents would support the

school if you used those terms. I think that 'agitating' an issue that isn't necessarily an issue can cause problems...I'd want to be quite careful in response to the posters on anti-racism. We'd want to be very careful how we would use material like that. I guess the reason I say that is because sometimes if there isn't a problem, do you want to raise the issue?

Issues which arise for Clinton include the changes he perceives are needed to adjust to a more heterogeneous society. Working in a homogeneous setting, he states that a deliberate position is taken to recruit staff who will be "in tune with the community". A part of his divisional interview process is to find out what a candidate's philosophy is on life and

whether they would be able to work within our community, whether they'll try to understand where people are at, or would they come in and feel that 'no matter what the community says and does out there, we're just going to go our own way.'

Corey

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
9-12	English	Rural	No

Corey's intention is one which holds that it is important "to inculcate attitudes, values, and good behaviour patterns that go into character building which are a cut above." Believing that nationalistic tendencies separate, Corey would like to see internationalistic world community attitudes developed. In practice he explains that means not highlighting the differences among students but rather ensuring that students "fit into" the system well. For example, Corey elaborates:

Some minority students have joined us this year. If there's no special need to intervene we try to treat them all as neutrally as possible. It's only where you need to intervene and to make people aware of things that we ask the counsellors or whomever knows of the situation to convey to teachers what they need to know in order to understand and work with these students. But when that is not necessary, we don't do it because you want to treat everybody as normally and neutrally as possible...With some New

Canadian students whose value systems are more akin to ours, they harmonize more easily...The parents I think had some difficulty in appreciating some of the things that were happening but they allowed the Canadian acculturation to take place at a nominal pace. Some of these kids communicate in English entirely. They have totally changed over. They came 99% our way.

His parents and his church, says Corey, have been influential in developing his values. In his thirty-seven years of teaching, he has found that schools do have to "basically reflect the community norms, the parents' expectations." Staff members, he says, are "limited in terms of propagating any of your own sort of personal views if they're outside the general constituent thinking and this is a Judeo-Christian community."

Although the school community is quite homogeneous, a number of students, including refugee students, have come from diverse cultural and political backgrounds. It is Corey's contention that he's "exercising some very direct leadership influences on staff to 'get people onboard'" in terms of helping those students fit in. He understands his leadership influence to mean that "you're the focal point of all kinds of things happening and so you can influence in all directions and you can influence in any way you want as long as it keeps you hired."

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

No matter how prominent the issues of diversity may seem to be, all the administrators in this context do not attach personal significance to addressing issues of cultural diversity in the school and they are not explicitly addressed in these schools on a school-wide basis. The administrators perceive that their school community has a collective orientation established to deal with the issues which is not to explicitly address them. In this "silenced" context,

administrators provide justifications of a personal nature for not explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity but these are often fortified by administrators' deferral to the dominant, powerful mainstream community, the status quo, who do not wish to question the established norms. In their attempt to emphasize similarities, the issues of diversity are silenced and, in that sense, appear to be perceived as inconsequential in these context.

There appears to be little concern for examining power relationships as they might affect those in the mainstream and those outside of it. It appears to be an expectation that "they"--"the Other"[27] (Onufrijchuk, 1984), should be required to make changes and fit into the existing system of the status quo.

With the use of phrases like "We're 'Canadian' first"; "We're all the 'same'"; "We're all 'family'"; and "We 'tolerate' them", issues of cultural diversity are silenced and diffused while some tendencies reflective of assimilationist thinking appear to be legitimized. For example, some of these administrators hold stances which propose that there is a particular way to be "Canadian" and if individuals do not accept that, they should "go back to where they came from". A less direct stance focusses on the

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[27]"Other" is used in this discussion in the sense that Onufrijchuk (1984) uses it when talking about the experience of "the minority", the "Other", being disembodied from the text of the dominant mainstream discourse.

sameness of the human family, of everyone having the same emotions and desires, and of everyone having the "need to understand and to get along".

Although the toleration of selective attributes of the Other such as artefacts of culture like food and the arts are often acknowledged for their entertainment and celebratory value in school events, the experience of struggle of that same Other does not appear to be accepted as requiring attention in other areas of school life. Administrators in this context, appear to exert their leadership influence to maintain the environment so that the established norms are perpetuated and so that sameness is emphasized over difference. With respect to their response to cultural diversity, administrators in this context appear to act as agents of continuity.

THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

The perspective framing the intentions in the "ignored" context *(Tables 25-28)* is one where addressing the issues of cultural diversity does not occur simply because thought has not been given to doing so. The issues have essentially been ignored by these administrators who are preoccupied with developing areas of specialization which seem to overshadow opportunities for cultural diversity issues to be included as important on the administrator's school agenda.

The specialization may be of an academic, organizational development, or enrichment nature. Intentions in this context

THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

TABLE 25-SCHOOL GRADE LEVELS AND LOCATION OF ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	LOCATION		
	RURAL	SUBURBAN	INNER CITY
N/K-6		3	
K-8/9		2	
7-9			
K/7/10-12			

TABLE 26-GRADE LEVELS AND GENDER OF ADMINISTRATORS

GRADE LEVELS	GENDER	
	FEMALE	MALE
N/K-6	3	
K-8/9		2
7-9		
K/7/10-12		

TABLE 27-SCHOOL TYPE AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

SCHOOL TYPE	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
ENGLISH	1	1
FRENCH IMMERSION MILIEU		1
FRENCH IMMERSION DUAL TRACK	1	1
HERITAGE LANGUAGE		
TRIPLE TRACK LANGUAGE		

TABLE 28-SCHOOL LOCATION AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY	
	YES	NO
RURAL		
SUBURBAN	2	3
INNER CITY		

usually entail skill or organizational development objectives with virtually no connection to issues of cultural diversity. For example, an administrator in a dual track school states that "although we have two languages in one school, our focus is academic in both, especially reading and writing processes" (Denise). There is a focus on subject or process specialization and on the competitive nature of schooling in society. Contemporary "marketable skills" appear to be important as emphasized by the statement:

> Here, we want to provide kids with skills to survive in the technological society aspect of the global village. Our strongest kids need opportunities. Independent thinkers is the bottom line, not morals or ethics (Darlene).

Where the focus is on developing staff skills, there is an emphasis on initiating staff participation and involvement in school decision-making.

In this environment, teacher expertise and the needs of a competitive society are central. The administrator's intention is often propelled by small powerful minorities who are elites either in the school or community. Often the area of specialty in the school might be of central interest to the ambitions of what Darlene calls "Superstar" teachers. Concentrating specifically on specialty area concerns appears to consume these administrators. Addressing areas of cultural diversity does not appear to be a component of that preoccupation. It may be for that reason that very little administrative talk in this context focussed on cultural diversity.

THE ADMINISTRATORS' JUSTIFICATION OF THEIR INTENTIONS

In this context *(Table 29)*, Darlene and David have particular preoccupations with developing technological and academic skills in students. Diane's focus on staff development is all encompassing across the subject areas while Denise places a strong emphasis on developing a sophisticated model for Language Arts skills programming. Don is immersed in the "strategic planning" of organizational development for change and improvement in schools. As in each of the previous

TABLE 29

THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT ADMINISTRATORS

ADMINISTRATOR	FOCUS	MEANING
Darlene	technology	selective group developing skills
David	science, math, and computers	concern on strong academic program
Diane	staff development programming	keep current with new strategies
Denise	curriculum implementation	developing subject continuua
Don	organizational development	developing strategic planning

contexts, these administrators have differing emphases regarding what they think is important in their schools. However, the administrators in this context are bound together by the commonality of ignoring the issues of cultural diversity in those emphases while focussing much attention on specialty development.

PROFILES OF THE ADMINISTRATORS IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

Darlene

SCHOOL	TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6	English	Suburban city	No

As her intention for the school, Darlene believes that, along with teaching children to be independent thinkers, "we need to do something for the children as far as their future is concerned and their future appears to be connected to technology." With a select group of interested parents and teachers, Darlene has developed a sophisticated technology program for a group of their "gifted" population. She details her intention:

> There's some concern about the whole idea of science and technologies and making sure our children are prepared for the future because of all those things that the government and business are telling us about the needs of its future workers but I'm not sure it's a prevalent thing throughout the whole school. It's basically something that comes from a group of parents because it's something that they themselves are involved in like business and technology, because they know what's coming in the future and they see things like low level service jobs fading away and they know that their children have to be highly educated in order to get a job in the future and that technology is part of it. So that concern is partly from them and partly from a group of teachers within the school who are very much interested.

This agenda, although involving only a small portion of the school population, is a focal point of the school's mission statement and is a major preoccupation in terms of time and energy allotted to it. Darlene indicates, "We take our ideas about science and technology to educational

and business organizations. The programs developed deal with careers, mentorships, and the media and have been award-winning." Further she states, "The kids love it. The parents love it. The teachers love it. It's a tremendous professional development thing for teachers...It's exciting."

Spending most of her educational career in consulting positions, she sees her current objectives as extensions of trying to help teachers get better at what they're doing "so we're always trying to become better teachers." Enhancing skills dealing with technological specialization is a primary emphasis.

At issue for Darlene is the "old belief that education needs to be pure and that we should not be training children for careers until after school." She believes that because students need to be trained for a job to have a good standard of living,

> education for education's sake is obsolete. We're one of the two countries in the world which has a general education that kids come out of high school or University in a lot of situations and are trained for nothing. All major countries outside of North America have systems where children are streamed, spend some time in the high school, and know what the work force is all about with really specific training and skills.

In her school community, there are few people of "different racial backgrounds" and "two distinct socio-economic groups", one "uninvolved group" with "core area" characteristics of transiency and unemployment and another "involved group" of upper middle class professionals. With respect to her school, Darlene relates the autonomous circumstances under which she exerts her leadership influence and also shares what appears to be an initial realization of any omission to address issues of cultural diversity at her school. She states:

> We sit on the fringe. We do a lot of things that are school-initiated and

not division-initiated. The issues of cultural diversity haven't arisen and so we haven't dealt with it and maybe as a leadership function we should be dealing with it. I have to do some thinking about that. As I'm sitting here thinking. I think probably one group pushes a lot so you tend to pay attention to that one whereas the other one doesn't and so it's easier to overlook. In one situation, you're automatically forced into doing things and to respond, whereas in the other, one doesn't push unless there is a problem with their child. The kids from the lower socio-economic area don't fit as well as the professional group in the science and technology programs because they don't have the tremendous experiences to bring to the educational setting...I guess when you're talking about understanding or when you're talking about people being aware of some of the issues, then you're talking about a long-term process...and when I make that comment I'm starting to think: 'Are we doing our job in that area? Are we working towards the understandings that we need to be?' I have to do some thinking about that.

David

SCHOOL	*TYPE*	*LOCATION*	*PERCEIVED DIVERSITY*
K-9	*English*	*Suburban city*	*Yes*

David's intention is to develop strong academic programs in his school. These would include highly sophisticated programs in math, science, and computer studies with a particular emphasis on female involvement in these subject areas. It is David's contention that

the types of careers or jobs in the workforce and the evolution of women in the workforce subsumes a lot of things. Women traditionally have not been encouraged in some of the traditional male careers like engineering. Schools as well as parents and the expectations of parents are responsible for that...Here now, over half of our graduates last year applied to Science Faculties...We have girls who are applying to engineering schools.

David's interest is rooted in his strong academic school experiences and in the educational experiences of his own daughters. Professional readings have been influential in providing David with insights for his intention.

In his school, there is a diversity of cultures but everyone strives for a "good command of the English language". To his school community, he talks about the school as having strong value placed on academic

performance. In terms of issues regarding cultural diversity, David is much less definitive commenting:

I'm sure that posters like 'Together We Can Fight Racism" do come across my desk. When they do, we post them somewhere. I direct them probably to some of the teachers who might post them or perhaps use them if a particular teacher's doing a particular theme. It could be used in an assembly or in a classroom unit on different religions or at any number of other levels or it could be all sorts of things...We wouldn't talk about racism. I think maybe the senior grades would talk about that as part of a history course or something like that if that came up. I think 'racism' is part of what we discuss when we talk about street-proofing and a number of other things. We live in an area which has a large Native population, for instance, and we talk about street-proofing and that sort of thing might come up at all levels. So in that sense, we would deal with it. Although maybe it's a good idea in the future to use racism as sort of a school theme. It might be a good idea. I don't think I would probably adopt that term because it's a fairly negative term. I would talk about 'multiculturalism' or we would have something like a 'Different Nations Day' or something like that.

Diane

SCHOOL TYPE		*LOCATION*	*PERCEIVED DIVERSITY*
K-6	*French Immersion Milieu*	*Suburban city*	*No*

In her French Immersion school, although Diane promotes bilingualism, her main intention is focussed on staff development in the areas of student self-esteem and curriculum integration. She states that one of her objectives is to

be sure that the program of studies and the new techniques and teaching strategies are implemented...We have meetings and we make sure there is professional development. We attend conferences. We plan our own school professional development. This year we really stressed the personal, social and moral development of students so we had some inservices on things like 'Catch them being good'. Then we all went to see Barbara Colorosso.

Early childhood, whole language, and enrichment program inservicing appear to preoccupy Diane's agenda as does a focus on a new superintention plan.

Personally, Diane describes herself as a perfectionist who knows how important self-esteem is and that her school experiences as a child were

positive in that sense. Professionally, it is her training in special education and counselling which sensitizes her to self-esteem concerns. Hence, there is an emphasis on that area of staff development.

More globally, Diane sees the French-English political situation in Canada as having a detrimental effect on the French Immersion enrolments. "People are changing schools more often without reason," she comments alluding to the fact that people's language prejudices are prompting people to leave French for English programming. With respect to issues of cultural diversity, Diane states:

> We do have different races and we do things for them like a multicultural project last year with one of the grades. Because we have ESL in another school, if we have someone come in who doesn't speak English or French, we probably would tell them that we have other schools where their needs would be better met...Our children are more academically heterogeneous because of social economic circumstances and not racial differences.

Diane believes in empowerment of staff as meaning that each person develops their own area of expertise in the course of their own professional development. Currently, the focus in the school provides direction in the area of self-esteem building.

Denise

SCHOOL TYPE	LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-6 French Immersion Dual Track	Suburban city	No

Denise's intention focusses on the specialized development of academic curricular areas and the integration of these areas in classroom strategies. She believes particularly that in a French Immersion school with Anglophones, "it's important that we do keep up their English language arts skills. So I really monitor that to make sure that that happens." Denise heads a staff team which is creating a continuum of

skills over the subject areas in all the grade levels because, as Denise describes it,

> the teachers basically felt that the kids were not reading the way they should so we responded to that and then the provincial assessment and whatever you read in that area would indicate the same thing so it wasn't that we were any different than anyone else but that was what they wanted to look at. Also teachers in French Immersion were complaining that there was just too much in the curriculum and I guess my feeling was that it was because they basically did not understand integration. If you understood what reading and writing are all about, then you wouldn't feel so overloaded in the curriculum because obviously you're going to be teaching reading and writing in science and social studies not just in language arts. That would give them a sense of relief that the curriculum isn't really as crowded as they make out...We've completed both reading and writing and now we're into math.

Denise came into education as her second career with an interest sparked in academics due to experiences with her son who had difficulties in school. Her work as a consultant for academic areas influenced her work at this school.

As an issue, Denise speculates that many parents of French Immersion students are parents who do not understand the academic demands placed on a child in immersion program. She sees them as parents

> who are not academic but who would wish their children to be. I think if they were academic they would have a better understanding and would not be putting their kids in French for that reason. They would go to a deeper level and say, 'Yes, certainly a person who is bilingual has a greater advantage; they understand better because you can look and reflect on language in a different way when you are bilingual than when you are unilingual.' So in that sense, I think an educated person would have thought of that. An educated person would have also thought of the shortcomings of the French Immersion and say, 'but I think my child is going to do well in math and science so I have some reservations about French Immersion because I am concerned about their higher education in math and science in French. I want my kids in English for math and science.' Those would be the educated people. I think that what we have is a lot of people who are probably struggling themselves who want something better for their kids which they don't quite understand. So it's much more of a status thing.

The community in which Denise works has a wide range of socio-economic levels where "English is the common language" and only a few

people speak a third language. Children may be re-directed to another school should they not have facility with either French or English. Denise explains her concerns about having children fit into the system at her school recalling that

one time a Filipino family came and I thought that the children might be better off in one of the ESL programs in another school because we have nothing like that here. But the parents didn't want that because it meant bussing the kids and they were too far from home and that kind of thing. We had pretty strong language programs here so we felt that they would probably fit in quite well and they seemed to. In fact, we're fairly well-equipped to look after that in a sense because we do have a bilingual Resource teacher. She is French speaking so she understands about language.

Beyond the division having a policy that only dual track and not milieu schools will operate in the division, Denise points out that "we're on our own to figure out the way we want it to run."

Don

SCHOOL TYPE		LOCATION	PERCEIVED DIVERSITY
K-9	French Immersion Dual Track	Suburban city	Yes

Don's intention is one of perfecting the organizational development of the school using a "strategic planning model". He's worked at "school improvement" with his staff in the form of discussions on belief statements, the management of change, evaluation, and curriculum in an effort to try "to surface our own culture". He elaborates on this area of specialization:

We want an organization that is extremely tight on its values, on its beliefs, and then it doesn't have to be tight on its procedures because everybody that's 'on board' knows exactly what the organization believes. Then they will behave according to the culture of the organization and will serve that culture through independent decision-making. We want to allow people to be empowered and creative and productive.

Don describes his formative years as a student as being a 'teacher

pleaser'. Later he turned rebellious. His experience in union activities and consultative roles strengthened his resolve to look at change. He refers to current research about the changing society, organizational development, and leadership to guide his endeavors.

At issue for Don is that changing schools is a

phenomenally difficult long term slow process. To be responsive to the changing world, we're probably more a mirror of history and a purveyor of structures for some reason--the way we do business, the kind of people that work in schools--I'm not sure but we're hesitant and very slow to change very much. This is what we're seeing in the North American educational change literature. The difficulty is going to be with arguments for 'back to the basics' or back to an old paradigm when in fact the world is a new paradigm. The world is a totally new place for thinking and learning. I think we're in for some rocky times. But again going back to the strategic planning model we've been following through with at this school, I think we're asking some of the right questions...

There's a different sense of time and urgency in the literature that I read in the business community as opposed to education and I think it's time that educational leaders were seeing problems as more urgently requiring solutions. Things that might be viewed as needing a decade or two to change really might need to be brought into the several year window. That's a real struggle. That's tough. It leads to frustration but I think there's some excellent work in the writing related to organizational development.

Don's school population is "extremely diverse" with Canadians who are "powerful elites" and have been here for generations as well as "New Canadians" who "can't speak English". When he thinks of what a school "has to be like with a diversity of situations", he suggests that

things will take care of themselves...The best kinds of multicultural education for me is probably the kind of education that also takes into account the intention and the realities and then instead of event focussed formalized multicultural extravaganzas, that as it becomes timely in the work with students, the teachers with reference to curriculum and the intention and how their students are reacting, the diversity of our students and parents will be recognized incidently and obviously in a natural as opposed to a forced fashion. I think that the school that would choose to have a number of extravaganza events around particular multicultural issues is at a contrived level of meeting the needs in the area of multicultural education...Given the excellent nature of the staff here, we're probably at the point where we're doing fine work in the area of multicultural education deliberately but not obviously and I'd like it that way...I'm comfortable with the naturalistic approach to the

appreciation of others as opposed to a contrived approach.

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

No matter how present the issues of cultural diversity may appear to be in this context, administrators do not attach personal significance to addressing them explicitly in their schools. They perceive that their school community has no collective orientation established to address them either. Cultural diversity is not a focus in these schools while a preoccupation with a specialty area is.

Administrators justify their intentions of specialty programming and believe their role is in providing leadership for these areas. Administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts for these administrators means administrators act most strongly as agents of specialization.

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIORS IN THE "SILENCED" AND "IGNORED" CONTEXTS

As in the previous two contexts, the administrative behavior about which each administrator talked was unique to the individual in the "silenced" context and in the "ignored" context. However, within each context some commonalities exist.

In the **"silenced" context**, there appears to be a perception that school life is "fine just the way it was and is". There appears to be no recognized need, therefore, to start addressing issues of cultural diversity.

Cultural diversity by many of these administrators is

perceived to be problem-laden. Difference is spoken of in terms of toleration rather than acceptance of diversity. There appears to be a dominant version of "being Canadian" and it is to this ideal--usually a unicultural Eurocentric image--that the Other is expected to aspire. Any change in this context, it seems, is expected to come from the Other rather than from the system.

Administrators in this context appear to act as agents of continuity. The do not perceive it necessary to risk challenging the status quo. The Manitoba Multicultural Education Policy and the Administrators' Handbook guidelines regarding cultural diversity appear to receive little attention beyond the mandated linguistic programs in this context.

The intentions in the **"ignored" context** highlight the perceived importance of developing areas of specialization in schools. Addressing issues of cultural diversity appear not to have been contemplated by these administrators.

In general, the cultural diversity agenda in this context is untouched or underdeveloped. The concepts of cultural diversity appear distant from school life in this context except for a few designated "fit in" or "add-on" programming events or activities. Administrators exert leadership initiative to the areas of specialization. These specialization areas tend to not include issues of cultural diversity. The Manitoba Multicultual Education Policy and

Administrators' Handbook guidelines appear to receive little attention in this context.

Justifications are Advocated and Endorsed

It is these justified intentions and the principles on which they are founded in each of the four contexts that administrators advocate and endorse in their work as administrators in schools. These schools, then, can be understood as organizations which "are limited by and defined by human action. In their deepest-subjective-reality, they are simply manifestations of mind and will" (Greenfield, 1980, p. 27). The action stemming from that mind and will are discussed in the chapters which follow.

Prior to the discussion of the endorsement process in chapters eight and nine, the next two chapters will focus on how administrators ***advocate*** for their intention--that is by simultaneously *communicating* and *monitoring* it. In Chapter 6, communicating as an advocacy process will be described. Specifically, the question which will frame the discussion is: "As administrators advocate their intention, what are the specific priority principles of intentions *communicated* in each context?"

CHAPTER 6

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS ADVOCATE: COMMUNICATING PRINCIPLES--PRIORITIES

Principles of the intentions which administrators value become priorities which they communicate to others in the school community. This communicating agenda is an awareness-building, issue-raising phase of advocacy. The administrator interacts and dialogues with others about the intention. Administrators, according to Foster (1986), "spend a high percentage of their time engaged in dialogue; the dialogue itself provides a means of controlling the milieu of schools" (p. 62). Administrators advocate for the intentions by interacting purposefully with their school community with respect to the principles that they believe should become practices. That means that administrators communicate, often not unproblematically, what values are important to practice in the school. In organizations like schools, Greenfield (1973) says,

> the transforming mechanism lies within individuals. It is found in individuals striving to change their demands and beliefs into definitions of reality that others must regard as valid and accept as limitations on their actions (p. 560).

Administrators work at transforming their principles regarding what matters in the school into realities as they define their priorities for the school.

To that end with respect to addressing issues of cultural diversity in the "voiced" context, the overlapping priorities of change, inclusion, justice, respect, and adaptability are

communicated by adminstrators in their work. Survival--academic, personal safety, social, organizational or some combination of these--is the priority communicated in the "considered" context. For administrators in the "silenced" context, continuity, conformity, and diffusion are the priorities communicated. In the "ignored" context, the priority communicated is specialization in a particular area of school life. Part of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts, then, is the communication of these priorities. The value placed on explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity issues at this particular time in their school is reflected in the administrator's choice of priorities for their school[28].

COMMUNICATING IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

PRIORITIES: CHANGE, INCLUSION, JUSTICE, RESPECT, ADAPTABILITY

In the "voiced" context, administrators perceive it significant to address explicitly issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis. They, with their staffs, grapple with terminology, concepts, and issues of cultural diversity. Most of these administrators agree that it is important to use both terms, "multicultural" and "anti-racist" education when talking about such diversity. Most perceive multicultural

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[28]It is important to note again that the number and development of themes in this discussion is meant to representatively reflect the amount of administrative talk devoted to the topic of "cultural diversity issues" in the interviews. All other valid talk dealing with other intentions, principles, and practices is not the subject of development in this dissertation.

education as the cross-cultural learning about cultures and peoples for understanding and acceptance. Most perceive this as a stage of getting to anti-racist education--learning about and implementing strategies which challenge discriminatory practices in an effort to establish a more just society for all people in a multicultural/multiracial society. Together the two emphases are considered as good and appropriate ways of going about school and life experiences with everyone on a daily basis. Most also agree that, in addition to understanding the similarities which bind all humanity, it is necessary to understand the experience of difference and its effect on those perceived different and on those perceiving difference.

In many cases, a number of forms of diversity such as those dealing with ability, age, class, gender, language, and religion as well as those of race and ethnocultural background are coalesced (Sleeter & Grant, 1994) and incorporated as an integral part of the dialogue regarding cultural diversity issues. The concerns of both "visible" and "invisible minorities", the individuals and groups who tend to lack leverage in power relations, are surfaced to varying degrees by these administrators as they critically analyze what they perceive as the systemically created and perpetuated inequalities. Consequently, human rights and anti-discrimination stances which emphasize the promotion of the inherent right to justice, equality, and equitable treatment

for each individual have primacy in this context as does a view of the world which anticipates the necessity of developing attitudes of cooperation and valuing diversity for international interaction in the future.

Therefore, the right to equal opportunities, access, and outcomes which lead to full participation in society; to the development of linguistic and cultural diversity; and to cross-cultural understanding as outlined by Manitoba Multicultural policy are important measuring sticks for the success of priorities in this context. These administrators believe that the priority principles of their intentions--the priorities of change, inclusion, justice, respect, and adaptability--lead to the construction of such a reality. In advocating for that intention and reality, each communicates her/his priorities.

The extent of advocacy of particular aspects of the priorities varies. A number of administrators say they take multicultural education stances at some points in time where celebration and appreciation receive the greatest amount of attention; some take stances where cross-cultural or intercultural understandings and interactions with "others" are sought; and some take strong anti-racist stances where zero-tolerance for negative bias is paramount. All are perceived as legitimate perspectives by these administrators for particular phases of life in their schools. All suggest that they understand themselves and their staffs as

continually learning about how to interpret priorities in order to live out multicultural education as part of regular life in their schools.

Change as an impact on and as an impetus for the school community is central to the advocacy for explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity and permeates all the other priorities in this context. Change in demographic terms can mean that the number of "others" has increased; change in ideological terms can mean that the way the mainstream and the Other think about power relations may be different than in the past; and change in administrative and school work can mean many things. Among those meanings, at least for the administrators in this context, is reflection on re-constructing school life so that it would offer justice and dignity for all in a changing, culturally diverse society.

Administrators in this context generally believe it is necessary to acknowledge and respond to these changes in society and schools by continually learning about and making attempts to understand the implications of change within the school setting. As interpreted by Andrew, this means

> knowing who your kids are and knowing that what we do in teaching, we do in a changing world...Basically, lifelong learning means understanding that the world is changing under our feet and we have to adapt to that as adults...The thing that we're wrestling with right now in multiculturalism is not so much the kids and what they bring but it's the teachers' attitude.

Often, Andrew implies, society and the school have not recognized that change has occurred and that new responses are

necessary from people involved in school programming. He, therefore, locates the problem and the need for change away from the student and situates it with the people in the system, the school.

In the perception of many of these administrators, a change in school personnel attitudes and practices is warranted. Art describes his particular challenge in this regard:

> One of the things about this school is that people hadn't realized that the community was changing. It was changing drastically. The needs of the majority of kids were not being met...There must be structures that meet the needs of kids because my personal feeling was that the structures that were in place met the needs of the teachers but didn't meet the needs of kids. My feeling is that you set up structures that meet the needs of kids first.

By re-designing the structure of the school timetable, more access for students to courses they needed was arranged. Art structurally changed the school operation to the advantage of students where previously the timetable was set up for efficiency and convenience of teachers. Similarly, administrators like Arnold saw teacher pedagogical change, the way teachers went about the teaching act, as essential. He highlights the developments in his school:

> The school has changed. We no longer have a traditional school...There are some people who can't quite understand that the role of the teacher has changed so there are a few that are still traditional and still have difficulty with that but the great majority are able to be flexible. I guess it has been one of the keys to the school's success that the teachers are willing to work with kids in different ways and they treat them, for the most part, as individuals rather than deal with them as a block...In the majority of the cases, people have been willing to make some changes. Now I wouldn't say they've been drastic changes but there's been enough movement and

enough flexibility that there's a level of comfort with change now.

Administrators interpret change in most of these schools to mean that there had to be a better fit or match between what was good for the student and what the teacher was doing in the classroom and what teachers were doing in school in general. From his perspective, Aaron explains that research helped him come to terms with responding to those demands as he understands them. He elaborates:

> Things change and move along and we must evolve with them. What guides us is research. We look at our catchment. We look at the characteristics of our kids. What are the things that say what to do and what to do differently than when I was in school?...In a place that needs to constantly change and evolve, there are a lot of decisions to be made and sometimes people don't want to do things differently so it's important to have something like research which is credible as a base for what you're going to be doing in the future...Some teachers think that because it worked well in the past, it doesn't make sense to change things. Doing things the way it was when we went to school doesn't fit anymore.

There are also community issues which these administrators believe need to be addressed. There is a desire to both, empower parents in real ways and assert an ideology of changed power relations which would validate that empowerment. Administrators find themselves needing to prepare for changes as well in terms of how they are going to deal with situations where parents want something other than what is established. They are, therefore, compelled to deal with the notion that ignoring parents is disempowering them.

Working at understanding and living with change and its tensions is perceived as a legitimate, necessary challenge of

administrators in this context. Such negotiation of meanings is accepted as an integral part of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts by these administrators.

Inclusion, one of the tenets of proposed change in this context, is a priority which begs the attention of these administrators. They see it as a necessary consequence of change in society and schools reflecting power relations changes. The concept focusses on ensuring the representativeness of everyone and not just of the majority population in the life of the school. First, as a preliminary step to embracing the reality of the concept of inclusion, many of these administrators believe that the "politics of language" requires critical analysis. In her school, Angie approached the task in this manner:

> We did some work right at the very outset of the year around 'we' and 'they'. When we say 'they', are we speaking of children of White background, White children of British or French born? Who are we speaking of when we're speaking of 'they'? We have to very carefully think about the use of the pronouns we use. Are they 'our' kids or are they 'those' kids?...We use the terms 'inviting' and 'disinviting', too. 'That's an inviting statement' or 'That's rather disinviting'. I think we have to understand that a part of what ties into inclusion is the language that we're using, the language that adults are using.

That invitational approach of inclusion for Art, as it appears to be for Angie and the rest of the administrators in this context, extends beyond the confines of race and ethnocultural backgrounds in terms of diversity. It is conceptually synonymous with the terms "integration" and "mainstreaming" in the sense that everyone regardless of what

label they may have acquired has the right to access, participation, and outcomes which are equitable. Art explains:

> Our school community is going to be representative of what's out there...We're going to create an open and inviting environment for kids...That kind of welcoming approach is what we talk about. This school has to be inclusive. It has to take care because this is a very diverse community we're living in...Multicultural diversity and special education concepts have come together at our school. The concepts are the same. When you look at it, why would we separate students? If you're going to separate on the basis of ability, the next thing is why don't we just separate on race? Why don't we say all the Blacks will go in one room and all the Orientals will go into another room and all the pure Whites into another classroom? That's not what we do in society. At least I hope that's not what we do in society...So we began to get people thinking about the variety of learners, the variety of learning styles, the variety of ability groups but at the same time, the need for supports...We started talking about diversity and said, 'Yes, you're welcome here and because you're welcome, other people have to be welcome, too, so that when we have people coming from another country who don't speak your language, we have to do everything we can to make those people feel welcome, too.

Elaborating further, Art describes how he moved to ensure inclusivity took into account gender representativeness on his staff. He says staffing

> had to begin to also represent the changes that were occurring in the school community. One thing I told staff was that 'This is not a school that recognizes gender equality. Here we are in a high school where 50-60% of our students are female, and we have a staff population that's 80-85% male. That has got to change. It's not going to change by force but as we have an opportunity to hire, all things being equal, we will begin to replace male with female staff.

With a similar emphasis to broaden the definition of inclusion, Anne refers her staff's attention to the provincial Human Rights Inventory. The question she highlights is "Does the school celebrate leaders and heroes, female and male, of

different races, cultures, ages and physical abilities?" She insists that you have to keep reminding everyone of that and ponders, "How many session presenters in our next professional development program will be women, different races, or whatever?" Anne points out that "with the gender issue, we always watch how many girls enter the Science and the Computer Fairs. We feel that there should be representation." She further heightens the awareness of inclusion on her staff by bringing to their attention the need to consider our perceptions of changing family structures. With the statement, "We send a message to the child when a chart has every single option on it but there's never the two same sex partners", she prompts reflection in this regard. Inclusion, in Anne's interpretation, means acknowledging equally the variety of family structures in contemporary society.

Lobbying for change such as inclusion is not without its dilemmas as conflict is an ever-present aspect of change. Alec describes the negotiation regarding issues at his school:

> One staff member has said, 'I work in this public institution. When I walk in in the morning around the time of Christmas, I hear Christmas carols and they're singing about Christ the Lord being born and I'm Jewish. Somehow I have some uneasy feelings about walking into this place where I work which is now representing Christmas and Christian tradition as the thing we're all about.' Of course, that begins to raise some questions about 'What are we doing by doing that?' But then if you don't do it, what are you doing then? So how do you do it so that you are inclusive and that so you don't become neutral and blah because you're wanting to be so careful not to offend anybody? You don't want to do that and, yet at the same time, you want to be sensitive to how people feel about their traditions and you want to protect that and create an inclusive kind of feeling. We're still struggling with that and it seems like such a small issue but it's huge.

"How much change?"; "What kind of change?" and "What are the consequences of change?" are but some of the questions related to the inclusion issues these administrators encounter in communicating and negotiating their priority principles. In the "messy business" of addressing issues, the experience of Alec highlights not only the risks and conflicts inherent in such processes but also the courage and importance of putting issues on the table, struggling with them, and not always resolving them simply.

Justice as a priority is an equality issue quite inseparable from inclusion and power relations. For these administrators, it is also inextricably interrelated with respect. Through a process of examining the question, "What are the issues germane to the term, 'multiculturalism'?," Alec's staff gained insight into how justice issues would become a central focus in his school. He elaborates:

> Within our school context, when we sat down and talked about 'multiculturalism', the whole issue of 'What is culture?' became a focal point. We talked about the culture that we bring ourselves, our own personal culture, and looked at the culture that the students bring regardless of race or creed, although those may be a factor in the culture they bring. Students bring their own different culture and the better we are able to understand what that culture was, the better we would as teachers be able to communicate with those students. So then issues such as equitable treatment, issues such as empowerment of students, which was already an important issue in the school fell into that context.

Justice, the ideal that there should be equitable and fair treatment in terms of opportunities, access, and outcomes for all individuals, is viewed by administrators in this context as essential to the realization that everyone has the right to

equality; the right to be empowered to make meaningful and integral decisions as full, active participants in society.

That justice priority for Art has been a force for changes in thinking about integration and about his entire school operation. He reflects:

> The community has changed. The kids have changed and we need to recognize that. We do have more immigrants here. We do have more Native kids here. We've got to make sure that those groups are not being relegated to lesser programs. We've got to make sure that some of these people that are coming to our school from a variety of cultural backgrounds are not being put in programs that are dead-end...So that's where the multicultural thing began to mesh with what was happening in terms of dealing with 'at risk' students and learning styles and special education. So what we were starting to do was trying to marry those things and to put things in place so that those kids who, often, were the first ones to be put in vocational programs or to be asked to leave school because their attendance or punctuality was poor were treated more fairly. We started to get these kids away from being streamed in certain courses and started to keep them in the mainstream.

Justice in action means that those labelled as "at risk", "special education", "0_ stream students", "behavior problems", "culturally different", "ESL", or other exclusionary designations not only be seen to have access to all programs, but in the outcomes of their school experience are prepared for full and equal participation in society as a result of just and fair opportunities in school to do so.

What Art decided to do was put in place structures like heterogeneous groupings in classrooms and tutorials to assist students in acquiring outcomes like going to university or technical schools instead of leaving in place structures which provided students with far too much access for "dropping out". In Anne's school, that justice priority is guided by the Human

Rights Inventory which poses questions like: "Does the performance review and scale include an evaluation of whether the employee's conduct supports the school's commitment to equality?" and "Has the school library developed a policy governing the acquisition of books which requires that materials acquired be non-sexist and non-racist?"

The scrunity of behaviors, curricular content, and materials selection is important in this context. Justice, in terms of giving students a voice and empowering them to give their point of view, is a key feature of this analysis. Extending that notion to providing students with "other" points of view outside of that to which the mainstream adheres is an element of equitable treatment for Andrew. He conveys that equity in curriculum, for example, means that in a social studies program

> kids need to understand that when the first settlers arrived in Canada, they would have all died of scurvy had it not been for the Native people who taught them how to get some vitamin C out of trees and those kinds of things.

As these administrators perceive it, taking into account points of view that have been marginalized and have not been included in mainstream thinking is an essential component in establishing equity and equality. "There needs to be that equality of status for all people which is why we look at why we need to do things differently than what we experienced or perhaps what we were trained to do" insists Aaron. The justice priority, in a sense, underpins and threads together the priorities of change, inclusion, and respect.

Respect as a priority is an issue closely related to equality issues which deal with power relations. It can basically take on one of two definitions. In one sense, showing respect is equalizing rather than marginalizing human beings in terms of power relations. Respect is a matter of dignity and integrity. As Aaron explains,

> the respect issue is something that needs to be applied to everybody. It doesn't matter whether it's student to student, student to adult, adult to student, or adult to adult...That's one of the guiding principles for the school...There's a person who's struggling with that at this school. There's the person who has that notion of the classroom teacher as being 'god' of the room. 'My word is everything. Their word isn't anything at all.' I say, 'Your word is just the same as anyone else's. The only time your word is different is when it comes to issues of safety and who's in charge and who's directing this business. But the rules don't change in terms of respect. They don't change. Nobody deserves more or less respect than anybody else. So that rule is not different. You don't get any credit because you're over eighteen or over thirty or have a certificate.

Much of the discussion regarding respect by these adminstrators is directed at making certain that within the system of relationships in schools, students' self-esteem is healthily developed and maintained. What that means in most cases, is that teachers are expected to re-consider their relationships with students as perhaps being different from what they were in the past. As Armand states,

> we've talked a lot about that 'When you do discipline with students, when you talk with students, are you affecting their level of integrity? Are you dealing with the behavior that's causing the problem or are you affecting the student's personal integrity? If you can't respect the personal integrity of the student, you can't get change...In that whole area of self-esteem, we're also going to study the abuse of women because we feel that that is a major problem that is occurring. This lack of respect for the other sex has to be looked at.

As an element of respect, care is taken in this context not to demean others by ostracizing or stereotyping them. In particular, stereotypes are a concern because, as Anne points out, they heighten inequalities and are disrespectful. She recalls a specific incident which speaks to her concern:

> I remember a couple of years ago, a teacher spent a lot of time getting a 'Voyageur' theme going and I walked into the lunchroom and saw a number of kids with headbands and feathers on their heads. Obviously they were the 'Indians' in 'About the Voyageur' and had kept their feathers on for lunch. So I said to the teacher, 'Something about that doesn't make me feel comfortable. I think that would be disrespectful to do that.' Then I phoned a Native person and said, 'Tell me what you think about this.' She said, 'You're right. Headresses were very ceremonial. They had almost a religious aspect and one feather was not the norm.' When I went back to the teacher, she was quite upset and I know why. She had put so much work into that and asked now, 'Why are you nailing me on this little detail?' A number of staff members were upset with me that I would "nail" them on that 'little' detail. But I had some real human rights people who stood up for me and that discussion came up again the next year when we went through the human rights checklist...I think the one population that we have to work at in our school awareness is the Native population and I think there's some real stereotypic attitudes towards Native people. We have some money to bring in Inuit and Native art. But I see it's really bad here. There's no understanding of Natives. There's only stereotypic attitudes towards Native people.

What sometimes are still perceived as "little incidents" or "little harmless" details by some are perceived by most of these administrators as significant opportunities to raise public consciousness about how great an impact unscrutinized behavior can have on others. A story told by Angie reveals such an instance. She describes how a staff member was wearing a shirt with a stereotypic phrase inscribed on it which denegraded a particular group of people by depicting them as inferior to the mainstream. Calling the person aside,

she pointed out that the inscription portrayed and was a symbol of disrespect. "Remember," she said to the staff member who had previously attended a school-wide inservice on discrimination,

> we talked a little about hidden discrimination, discrimination that we don't really intend to be discriminatory but we do it inadvertently with things we say or things we do or things we wear...It's a case of us all learning together.

In attempting to eradicate blatant and hidden discrimination, many of these administrators make efforts to replace them with respectful behaviors. But again, working at these concepts together with their staffs often does not come without some degree of uncertainty and some degree of conflict for administrators. As Arnold thinks about potential future developments in his school, he wonders whether some of his staff will react with skeptism. He ponders:

> If we end up looking at books that we have in our History Department, that could cause a reaction. On the other hand, the teachers might say, 'Yeah, you're right. We should clean this up. We should make changes or we should look for other texts or when we cover this particular section, we should make sure that we deal with it in a way that doesn't put down let's say, the Native population or the Chinese segment of our community or whomever.'

Although this response is a welcomed one for administrators like Arnold, the administrators in this context appear prepared to challenge people to analyze their perspectives in these areas and to risk facing the conflicts that might arise as a result of their attempts.

A second definition of respect denotes an acceptance, a valuing, of people who are perceived to have some different

common attributes from those which the dominant mainstream population ascribes to itself. Respect, in this sense, is an act to dismantle the "we"-"they" dichotomy of human interrelationships. It is rooted in authentic attempts at honoring and understanding the uniqueness of a culture and not in simply consuming or being entertained by its artefacts. Respect, then, is accepting and understanding that culture as a valued integral feature of individuals who choose to adhere to particular lifestyles. That acceptance, that respect, is translated into a welcomining stance at her school as Angie relates:

> I think everyone needs to feel welcome. Everyone needs to feel valued and I thought the only way that you can feel valued is if you see your culture valued or hear people valuing it particularly if you're a minority...On the main bulletin board when you come into the school, we acknowledge all of the different celebrations that occur throughout the year in all the different religions in the school...We've talked as a staff about 'What style of writing has the greatest value? Are there some languages that are more highly valued in print than others?'...We recognized that there were many gifts that these children were going to bring to the school if we could be sure that they felt included and valued.

Similarly, Andrew points out the enrichment inherent in such valuing:

> Everybody brings something of value to the school. We discovered last year in our novel study that branched out into the writing of fairy tales that the Laotians have a beautiful tradition of Laotian fairy tales and stories. The Laotian system of division in mathematics is more sophisticated than long division as we know it, so our grade six teacher has a project working where he learns long division from the kids and tries to work that into his math for everybody...The kids from Lebanon are now bringing the Arabic language so a student in grade eight has written everybody's name the 'other way' and that's been impressive and says a whole lot about left-right tracking. Kids can read both ways really when you think of it in that context, up and down in Japanese and Chinese.

We try to determine what's something neat the child brings with them and we don't try to do that as a 'multicultural frosting' but as a way of understanding. Hopefully, as we get to understand these kids more, we'll understand more about their culture.

In this context, respect means valuing equally the contributions of the mainstream and minority populations. The theme of understanding one's own "roots" as a prerequisite to understanding those of others is a property of respect further developed by Alec who states:

my understanding of education in a multicultural context is the consciousness of what it is that the other culture brings to the learning act. It's the value system that comes with the child and the experiential background...We have met as a staff to discuss what our own personal cultures are and how that impacts on what our role is as educators. For example, if I come from a typically white Anglo-Saxon Christian background, I bring with me a certain milieu of beliefs that is going to impact on how I am going to deliver a program in the classroom or my level of understanding of other kids so that my understanding of kids who come from a background similar to mine would be pretty high. My level of understanding of kids who come from a background quite different from mine is going to naturally be less than that. So what we were identifying and talking about and my understanding of the need to be aware of that is that then, if I'm a teacher and communication is the issue with students, the relationship I have with my students is going to improve in terms of my ability to teach them the better I understand the culture they come from and what they are bringing with them as their set of experiences and their set of understandings.

Alice, who expends much energy on orienting teachers to those kinds of students' experiences, extends this notion of the necessity of understanding culture as an essential of respect. In her work within her Reserve school, she says she tries to infuse learning about both traditional and modern ways of life but, in particular, she feels an urgency to build in learnings that will support and respect the traditional

Native culture which in many cases has been lost. She explains what now occurs in her school to re-build that sense of respect for culture:

> The little kids start out with a program called 'All About Me' where they learn that 'I'm Indian' so that they can face up to the fact that it's not bad. When we turn on the TV and there's an Indian there riding on horseback with feathers, well they can understand that now. I couldn't understand that. I never knew that Indians had feathers...What I'm trying to do here in the school is to try to let the community know that 'We're not going to be doing any religious spirituality things with your children so you have to have some trust there but we are going to be teaching about the history of our Reserve. Every year we're losing our elders and they have such a rich knowledge. They are our knowledge bank about what has happened in the past and what can happen in the future. It's important that the kids know what has happened and have an appreciation for it, move forward, and better the lives of the people in the community because they're our tomorrow.'

Nurturing respect for cultures, which by many of these adminstrators is associated with respect for self, is an important priority perceived as essential to pass on to future generations.

Adaptability as a priority both in pragmatic and moral terms, for that world of tomorrow and its concomitant power relations is a prime issue of concern for many of these administrators. Specifically in terms of pragmatic programming adaptations for tomorrow's world, Art points out that a focus on Asian Pacific studies has arisen out of their school's multicultural focus. He reiterates what his teachers were saying:

> 'There's a need to look at getting kids ready to operate in the global market. We should be doing more languages in the school.' So now we're teaching Japanese. There's some talk about doing Spanish because we have a number of Spanish kids

here and because of what's happening with North American Free Trade. So the whole aspect of Asian Pacific curriculum development, cultural exchanges with Japan, more exchange students in our school, more of our kids going to other countries to exchange, getting our teachers out of Manitoba into the world are all aspects that have grown out of the multicultural focus. That has prompted global interaction. I would think that what probably, later, you'd find in this school as things begin to develop even more, is that there'll be a global education program.

Some parallel perceptions can be identified in Armand's thinking about his French Immersion students adapting to the future. These students, he believes

are going to be the New Canadians in that bilingualism was forced on them but bilingualism is being lived by those particular students...We also offer a Spanish program here and are looking at the possibility to open up studies of the Pacific Rim with its languages and cultures...If we are going to turn out people who are able to work at the international or the global village level, then we are going to have to address the need of those students in terms of being able to work internationally...People will have to understand not only world issues but they'll have to be people who are ready to adapt themselves to work in that world which is constantly changing. So our student population will have to be able to constantly adapt to changes probably more than we had to adapt to changes. That French Immersion predisposes students to this world is an issue a former graduate spoke about saying, 'Studying in a second language, accepting to look at someone else's culture and accept it as an equal culture, learning to like it, learning to appreciate it, gives you an open mind and if you're going to adapt to change, you're going to need an open mind. Otherwise you will refuse to accept that something else can be as good and that you might want to be involved in it.' So his point of view was that having done everything in his second language except for English Language Arts gave him a number of advantages. One of them was this laterality in his points of view in the way he sees the world and in the way that he adapts to various situations.

To some extent then, some administrators in this context perceive multicultural education as driven by some economic practicalities such as the necessity for a skilled workforce which cannot afford to exclude too many people. Globalization

puts a value on multicultural skills. This pragmatic utilitarian rationale is different from a moral human rights motivation to address issues of cultural diversity. It should not be overlooked, however, that although the adaptability priority has the utilitarian element to it which may appear self-serving, it can serve a larger moral purpose in that it prepares students constructively to meet the competitive demands of the future. In that sense, it prepares them for full and equal participation in that world. As Angie suggests, "I think we need to come to some understandings of our neighbours." That understanding, Andrew believes is crucial because

> multiculturalism is shrinking our world that we're going to be living in...This is the kind of world that I've been living in since I was a kid but a lot of people have grown up in a world I call a 'blanched' or 'antiseptic' world as they've seen it because they now look at this diversity as some kind of detriment to society, that "other" people are moving into the neighborhood.

Therefore, in addition to adapting to "work" in cultural diversity society, adapting to "live and love" in that society is also a priority for administrators in this context.

REFLECTION: COMMUNICATION IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

Many of the priorities communicated by these administrators encompass to some extent, Sleeter & Grant's (1994) premises that education be "multicultural and social reconstructionist" with the recommended practices of "practicing democracy", "analyzing the circumstances of one's life", "developing social action skills", and "coalescing"

concerns across race, class, and gender lines (pp. 187-94). Futher, these administrators would likely agree with Thornhill's (1989) critique that

> racial discrimination does exist in Canada and, it follows at school...The refusal to recognize racism as part and parcel of 'willful blindness' which also spurs us to execute some veritable gymnastic feats of the mind is aimed once again at avoiding the problem (pp.1-2).

It is confronting on a school-wide basis the problem of racism that many of these administrators are committed.

What the communicating of priorities in this context means is that administrators are choosing to contribute to the creation of school environments in which change, inclusion, justice, respect and adaptability to a culturally diverse world are legitimized values. Thus, the mainstream is sensitized to new norms in the school--namely that change is a valuable ongoing process; that inclusion is an essential criteria for all experiences; that justice is at the core of all behaviors; that respect is the mode of all interactions; and that adaptability is the insurance for participation in a constantly changing diverse world. While in this context diversity is perceived as an asset, in other contexts it is perceived in a different light and, as a result, the school climate and culture are founded on different priorities.

COMMUNICATING IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

PRIORITY: SURVIVAL

Survival--academic, personal safety, social, or organizational or some combination of these--is the priority

in this context. Crisis management is often a component of survival and is part of the preoccupation of administrators in this context. Efforts to stabilize the school's environment are paramount.

To some extent these administrators have given consideration to issues of cultural diversity but they do not perceive their staffs as ready for any total school plan in that regard because they, like their administrators, are perceived as being just too busy "surviving". Consequently, it is communicated that cultural diversity issues do not receive attention as a priority in the school. Any such issues may not even be related to the survival agenda in the school. Therefore, although the right to equal opportunities, access, and outcomes which lead to full participation in society; the development of linguistic and cultural diversity; and cross-cultural understanding are given some consideration in this context, they are not necessarily important measuring sticks for the success of the survival priority in this context.

In Bill's case, although some cultural diversity issues are present, the major survival priority is safety. He points out:

> It is a prime job to keep the teachers safe. It seems very nice here but you've got these incidents we're dealing with non-stop that could become very, very ugly.
>
> Talking to the liaison officers you get a real insight into what kids are going though. And to a lot of them, violence is nothing. Violence is a way of life. It's survival. And above all, you don't lose face.

Detailing a recent "incident", Bill conveys his plans to stabilize the environment saying:

> I have to decide what to do with these boys that attacked this other kid on Friday. I'll have to put that group out for a few days at least to show the others. Like the Dad can say, 'My kid's got a broken hand. He wasn't doing anything and those kids are still there.'

Bill concludes, "I'm the arbitrator in these things and so as long as things stay fairly calm, everything is fine." He is preoccupied with establishing stability in his school.

Brian is preoccupied with the crisis of poverty and its effect on the students in his school. His priority is academic survival skills for these students in his school. Explaining his understanding of the concerns, he says:

> Within any of these classrooms, you have a whole range of abilities and levels so we're looking at programming that will allow us to develop some survival programs for these kids. When we send them out of here at the end of the year, we want to know that they can at least meet some basic standards and basic expectations...
>
> The culture and the fact that the kids are Native or that they just got here from Spain or they just got here from Poland or they just got here from Taiwan, that's not the problem. The problem is poverty which we have to accept as teachers that we really can't do anything about. Even though you hear all this stuff about jobs being scarce and everything, so far the only equalizer that anybody's shown is education.

Barry's primary concern stems from having too many adolescents housed in too small a physical space in a community which expects strict standards of "orderly conduct" as an indication of the ideal school. His priority is organizing school experiences to ensure survival of "order" and of some absolute values in the school which he sees as community-driven. He elaborates:

We promote some absolute values that I think society just needs if it's going to survive. They're things like honesty, truth, respect for each other, respect for authority. We have a staff handbook with that. The students get a handbook. Naturally you know, given six hundred kids in the building, which was built for about four hundred, it's very, very crowded. There is pushing and shoving and the occasional fight. But those are all dealt with...

Even staff likes structure. They feel much more comfortable if the parameters are defined, both I think, in a sense for themselves as well as for the students. If you create that kind of climate for staff where they're not worried about walking down the hall, they'll buy into what you're thinking. They know that the support is there. Some of them may want a little more openness but they also like and appreciate the fact that we're there to support them. Therefore in a sense, they buy into the philosophy that I have as an administrator both in terms of leadership, in terms of climate within the school, and structure. That I think is offset with the emphasis that we should understand the nature of the student; what kind of student we have, again, the character of adolescent students.

For Bob, the overriding concern is also organizing his environment for survival but, in his case, it is for a "new order" with teachers. His priority is staff development which is specifically focussed on developing less authoritarian teacher understandings of the teacher-student, teacher-teacher, and teacher-administrator power relationships at his school. The crisis, as he perceives it, involves an urgent change in terms of teacher thinking and behavior.

In order to build a climate of survival and success for students at the school, Bob believes he must first work on an intensive staff development program with teachers in his school. He describes his extensive three year effort in this regard:

The staff is a group of people who have been teaching for a long time and have been very traditional in their approach, not because they necessarily wanted to be but because they

felt that the prior administration was for the traditional structured classroom where there would be rows and there wouldn't be too many student groupings.

Mainstreaming has been around for a number of years now but my understanding is the reception here was always cool and the suggestion was that special needs students would probably be better off in a place which has special classes for these kids. I think the feeling is still there in some cases. The thinking is: 'They have no business being here because what it does is that it takes up so much of my time with them and I shouldn't have to do this at the expense of these others over here.' That isn't true but that's what they believe...

I think in every way and it's most obvious when you talk about the cultural and ethnic background that integration of handicapped people is important. But then there's also something that people may not have thought about as being integration and that's the integration of students who 'behave differently'. They were always called 'behavior problems' here. They're the 'bad kids' and the 'behavior problems' and some people just send them out of the room. Well, that's segregation. I mean that's a violation of a person's right to be with his or her friends. That was occurring here.

Very few teachers will change the activities in their class to accommodate a 'behavior problem' here. It's not necessarily because they don't really want to but they have grown up thinking one way and have been doing things for so long one way that it just isn't there. It doesn't seem to be a natural thing to do for teachers to change 'when this year I've got a kid that walks in my class and I know that if he's sitting there in that seat and I am more than thirty feet away from him with my back turned that that kid's going to do something. I know that.' That may be the other thing that they don't want to do. They might not want to find out those things all the time or go and find out that information because that would mean that they'd have to change their behavior as teachers...

There's such a diversity in terms of the levels of where different people on staff are at. What they're ready for is a touchy one. My Vice-Principal indicated that we should do 'this, this, and this' and I said, 'Yes, we should but not even next year.' She looked at me and said, 'What do you mean?' I said, 'Put them on a sidewalk that they're comfortable with first. Then you move them on to one that's slightly slippery and then you put them on sheer ice finally- the one that's unpredictable. Don't put them on an unpredictable sidewalk right off the top because they're going to fall flat and we're going to be nowhere. They're going to be embarrassed. They're going to be totally frustrated. You don't do that. We really want them to get to a certain objective.'...

So I said to my Vice-Principal before we even start doing it that there's too much missing here and instead of

repeatedly asking 'Why isn't it working? Why isn't it working? Let's take a look at the place first, take a look at where it is, where they're used to operating prior to this, and how we want them to operate. Then we can decide how we go about doing that and we have to take slow steps.'

Bob's preoccupation is with preparing his staff to adjust to what he sees as the realities of the contemporary school world. He suggests that perhaps when a readiness for staff development is at a more sophisticated level, cultural diversity issues may be open for discussion but at the present, he ponders, "In fact, I sometimes still hesitate to think that they're actually ready for what we're doing with them now..." The importance of staff orientation to embark on total school programs is underscored by Bob's situation.

THE SURVIVAL PRIORITY IN RELATION TO CULTURAL DIVERSITY ISSUES

Cultural diversity issues may or may not be perceived to be related to the survival priority in this context. For Bill and Brian, they are. Although issues of cultural diversity are not priorities, they are prominent. For Barry and Bob, the issues appear more distant.

Bill explains how issues of cultural diversity may be related to his survival priority of safety:

Violence is escalating. There's no question. I don't know if it's made more intense because of the multicultural situation. I choose to think not but probably there's something there. Something personal starts and then the racial comments kick in. Usually the personal thing starts because a lot of these kids have been friends at one time. I get great fights within the groups too though so it's not necessarily always 'White' versus 'this', or 'Filipino' and 'Portuguese'. Within the groups, they fight too. And school is where they all come.

Bill further reveals his orientation towards the presence of

cultural diversity issues in his comment:

I mean we don't do anti-discrimination everyday. We don't give a lesson everyday on it. We just try to get along as best we can with these kids. I try. You know, everyone is treated absolutely equally.

Some specific areas of concern regarding students' opportunities surface as Bill reflects on his culturally diverse population. In particular, one of his academic concerns centers around the structure and content of curricula. He details:

I've got some worries but I don't have the answers, not some worries, I've got a lot of worries. I just don't have the answers. For some of these kids who have English as a Second Language, education is not important. It's not a priority. It's not a priority in the home and there's a clinging of old traditions. Regarding females, for example, there's stereotyping about who should be doing what and all the rest of it, and it causes the kids some confusion. It's alienation. It's seen in anger, grouping together, kind of funny behaviors, wildness.

We have kids from, say, a home where English is not spoken and I think we're running at some ridiculous percentage like close to 40%. So what do they do? They come from grade nine into grade ten and they all sign up for 100 English and they have terribly weak skills in English. Now, I don't know how to solve that problem. And we go out and we say things like: 'Please don't go and try things that are going to murder you.' But what do they say? They're well tuned into the system. They say, 'The 100 programs get you to University and whether we can do it or not, we'll sign up for it.' Now most people should be able to do it but when you're hamstrung with language difficulties and so on and reading difficulties, it has nothing to do with your head. It has to do with your skills. Now we really work at that, and work at that, and work at that but I get discouraged. I'll be honest with you. No, these programs are not really opening doors except just for the ones that can do it. The rest fall by the wayside or they slip into the 01 programs and sometimes slip right out. There's something missing. Nobody will talk about this.

Blair appears to recognize that student needs are great but is frustrated by the lack of success he witnesses.

Elaborating on his position regarding cultural diversity

issues at his school, Brian speaks about some of the vulnerabilities of his population saying:

Actually, I haven't had time and I don't know that we will ever really have time to really look at what will be cultural and ethnic programming and how you do more than an appreciation of the different ethnic groups in the school in the context of curriculum or in the context of what we do here. It doesn't really have a place here in the priorities. We're taking all the kids who are here and we're viewing them as a group of children. We're trying to offer them the programs and the programming that we can offer them as best we can. We're not paying attention really to where they're coming from, other than Native students because we have so many. When you have a population in the school that's between 80 and 85% of the school, you do have to pay attention to that.

The people, for the most part, who belong to different ethnic groups that are represented at things like Folklorama, who live in this area, I would say that 99% of them have nothing to do with it. They wouldn't be involved in it because the main thing that they're trying to look at is survival and feeding the kids, keeping stuff on the table and feeding the kids. So I don't really see those multicultural celebrations as being beneficial. It's not relevant to my kids. It's not relevant to the community here.

My idea about working with people of different ethnic backgrounds, and we have everybody represented here, is that you start with people's similarities and this kind of sounds like motherhood stuff but I really and firmly believe that even when you're dealing with a Special Needs child in terms of academics, you start with their strengths and you start with their similarities. That's your focus...

If I can get all the kids to work together and to not fight because of what they appear to be, then I think that's an accomplishment. Well, I'm not deluded that there aren't kids who, get mad at one another but we don't have any situations. I guess we think in terms of 'don't have' because those are indications of trouble but we don't have kids not participating because of their race. So we go with that. That might not be the way everything is but when you're running a school, you have to go with what you see.

Expressing his concern about so called "cultural programs", he states:

I've had Native parents here say to me, 'I want my kid to learn how to read, to write, and do Maths, and to go to school and to come out of it with something that they can sell. I want them not to have the university education. I want them

to at least be able to get a good job in a trade.' The message being, and I've actually having had them say it to me, 'You guys here in the school take care of learning and educating them and we'll worry about cultural stuff.' I'm not saying that that's a representative view but I am saying that I've heard that an awful lot. For the English Language Enrichment Program for Native Students, it is the same. The message is: 'Look, we don't want to see the kids in the school sitting around using beads and those sorts of things unless it's involved with some kind of educational activity. We want these kids to learn.' Well, they mean doing cultural stuff. Sometimes you see some of the Native people that I've spoken to have actually viewed that as being kind of a lower educational or a lower learning activity because that was what was the Native program in the school before. It was the craft thing and the message that they received from that was 'Okay, we can teach your kids to do crafts but they're really not bright enough for this other stuff.'

Aware of the tensions between objectives dealing with cultural awareness and those dealing with skills for living in the dominant society, Brian sees competing priorities from the parents of the children in the school and indicates his particular bias. His concern about outcomes is not unlike Bill's concern regarding streaming outcomes.

On the other hand, issues of cultural diversity which have been somewhat relevant to Barry are those dealing with outcomes such as assimilation and cultural preservation. He points out:

The population of minorities at the school is very limited. We have only a couple. We have some Vietnamese or Laotian kids but, by now, they've totally assimilated. We don't even have ESL now. We did when there was that wave of immigration.

The other kids who come here new will stand out at the beginning for a while because they're using the same clothes that they used back where they came from. It usually doesn't take long for you to really not tell the difference.

Although he seems to accept the "fitting in" benefits of assimilation, he is also concerned about the losses it

creates. His concern is especially about a heritage language group which, it appears to Brian, is experiencing an assimilationist trend. He regrets this saying, "I think, though, there's a new consciousness out there within our fairly homogeneous community that they want to preserve the culture. It's being lost because of assimilation." Barry's concern about culture is different from Brian's in that Barry fears the irreversibility of language and culture loss while Brian fears that the trappings of culture will get in the way of academic survival skills in his school.

Concerns regarding cultural diversity issues are least expressed by Bob in this context. He works in a school community where issues of cultural diversity do not seem to receive direct attention. Until he gets his staff "comfortably" oriented to a certain level of professional development, Bob perceives that discussion of issues regarding cultural diversity will remain on the backburner or, at most, be subsumed under the rubric of the "mainstreaming" dialogue in his school. He hypothesizes having to consider the issues in the future, however, saying:

> I guess with this whole idea of cultural differences and those kinds of concerns that people have in schools, and we probably would have in the next two or three years in this division, a multicultural policy of some sort will be developed.

Bob continues to assess, orient, lead, and develop his staff in the direction of becoming a cohesive school team. What he's trying to do, he says, is

> get to a place where the people in the building are committed

to doing what we want them to do, dealing with kids in manners that we would like them to deal with kids. That's again a very evolutionary process but we are trying to get adults to deal with kids in a way that kids maintain their dignity and their self-esteem and things like that and that takes a long time.[29]

Bob envisions a long-term staff development program as essential for his school in which issues of cultural diversity will not likely play a prominent role for some time to come.

REFLECTION: COMMUNICATION IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

What the communicating of priorities in this context means is that administrators are engaged in contributing to the creation of school environments in which survival is the immediate, all-consuming legitimized principle. The school community is sensitized to the norm that survival takes precedence over other issues. There is an implication that, therefore, there is time and energy for little else. Attending to issues of cultural diversity beyond this phase of passing consideration occurs only in the form of mandated programs. Any other discussion or possibilities are considered inappropriate at this time in that they could potentially add to the volatility of the school. While in this context, although cultural diversity is a potential issue worthy of attention, it is not a prominent aspect of the survival priority. In other contexts where the school culture is propelled by other priorities, cultural diversity is likely

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[29]Because issues of cultural diversity have not specifically become part of Bob's administrative agenda to date, his intention, holding no further considerations regarding the addressing of cultural diversity issues, will receive no further analysis in this dissertation.

to be approached in a different manner.

COMMUNICATING IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

PRIORITIES: CONTINUITY, CONFORMITY, AND DIFFUSION

Maintaining status quo behaviors and structures is central to the intentions in this context. There seems to be a notion that raising issues of cultural diversity is somehow incriminating one's self and one's school as a having a problem. Therefore, any notion of having problems in relation to cultural diversity issues appears to be suppressed.

Cultural diversity as a demographic fact, however, is often considered a problem by many of these administrators. Different from the "voiced" context orientation where the mainstream is expected to reflect on its perspectives and behavior regarding changes to be made, the posture in this context is one where the expectation is that the other assimilate into the mainstream. Continuity, conformity, and diffusion are priority themes. Therefore, the right to equal opportunities, access, and outcomes which lead to full participation in society; to the development of linguistic and cultural diversity; and to cross-cultural understanding as outlined in Manitoba policy do not appear to be important measures for the success of priorities in this context.

Continuity of past thinking, behaviors, and structures is defended as legitimate in this context. The desire to maintain the status quo of the mainstream by keeping things the way they "were" and "are" is often bolstered by reference

to the necessary adherence to the traditional curriculum areas of the school agenda implying that there is no place for issues of cultural diversity in that agenda. Administrators like Cam, for instance, emphasize that "I guess the key job is to make sure that the kids are learning how to do Math and how to do Reading. Those are our priorities." There appears to be little need to do anything other, either in terms of content or practice, than what has previously been done.

Continuing to maintain the status quo sometimes is given momentum by a focus on what is perceived as the community's desire for stability. As Conrad states,

> I would describe it as a calm community out there. It's stable...There's nothing really unusual about this particular community. The community is fairly solid. We don't have any differences between cultural groups that surface. It's fairly stable here.

He further points out the larger school system's commitment to the continuity of a stable image stating:

> First of all, this school division doesn't like issues. They don't like delegations at central office. I think that's okay. There's nothing wrong with that. I mean you can create issues, a lot of issues, over nothing. Then people decide to dig back in their minds 'Well, fifteen years ago, this, this, and that happened.' They start bringing up old issues which would just die a natural death if you left them alone...
>
> Sometimes when we do some of these things with some people it's suggestive rather than the other. You can really create a mindset in people. You have to be careful with what you say and what you do so that you don't create the kind of mindset that you don't really want out there. Once you have some kind of reputation if your particular place is perceived as having a particular problem, the problem is long gone and people still think you have the problem.

In this context a desire to avoid the conflict inherent in dealing with issues of redress, injustice, and discrimination

seems to be important.

There appears to be a distancing from anything which may disturb the continuity as is illustrated in Carl's pronouncement: "I've never experienced any discrimination of minority students in this school." Chuck elaborates on a similar evaluation insisting that

> people don't feel there's disrimination here. That's not to say there isn't discrimination out there. Of course, there is. It's just that in this building, hopefully, there's a spirit that those are not issues. There are not crises in this building and we don't treat them as such. Yet, I mean I know out there in the developments, of course, that's happening, right?--where people live together. But then, that's another issue, isn't it? Again, the school becomes, should become, a perceived place of equity both culturally and otherwise.

For school programming, that perceived "equity" might mean, as Conrad postulates, "I don't think we have a racial issue here, a racial crisis, that we need to plug material into. The terms 'anti-racism' or 'multiculturalism' aren't problems here."

There is another conceptualization of "problems" which raises concerns for many of these administrators about mainstream continuity. These are particularly related to the concept of redress. Commenting on First Nations peoples, Carl underscores:

> I was struck last night when I was watching television where the right to self-government was talked about being granted to them-but self-government takes money. You can't govern unless you have money. So how is Canada going to deal with that?...Well, one Native lady made it very clear-'Our people are unemployed; our people are on welfare; we have no money, so we expect the federal government to do something and the other Canadians to which we really do not belong to pay our keep and then we'll govern ourselves.'

Administrators in this context appear to perceive little need for legal, attitudinal, or social structural change with respect to issues of cultural diversity.

Conformity to the mainstream is a priority related to the one of continuity for most of these administrators. The importance of learning English and "being Canadian" is particularly stressed. The emphasis on acquiring the majority language is evident in Corey's statement that the Vietnamese students in his school "all understand some Vietnamese, but they communicate in English entirely. They have totally changed over." With reference to immigration and becoming Canadian, Conrad states:

> There are groups in this country who come from other places. I mean, you don't come here to make this place like the place you came from. I mean this place has certain characteristics. You should study them well, know what we are, and then you come in and you've got to live within those rules or whatever.

The theme of conformity becomes most succinct in the "I'm Canadian first" nationalistic proclamations. Uncomfortable with cultural preservation celebrations which he thinks detract from that sense of being "Canadian", Carl relates:

> I object to holding onto something in this country that doesn't unify but rather fragments. How can you be Canadian and Polish at the same time? It's inconceivable to me. How you can be loyal to a culture across the ocean and be 100% Canadian? When I see Folklorama, and see people really hang onto something that their grandfather and grandmother brought over, then you have to sometimes question and say, 'Are your loyalties still with Hungary? Are they still with Vietnam? Or are they really with Canada?'
>
> If I had to pick up arms against the country of my ancestors, I would have no problems in doing that at all because Canada is my country. I think the die-hard Hungarians would not pick up arms against their Hungarian brothers and sisters back home even if they haven't lived here for forty to

fifty years because they're still Hungarians at heart. That would not be an issue at all for people like me because we are Canadians. Also, there's no loyality to Canada when you say, 'We're not Canadians. We're Indian people and we're above the law of this land.'

Like redress, cultural and linguistic maintenance are not perceived as necessary in this context.

For many administrators, in much the same vein as Carl indicates, there is a disagreement with school heritage language programs as part of multicultural education policies. He states:

In Canada the heritage sort of programs and things like that should not be. I think there's nothing wrong with a particular group practicing whatever they want to practice. I think we have to try and have that tolerance but to try and legislate some things around that, I don't think is right.

More specifically Claire, who is an administrator of heritage language and bilingual programs, expresses his feelings by stating:

I don't believe in multiculturalism. Basically, what it comes down to is that I am a Canadian. That's what I believe in. That can mean a lot more than just saying: 'Oh well, I believe in multiculturalism and everybody's different.' I don't like that. I think that's what causes problems. I don't want to get locked into that narrow definition. I've heard other Principals say, 'Well, I run a Ukrainian Bilingual school and everything's Ukrainian here.' I say, 'Great. So you've made a little Ukraine. There's already one. It's over there. If you like it so much. Go live there. I thought you were Canadian. I'm a Canadian. I have zero to do with Britain or Scotland.'

It appears that similarity is perceived as a strength while difference is perceived as a limitation by most administrators in this context. To make Canadians less different and more alike in terms of heritage background appears to be important to many of these administrators.

Diffusion of issues related to cultural diversity appears to be a priority in terms of a response strategy to cultural diversity in this context. It appears that "appreciation", "tolerance", "respect" and "getting along" are terms of preference used to describe attitudes towards living in culturally diverse contexts such as schools and these orientations appear to frequently diffuse some of the issues related to cultural diversity. Chuck puts forth his perspective in these words:

> Obviously, I'm the type of person who seeks that out and enjoys the difference in the cultural differences and so on. So there's a great tolerance there for sure and appreciation of them, you know."

Similarly, while Carl states, "I have been to Folklorama a number of times and I enjoy going to the German and the Swiss pavilions. I love their music and yodelling and so on", Claire shares his interpretation of appreciation and tolerance stating:

> I love Ukrainian food and Chinese food and all the various foods at folklorama. I think those are great. Those are beautiful. I like what we do with folklorama. It's great. Good God that is what we are. Isn't it? Those things are very important--to go out and laugh and sing each others' songs and eat the food and learn the languages and tolerate the differences in religion and not get split up. We're all human beings and we're all Canadians.

Traditional celebratory aspects of culture as entertainment appear are recognized by these administrators.

There are also less appreciated aspects and implications of Canadian pluralism for most of these administrators. Calvin, for instance, is concerned that "pluralism has

significant challenges for society". He concurs with several others in this context that, as they experience it, "plurality, at one level, in terms of what dishes we like and prefer is, in a sense, harmless and good" but continues:

> When it comes to bigger issues, I think there is a limit to that and one ought not to think and believe that pluralism is the answer. There's a limit to what, in my view, truth and reality are. There are never different realities and different truths. The reality is one for everyone. Tolerance and respect does not mean that you adopt that for yourself. If you don't think yours is the best one, then I have some concern whether you feel confident because basically each one of us chooses good positions, right positions, and the appropriate positions. Otherwise, how will we have the confidence to do what we do?

Attention to the underlying roots of ingrained systemic problems in society and schools is not characteristic of talk in this context. Issues of power do not seem to get discussed.

Often issues of cultural diversity are "tolerated" and, to varying degrees, downplayed. They are subsumed or diffused under generalized headings such as "respect" that deal with the "sameness of humanity". In his statement, Claire recommends that people

> talk about our differences but let's still remember that we're all the same. We're all people and we can get rid of those hates and those minor petty things that people like to focus on and focus really on the humanity of every one of us. We're human. If we can get that into these kids, I don't think we'll have to worry about defining multiculturalism or defining our country. I think it tends to come with the fact that you would tolerate people and their individual differences and, of course, then you can tolerate cultural differences and love people for what they are.

Corey, too, chooses to distance the focus of the issues to areas of curriculum which are more global. He asserts:

The more you do of an international nature, the more you become aware of the other races, and of course, with that, hopefully you're defeating racism, and some of the strong biases we may have and all the rest of it.

He is optimistic that bias-free attitudes are intuitive. He infers that "good teachers", such as those in his school, treat everyone well so

the assumption would be that we don't as staff discriminate against any racial group. I think, by and large, staff is pretty good in that regard...You hope that there is an attitudinal characteristic so that you don't need to spend too much time in dealing with the totally unique characteristics of Native students or something like that.

Extending the image of the general "connectedness" of humanity, the image of "family" also diffuses some of the issues related to difference. Conceding that "sometimes a child will come in from a certain cultural background and say, 'Well, you really don't care about kids who are Native or whatever'--like the school doesn't or nobody cares for them', Cam maintains that the school family makes the school like

a home. It's like a family. If we're all a family, there isn't any differentiation in our family of different cultures or anything. We're all one group of people once you get in here. We're not accentuating all the differences.

"Belongingness" is a feature of that school family, according to Carl, who explains:

We have Native Canadian Aboriginal people here. We've had the blind people here, Chinese, Oriental people here, and I don't think any of them would ever say, 'I felt left out or I have been made to feel less than adequate as an individual.'...One of the things that I ask teachers to emphasize every year when we have new students come to the school is that we are together here as a family and that everyone belongs to that family. There should be no one standing on the perimeter who feels 'I do not belong'. A genuine attempt is made by the teachers and the students to develop this family notion of 'they're all brothers and sisters in the classroom.' So in a

sense, if this is done together, we fight racism.

If "incidents" arise which someone might suggest are racist in origin, they are commonly interpreted as problems stemming from interpersonal relationships by administrators in this context and thereby diffused under concerns about human emotions such as anger or jealousy. Clinton believes that interpersonal anger and not race is the real issue explaining:

I still feel it's very important that we promote children getting along with each other. I think we need to deal with issues and we've had to. I could give you a number of examples, where racism if you want to use that term, has been brought to the fore, where we've had some students that said to me, 'Well, the reason that I get in trouble at recess is because children are calling me *Nigger* or they're making fun of my coloured skin.' That has come out but when you begin to look at the 'behind the scene events' that happened, in most cases that wasn't the thing that triggered the problem. It wasn't really a racial issue. That's not to say that there weren't comments being made like racial slurs and so on. When those things come out, you can't ignore them. You can't say, 'Well, hey that's not our problem. Forget it kid.' You've got to deal with that and it's a matter of bringing the children together to talk this thing through saying, 'Is this what you said? Do you really mean that?' It's something the teachers can do and something that I can do. As the children talk to each other, they say, 'Well, I didn't really mean that. I was just sort of angry and it sort of popped into my head and I said it. I didn't really mean to say that and I'm sorry'. So the children can resolve a lot of that.

A similarly casual and diffused approach to issues of cultural diversity is advocated by Chuck who asserts:

I have problems with the anti-racist materials personally and that isn't our approach. That isn't how we approach anything else to be honest. For example, we have a discipline model. Well, we stress mediation and conflict resolution in a positive sense not all the 'what if's' of the negative side of it. We don't have a specific program per se that's done on the multicultural theme or anti-racist or anything like that. It's all done in an incidental and integrated fashion.

Diffusion characterizes Conrad's response to issues of

cultural diversity as well. He emphasizes:

> I don't think you can stamp out racism. I think those kinds of things have to go away slowly and there are things you can do. You can demonstrate tolerance. You can demonstrate respect, but to go out and plan to stamp out racism, I think that you may actually be making differences more obvious in people and be forming their opinions of it.

The notion that addressing the issues contributes to them and that diffusion deflects them appears prominent in the talk of these administrators. Conflict, it appears, is perceived to be dysfunctional and degenerative and it appears that efforts are made to avoid it.

REFLECTION: COMMUNICATING IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

What the communicating of priorities in this context means is that administrators are choosing to contribute to the creation of school environments in which continuity, conformity, and diffusion are legitimized values in relation to cultural diversity in their schools. Thus the school community is sensitized to maintaining norms in the school which have been perpetuated in the past--namely, that continuity is important for an orderly society; that conformity is the essential criteria for acquiring power in that society; and that diffusion is an appropriate response strategy used to ensure that continuity and conformity remain the identifiable, intransigent features of society. While in this context cultural diversity is perceived as a problem, in school cultures founded on other priorities, the impact of cultural diversity issues is conceptualized in a different fashion.

COMMUNICATING IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

PRIORITY: SPECIALIZATION

The priority in the intentions of this context deal with specialization--academic or organizational. There is a preoccupation with refining or fine tuning specific areas of school programming. The emphasis chosen by these administrators may be directly focussed on the students' involvement in particular subject areas or on professional development with teachers. Therefore, in terms of the Manitoba Multicultural policy, the right to equal opportunities, access, and outcomes which lead to full participation in society; the development of linguistic and cultural diversity; and cross-cultural understanding as school initiatives were not talked by these administrators and appear to not be important measures for the success of priority of specialization in this context.

Having an intention for schools where technology plays a major role in programming is a preoccupation with Darlene. She describes her involvement with a select group of "gifted" students, teachers and parents at her school highlighting:

> A number of people from business, a few teachers, and I got together and basically formed a committee. The goal or mission of this committee is to develop forums for interaction between business and education and focus on elementary school age children. So we've been doing that and the first step in our process is to develop a paper for educational and business organizations with the idea of creating some sense of urgency about a lot of issues and concerns that are out there that most people know about but education isn't really doing anything about. Right now, it's very much a grassroots thing. It's 'Here's a concern. This is what we'd like to do about it. Here are some programs.'

We've developed some programs. There are some programs for girls as far as science and mathematics are concerned and career development...They're mentorship programs where we got involved with business and our gifted students. We've done some technology programs and the media. Another thing we try to do at the school and I guess it's another belief that I have is that education is best when it is tied to real life experiences. If you're studying science, it's better to do it in a science environment than in a classroom. Well, we did some commercials and that sort of thing and the children had an opportunity to go to CBC. They actually recorded them and got involved in what it was like to make radio commercial. We looking at a program that's called "Kid's Net" and it's going to be a networking system that children can call into various bulletin boards and get various sports scores, can get entertainment write ups, can get biographies of rock stars, that kind of thing. This kind of gets exciting and the parents have been involved in doing some of the programming for designing bulletins boards and that kind of thing. The plan is that we will be able to network within the school so that the children will get the experience of using the network in the school because our computers are already networked but that, also, we'll be able to get children who have a computer and a modem at home to call into our system and get any information that they want...

We're saying we have some programs that are available that other people can buy into and if we find out about some new program, then we'll share them too. I think if we do it right, education will jump a notch in the whole status of careers. Right now, I think we're very much the same level as firemen. We're not considered to be extremely important. We're a necessity that children have to go through but we don't have the kind of status at this point that we think we should have. I guess I see that there's a need to provide the children with the skills so that they can survive in the world and I think those skills are the ability to think, to be really good problem solvers, to think independently. One of the concerns I've always had as a person, as an educator particularly, is that I don't want a society of people that are followers.

Similarly, David's intention of his school is focussed on very specific academic skills which will assist students to deal with the modern workplace. He recounts:

We're an academic school. That is we are an academic school which prepares our students for university and professional careers. I mean that's a very conscious direction we give our students.

Here we have terrific math facilities. We have terrific

science facilities and computer facilities. There's a conscious effort for us to have students-even at the lower end, grade two, three, four-be very aware of math and science and computer studies and the careers that lead to those. That continues in the upper grades as well.

Diane, focussed on more traditional subject matter, is preoccupied with refining a curricular continuum for the English and French tracks in her school. She elaborates on her staff development program in this regard:

In this school, we've always done our professional development together. Right now, we have a major undertaking in Language Arts and we're working it out in English but I will be continuing it with the French so that it's complete in English and French. It's sort of a continuum of what we should be doing in Language Arts K-six. We're looking at what kind of writing we should be teaching and focussing on in each grade and how we should go about reading instruction like how it's begun in grade one and how it should be different by the time we get to grade six and that you should still be teaching reading not just letting the kids read.

We've been working on this now for three years and we should complete it this year...Then we can look at the pieces and say, 'Oh, this is what grade one does and this is what grade six does.' We can then see it very clearly because we're talking about it in the same way. We worked on reading, writing, and evaluation, too...Now we're beginning to focus on math, how we should be teaching Math, what the focus should be and how we evaluate it.

Diane's intention, too, is focussed on intensive teacher development. She describes what she believes to be important in terms of developing her staff stating:

We have a lot of objectives but we've sort of boiled them down to three main areas that we're going to work on which will bring in, integrate, our other objectives. One of the big areas is language development. We're a French Immersion school so, of course, the students being functionally bilingual is a main objective. However, we put the development of language so that it encompasses the English Language Arts as well as the French.

We've got the whole staff divided into three big committees. The second area is staff development but staff development in terms of new techniques, new teaching techniques. For example, we're doing a lot of integration of

the curriculum itself not just in terms of whole language. We're also doing cooperative learning, quite a bit of cooperative learning, because we feel that really works in well with alot of other objectives that we have like in terms of cooperation versus competition and that's also reaching all the different needs of the children like the students who are having difficulties and the students who need enrichment. We feel through the cooperative learning, we can do a lot in that area. All the different techniques and strategies, methodology, and the professional development needed to do that, that's another big committee. They can't be separated in a sense really.

The other big area is the development of a responsible student in terms of the personal, moral, social development, and self-esteem of students. So we put that in together. It used to be called 'discipline' but we didn't mean discipline in the sense that other people mean. So this is why we changed the wording around to that moral, social, personal development. So it's the autonomy, the responsibility, and the self-esteem of the student that is the focus.

Basically these are the three big committees and big things that we have in the school and everything sort of falls into that.

Don's preoccupation with refining organizational development in his school is an all-encompassing priority for him. His intention is focussed on building a school organization which is "tight on values and loose on procedures" through a strategic planning model. Moving in that direction at his school Don considers is "part of doing business" as an administrator. In describing what his specialization priority entails he states that it is

supporting some of the right kinds of things and getting some positive changes related to the concept of this massive education system with all the amalgamation, vertical integration, and massive takeovers. People are finding that in order to get the flexibility and control and involvement that's necessary for survival in the market place, they really have to go to totally controlled small organizations to make a difference. We're all in the business for the same reason...The business people are more apt to move the idea around much more creatively and come up with ways to get on with it because if you don't get on with it, you're not there next year. School folks seem to have the sense that you've

got all the time in the world...In the educational system, we tend to want people to go around patting us on the back and giving us good grades rather than behaving constructively with goals that are larger than we are and to change people pleasers into being self-accountable functioning, independent, autonomous life-long learners rather than doing it for the gold star. This can be a real challenge because there is a type of person who tends more frequently to end up in education. It's an issue...It's the perspective of--if the children that are with us today are going to live in the world of four, six, eight, or ten years from now, what skills, ideas, insights do they need if they are going to in fact be citizens of the world that's going to 'be' as opposed to following the natural tendency of preparing them for the world that 'was' five years ago?...

With the number of teachers that are computer literate themselves today, we're on the right track. The information society are totally bound together in the ability of us to be excellent in-control members of the information society... Encouraging the increasing use of technology and its availability is something that I've been involved in for a period of time...One of the constraints that I'm not prepared to attack yet is the traditional curriculum structures...The strength that we have to give is the learning environment that has children excited about learning, in control of their learning, and able to do it with appropriate access to the kinds and nature of information that is now available. That should cross all cultures and all races and it should cross all kinds of barriers that now exist in terms of its efficiency. That's part of the vision.

Although some of these administrators mention some aspects of school experiences involving cultural diversity, they say that those things are incidental and that they have not thought about explicitly developing or doing them.

REFLECTION: COMMUNICATING IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

What the communicating of priorities in this context means is that administrators are choosing to contribute to the creation of school environments in which specialization is a legitimized value. The school community is sensitized to the norm that specialization is important to contemporary

educational and schooling challenges. There is no talk of consideration regarding cultural diversity being an element of this endeavor. Hence, issues of cultural diversity appear to remain outside the boundaries of the administrator's specialization agenda.

Different from each of the other contexts, addressing issues of cultural diversity appears basically to ba a non-issue for these administrators. It seems to not have been considered as something significant in these schools.[30]

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR AS COMMUNICATION

From among the variety of intentions, principles, and values possible, administrators appear to need a focus to their work. An intention, a particular plan of something important relating to that work, appears to provide that direction. In the form of priorities, some important values of that intention get tied together. For some administrators, multicultural education priorities are central to that intention and for some they are not.

Priorities are continually being communicated by administrators in all the four contexts *(Table 30)*. Each school within those contexts is a manifestation of

> people doing what they want to do or what they think they must do. Organizations are modes of being that provide frameworks for action; they are sets of instructions for living one's

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[30]Although these administrators assess, orient, manage, lead, and develop staff in areas significant to these "specialization" priorities, no details on those procedures will be discussed from this point onward unless specific references are made with respect to issues of cultural diversity.

TABLE 30

ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE CONTEXTS

CONTEXT (where issues of cultural diversity are:)	PRIORITIES (which administrators' talk highlighted:)
"VOICED"	CHANGE INCLUSION JUSTICE RESPECT ADAPTABILITY
"CONSIDERED"	SURVIVAL
"SILENCED"	CONTINUITY CONFORMITY DIFFUSION
"IGNORED"	SPECIALIZATION

life. The instructions are made by people and are directed both at others and at self (Greenfield, 1986, p. 315).

Those basic instructions vary in each context and more specifically in each school. As the priority principles of change, inclusion, justice, respect, and adaptability are communicated in the "voiced" context; as continuity, conformity, and diffusion are communicated in the "silenced" context; as survival is communicated in the "considered" context; and as specialization is communicated in the

"ignored" context, advocacy for the particular intentions takes root.

Simultaneously as the administrators are communicating these themes, they are also monitoring their acceptance as priorities in the school community. How the appropriateness and acceptance of these principles is *assessed* and how the school community is *oriented* in each context is discussed in the next chapter. The two questions guiding that discussion are:

1.) "How do administrators *assess* the acceptance of the priority principles?"

and

2.) "How do administrators *orient* their school community to accept such priorities?"

CHAPTER 7

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS ADVOCATE: MONITORING PRINCIPLES--ASSESSMENT AND ORIENTATION

Monitoring, a key feature of the advocacy process, occurs simultaneously with communication. As the priorities are communicated there is a continuous monitoring of their acceptance. As Bates (1985) notes,

> leaders will try to commit others to the values that they themselves believe are good. Organizations are built on the unification of people around values. The business of being a leader is therefore the business of being an enterpreneur for values. Those who cannot readily be recruited to the moral structure for which the leader stands must be sold into it by persuasion, calculation, guile, persistence, threat, or sheer force. The appeal of values-especially if they are sold as ultimate values-can be powerful indeed (p. 166).

In this phase of advocacy, the awareness of the principles of the intention continues to be developed through administrative behavior in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity[31]. The variations between the contexts in that regard becomes more obvious. In monitoring what is significant, administrators continue to work at developing an advocacy climate for a collective orientation regarding the place of cultural diversity issues in the life of the school.

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[31]Discussion from this point forward in the dissertation will concentrate only on the data relating specifically to issues of cultural diversity. The absence of discussion of any administrator's data about a particular setting or the absence of discussion about a particular topic in any of the contexts does not reflect that other intentions are not being developed and that significant experiences in those schools are not occurring but, instead, such absence of discussion reflects the absence of talk dealing with cultural diversity in those contexts. Although administrative behavior in culturally diverse settings is comprised of many different intentions with particular principles and practices, only those which address aspects of cultural diversity receive attention throughout the rest of this treatise.

ASSESSMENT AND ORIENTATION

Administrators are constantly **assessing** concepts, the community, the school, and themselves in relation to their intention of explicitly addressing or not addressing cultural diversity issues. Assessment occurs in many forms: formal, informal, planned, unplanned, ongoing, and recurring. It deals with the teacher, the student, and the parental community.

Concurrently, administrators are **orienting** their school community to their advocacy. They are trying to make others consciously aware of the intention in an effort to mobilize and maintain support for it. Dealing with conflict continues to be an essential element of the monitoring process. Conflict in each context is responded to differently. In the "voiced" context, addressing conflict is part of addressing issues of cultural diversity. In the other contexts, where issues of cultural diversity are not addressed, addressing conflict tends to be avoided.

MONITORING IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

PRIORITIES: CHANGE, INCLUSION, JUSTICE, RESPECT, ADAPTABILITY

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS, COMMUNITY, SCHOOL, AND SELF

Administrators in this context engage in evaluating the merits and liabilities of their advocacy. Not without risk, they seek out feedback on aspects of their intention in order to further advocate appropriately for it.

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS

In relation to cultural diversity, assessment usually starts by administrators taking up the challenge of defining the concepts in terms of the terminology and concepts dealing with such diversity. Alec describes the process which occurred in his school:

> When we decided as a staff that multiculturalism was something that we would look at, there was considerable discussion about people's perceptions of what multiculturalism meant and what they didn't want to see happening in the school. They didn't say so much about what they did want to see happening because they weren't sure but they did say things like 'We know another school where all multiculturalism means is that you have a kind of folklorama festival where you dance and sing and we don't want it to be that...We want to be careful'...I think what they were really saying was 'We realize that we're coming at this at various levels of readiness just like any learner and we don't want it pushed down our throats as something that's going to be hard to swallow. So with that as kind of a setting, the professional development committee looked at what we could do during the year with multiculturalism as the theme. We had those things in mind that had been said...because I thought that was critical that we didn't fall into the traps that had been identified for us...
>
> Now, there's no question in my mind that our sensitivity to what we do around festivals or celebrations was triggered by what we did last year with multiculturalism as a focus in our school. What we tried to do was remove that term because there was a lot of baggage that came with the term. People came to it from so many different directions and so we really started to talk in terms of inclusiveness and equity. 'Multiculturalism' for some people meant 'We're going to have a folklorama and we're going to have some dances and food and dress up in costumes and won't that be wonderful!' Some were saying, 'Yes, that's what multiculturalism means' and others were saying, 'You've got to be kidding! I mean that's not what it means at all.' So we found that if we took the focus off that and we put it more on the issues that it had a lot more meaning.

Assessing terminology in a search to find that which would be accepted and meaningful in her school community was a challenge for Angie. She explains:

I do and don't use the terms 'multicultural' and 'anti-racist' education interchangeably. It depends on what the issue would be. I quite comfortably now with staff use 'anti-racist' terminology. I didn't at the beginning...We've done some definitions. I started with the multicultural approach because I was more comfortable with that using Kehoe and company. Now, if I was moving into a new school, I don't know if I would come at it from the point of a multicultural perspective or if I would come at it from an anti-racist one. I think I would still come at it from the multicultural because it's easier for people to talk about. It's easier to get the discussion going and then once you get the discussion going, you can introduce the anti-racist without the 'blame and shame'. I think we're past that here.

It seems that using the term "multicultural education" is perceived less threatening, less disturbing because, perhaps, it has a more passive connotation in terms of the mainstream's responsibility to take action and make power relation changes in the "ways things are done" historically and currently. It focusses attention to the outside and away from oneself towards "the Other" doing things.

On the other hand, "anti-racist education" focusses attention on each and every individual's behavior in terms of making changes for appropriate living in a "just culturally diverse society". It requires action on everyone's part. It, in a sense, is an effort directed at "afflicting the comfortable" as well as "comforting the afflicted" so that all can be equally and justly comfortable.

Term usage is considered a matter of strategy as well as of precision. For several administrators who prefer to engage in "anti-racist" education, for instance, as long as they can get to do it, they do not mind calling it "multicultural" education. Whatever the terminology used, Andrew insists that

it is necessary for discussion to take place and that discussion must be one in his estimation, that focusses on differences. He explains:

I think it's important to use both terms, 'multicultural' and 'anti-racist' so people don't stop at the multicultural stage. I see 'multiculturalism' as a stage of getting to 'anti-racism'. Some of the literature suggests that it's really all the same thing. There are the two camps and even in multiculturalism, there's the similarities and the differences camp. So I believe that we must discuss differences. We must be anti-racist. We must deal head on with some of the issues that people experience. We can't leave it at good food and festivals. Folklorama for example, is, I suppose, a wonderful event but it's also sort of indicative of how the city perceives multiculturalism. You do it for one week or ten days in the summer and then you forget about it. And you listen to the media and hear the number of racist things that happen in the city like cab drivers of other cultures being murdered routinely and the way that some of the Native people are treated downtown. We can't ignore those things. We can't just sit around and say we're having a multicultural discussion about all the wonderful things we share. We have to talk about differences too.

A delineation between the "artefacts of difference" and the "experience of difference" is made by several of these administrators. Some versions of "multicultural education" speak to the artefacts of difference--the celebrations, cuisine, dress, and the arts, whereas other versions of "multicultural education" like "anti-racist education" speak to the experience of difference--the racism, discrimination, stereotypes, domination, and marginalization which occurs in society.

ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY

Community assessment is an ongoing element of the administrators' monitoring process. Formally in Arnold's school, community assessment was part of the development of a

school profile. He describes the process:

> For the school profile, we did student surveys and parent surveys and we tried to include the information we got back from all three surveys, the student, parent, and teacher surveys. I would say if we look back over it, it wasn't 100% successful in getting everything in but we developed a reasonable picture of what parents wanted and what they thought of the school and what the students thought.

These administrators indicate that there are particular challenges in assessing communities. Anne considers the homogeneous environment of her own school community and she concludes from her observations that

> these people in this community are the people who need to have good attitudes towards other cultures. This is one of the few communities that is not multicultural...We got in some beautiful posters on contemporary Native People in the arts. I made sure we had them up because, again, there's such a lack of awareness...I also think too often our teachers when they study others, they do the typical European ancestry...and they're really not looking at the sort of cultural mosaic of people in Winnipeg...

Quite pleased with her assessment process, Anne reports that she had the Parent Council sit down with the mission statement and guiding principles and amendments. "They gave us feedback and the same happened with the action plan so," she says, "I think it's quite representative of what people would like to see in school."

There is a movement in this context to attach increasing importance to community views and nurture community participation. This is an effort to empower parents and the community at large in relation to their role in school life.

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL

Most administrators in this context have given thought to

where the different versions of multiculturalism fit ideologically in terms of what schools should be about and, accordingly, to how the principles of their intentions are perceived by others in the school in efforts to have them become realities of practice. First in terms of carefully thought out assessment, Alec shares his perspective regarding the central focus placed on students in his school emphasizing

> that what really drives the school is that it's child-centered. It's a whole child focus on which we spend a tremendous amount of energy and resources to create some kind of a balance between the cognitive, affective, and physical...That creates a culture of its own in the school in terms of what we like to call a caring environment, one where people go the extra kilometer for the child...It's an approach to children that speaks of people, the humans we're dealing with. This is the focus and not just the teaching...One of the things that does happen at this school is that we don't hide from issues...Kids come to school and there's been a big blow up at home the night before; they haven't slept, they come to school confused about their role in the family; Mom's left or got beaten up or whatever it might happen to be. How are you going to teach that child this morning? These are real substantive issues that we're dealing with in the building on a daily basis but when I hear that in other buildings they're dealing with issues like chewing gum, then I wonder about the two different worlds we're living in and I understand why it is that we get highly committed people in a building like this. The issues are so critical to the teaching function and, from the child's point of view, 'I'll probably learn better if I'm chewing gum for heaven's sakes!'

Similarly committed to child-centered experiences in quite a different suburban setting, Angie conveys:

> I very much believe in working with the whole child and providing whatever it is that we need to to provide the care for the whole child at the level that they're at...We need to build an inclusive supportive environment for our children.

To that same end, Anne sees one of her goals as working at her school "becoming more child rather than teacher-directed." For Aaron, this child-centeredness refers to

shifts in power relations where

> the basic belief is that people are treated properly and nobody is any better than anyone else...It's a child-centered approach where we look at that body as a human being and they don't work for me, I work for them.

Secondly, administrators assess the attitudes of teachers in relation to the students in the school. With a feeling that the staff climate have been positively oriented towards the priorities of addressing cultural diversity in her school, Angie speaks of how her staff have internalized the notion of the "joys of inclusion":

> The mental set of staff is 'Who's coming in?'. You would never get the question from staff, 'Who'll be here to take the child?' Instead of asking, 'Who's taking?', they'll be asking, 'Who'll be coming in?' That's throughout the school. That would be without question.

Similarly, "The language here is about kids" says Armand as he speaks about the staff attitudes in his school,

> It's about 'here's what I'm doing' or 'What should I do?' or 'I wish we had time to do this. The talk in the building is very much pedagogical. It is during lunch hour. It is during break time. It is at meetings. That is a culture which I want to promote a great deal. I think you have a very empowered school when that happens.

Thirdly, administrators assess activities and experiences occurring in the school. While on occassion ideological assessment about schooling and education in general may be quite thought out and formally planned, at other times assessment of the school occurs almost by chance. Each school is likely to have its own unique and contextual entry point for multicultural education. In the case of Aaron, assessment

of the school in relation to the issues of cultural diversity occurred as an extension of a discussion in his school. He conveys:

> In terms of racial stuff, we don't have any problems. We've never even had a crisis...I haven't dealt with one racial slur...It's just not happening. The community was just a nice excuse to get rolling. It was very handy...We started with anti-racist education when some of the staff were talking about what to do with the Language Arts Festival that they had held for many years and were kind of getting tired of. They were thinking about 'What can we do differently?' I made the suggestion that maybe we just continue with that and take a kind of multicultural interest. I remember people looking at each other going, 'Why would we do that as opposed to anything else?' I remember responding back with 'Well, look at the kids in your room. We have a bit of a mix here and maybe that would be a neat thing to do and people were responding back with 'What are you talking about? What kind of a mix?' They hadn't actually realized that in fact there was a bit of diversity in terms of the cultural makeup of the school...
>
> The first year, we did a 'mini-folklorama' and the success of it was getting the parents out. Part of the strategy was 'How do we get people coming into the building?' because we didn't have anyone coming here at that point in time. It was a place where nobody came--no volunteers, very poor parent turn out to almost anything. If you do that kind of thing, you automatically have got people in the community that will be interested because it focusses on them. So it was a tremendous success and people were on a big high saying 'God, I can't believe the turn out! I can't believe how enthusiastic everyone is. We've got to do this again next year. What will we do for next year?' It was beginning to grow from there. So it evolved with a second year of 'Well, let's get more focussed on specifically the people at our school as opposed to a sort of the United Nations thing.' People started learning more and more about different things.

Assessment with staff and students at Aaron's school became more deliberate over time. He talks about how a human rights project inspired a very specific form of planned assessment in his school:

> We've been through the staff part of the human rights survey for the past year and a half so this year we wanted to get into the community and students...It's only a basis for a small part of what we're doing. Some of our normal business

is way beyond that stuff. But this is one of the things so we've done the staff survey and part of the survey we now want to address with students...We'll do a three to four day process with them. Compare that to what they would normally do if they were to sit in their classroom working through a chapter in social studies. So which one has more value? There's no comparison, absolutely no comparison.

Many of these administrators take risks to do things differently than they were done in the past and, as in Aaron's case, are confident with the beneficial consequences.

A fourth characteristic of assessment deals with staff participation in ongoing informal and formal assessments. Some of these occur at staff meetings and with particular segments of the school population. Alice conveys how, in the short term, she stays in touch with her staff:

I'll take an issue to a staff meeting and I'll get feedback from them. I'll write it down and then I go away and I make a decision based on what I've heard...It's important to be all over...I walk in and out and I pass people here and there doing different things and so I know what's going on in the school when I do that.

Allen uses similar strategies and a group of school resource people for his assessment needs. He explains:

I try to get feedback from the staff meeting...about the way we should approach and structure things differently...We try and build in opportunities for people to respond...I generally check perceptions with a group of teachers first. If I have a feeling about something, I'll check it out with that group.

A fifth element of assessment is that which looks at developing statements about the school's collective orientation to life in the school. In this regard, assessment in many settings is part of general long-term school plans that may be focussed on school profiles and mission or belief statements. Developing belief and value statements about the

school allowed Armand to assess his environment. He shares:

It's good to question ourselves in terms of 'How do you affect change?' because we're constantly changing and it's a constant struggle to know 'What do you ask of people? What are the strategies that you use to make people want to change; make people want to improve?' To me that's got to be one of the biggest challenges an administrator has. It's to keep the staff involved, the staff excited, the staff progressing, committed...We're at the present time putting this book together on identifying our values, our beliefs in the school in terms of students, teachers, and parents. It's our five year development plan.

Perhaps Andrew, who like Armand is engaged in a long-term school plan, best summarizes the pervasive nature of some of the assessment that occurs in this context. In describing the negotiation that took place, he tells about how the mission statement

was really thrashed out last year. The school profile is a kind of statement of culture. We took it to the staff a couple of times and then took that edition to the parent council and had them massage it. We then saved on computer what they wanted changed in bold print so we could see that effect on it...My thinking is to lay issues on the table and get responses because I think that's the next step...The question we wrestled with at team meetings was 'What are the questions we want to ask?' And we wrestled with this as a committee. 'Is it going to work?'...It's very important for me to hear how people describe what they think of things because I'm the guy that's listening to this in terms of having some effect on it...I seek out the wisdom that I can find from people...I try to pick up people where they are and go with them. I try to set the tone by finding out what people are doing in this building and what their interests are, where their strengths really are, and how this, as teamwork, is really helping us all to grow...I just listen like a hound to what I hear people talking about...It's like the journalist at McDonalds...

I think if you're going to work in a democracy of team-driven things, you have to listen to different warps and wows of teams. Like we'll meet with the multicultural committee which is a school-wide committee and I will ask questions to see what they have filtered from their separate meetings compared to how I see it...Now I listen for people to tell me about growing and developing and I listen for them telling other people about it...The changes and phases that people go

through are interesting. When they're at a discomfort stage, it would suggest that they're moving and at the next multicultural committee meeting it will be really fascinating because we'll be talking about 'where to from here?' and I'm going to try and listen and see if I can hear about some people who want to move back with something that's comfortable or whether we want to venture forth from here with something into God knows where, like we're really not certain...This is a good example of muddling about in the middle of a change.

This "messiness" highlighted in assessment and change processes is also a good example of what is involved in taking risks to "afflict the comfortable" into reflective actions.

In summary, although most assessment of the school does occur with some degree of direct planning, sometimes immediate necessity drives the process as well. Alec became involved in that type of re-assessment at his school when a change to the traditional Christmas concert was suggested. He elaborates on the conflict which, he says,

snuck up on us and people's emotions became involved. Unfortunately it happened in places where it shouldn't have happened. It happened in the staffroom instead of in other available forums. It happened by people crossing out things on posters and changing what other people had put up. So there was some real negative stuff going on which would have been prevented had we been more perceptive in our predicting of what might arise out of something like that...Afterward, we in an official fashion did a review of the carnage that had been created by the issue of the 'Christmas Concert' and said, 'OK, where have we come from this now and what have we learned?' Then there was that forum to say 'We're not afraid of dealing with the issue and we're certainly not going to hide from it because we want to do things right so how can we improve on what we did?' There was considerable discussion around the whole issue of everything that we celebrate in school. It's not just Christmas now.

So it is in this context that administrators take advantage of and take risks with opportunities for assessment as they present themselves. In some cases it takes a crisis

or specific event to initiate a new awareness and change. In other cases, it seems to be more of an ongoing process of change.

THE ASSESSMENT OF SELF AS ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SCHOOL

The thinking about change is not restricted to concepts, community, and school in this context but the administrative work itself is also given consideration in this context. In general, many of these administrators perceive their job_in terms of "service" which is likely most succinctly articulated by Arnold when he says:

> I see us very much as a service industry in a way. It's not just us doing our thing but 'How do we meet the needs of the individuals?' That brings a whole different perspective to what you do and it was a difficult change for teachers.

Adamantly, Aaron echoes that notion of the centrality of service as he explains that

> the service to the people that you have the responsibility for is what this deal is about. Now that job is one where I think my main part is to help teachers do that job. So I have to do more of the taking care of teachers so that they can take care of the kids but it's taking care of the needs of the kids that is the only reason why we are all here and that taking care of their needs is a very broad thing.

In addition to the justice principle, that kind of "caring about others with an emphasis on it's okay to be different," stresses Art, "is important in terms of the climate that's been created in the school."

As administrators assess their work in the school, the importance of teacher readiness for the priorities is one of the broad areas of need that is stressed. Art describes how he negotiated the climate and trust-building in his school in

the course of assessing the staff readiness level for development in relation to his intention. He states:

I began trying to get staff to take a look at 'What were the needs of our kids? How could we best marry the needs of those kids with the kind of skills that they would require as they moved out into the real world and into the next century?...Prior to my coming to this school, I met with the whole staff once and I told them where I stood philosophically. Interestingly, when we had our first inservice that year, these were the issues that we put on the table but they were not prepared to follow some of the agenda that I had until they reached a point where they trusted me. So what we worked on was continuing to work ahead on some of the directions that were really their directions. They had come from a whole series of meetings but some of them were my agendas and there's no doubt that I came in with a particular focus and agenda that I wanted to accomplish but it wasn't my agenda only because it was really a combination of the agenda that came from what the community was telling us about certain things...I met with the kids before I came and asked 'What do you like about the school?...We built on what their strengths were but we continued to focus on 'we need to do this. We need to do that'.

I think with any school change, you constantly have to do that. You have to constantly touch base and find out whether the directions you're going in are the right directions...I think if you create this kind of comfortable atmosphere where people trust each other, I think you get communication and all the other things will flow...We did a survey in our community with parents, students,and teachers about what they liked most about the school, what they liked least about the school, and what we need to continue. It's been a year since we've done that and so I went to the staff now and basically this is the question I asked them, 'As we go about our daily professional responsibilities of teaching and involving ourselves and challenging our students, we often do not have time to reflect on what we, as individuals and as a collective, value and demonstrate through our daily efforts and interactions. We are requesting that you take some time to reflect on previous comments by students, colleagues and parents as to what they value about the learning environment and summarize your present assessment of the strengths of our daily efforts and indicate what our future focus must be or continue to be.'

Art's discussion of trust-building and of orienting staff to a particular school culture suggests the necessity of the administrator preparing staff for readiness for staff

development within the school prior to embarking on a specific school plan of action regarding the addressing of cultural diversity issues.

In a different and more low-profile a manner, Alec assesses his school and worked on building trust and self-assessment habits with his staff. He recounts:

When I started five years ago, what I felt as a new administrator to the place is that I had to get to know people and I spent really a year doing that, not uninvolved obviously. This is not a place where you can be uninvolved but a place where I was not in any way trying to foist any ideas that I had on people because I wanted to see how this place was working...I planned that first year for myself to be a learner. By the second year, it was time for the staff and me together to take stock of where we were and together move ahead because then I felt that there was a trust level and kind of knowledge of who I was. They were willing to do that then with me whereas they wouldn't if I would have come right in and said, 'Let's take stock of where we are' and they would have said, 'Well where are you? We don't know you at all? What should we reveal to you?' Then we spent a two day retreat when we did an analysis of the needs of the school... and eventually came up with what we then called a school improvement plan...We did as a staff a kind of assessment of where we were and from that came the plan of action we developed where there were a number of fronts in which we felt we wanted to expend some energy...

One of the incentives was the multicultural committee...It was almost a three year process for that initial stock taking...We didn't actually plan it that way...All we said was 'there's a need to evaluate what we're doing' and that would then generate a sense of direction for the future...This was a process, a natural evolution of the way we doing things now. We were being introspective and we were evaluating where we were going. We were making changes when changes were necessary and not waiting till the beginning or end of the year or anything like that.

Aaron, much like Alec, makes clear his assessment of his administrative agenda stating:

My job is to help us stay focussed. That's my job and I can't make things happen. All I can do is make sure things don't happen. I can get in the way enough to screw things up that nothing will work. But by myself, I can't make anything

happen. When people close their doors, they do the things that they think are most important to them and that they've had success with and that they believe in. So part of my job is to help people hopefully see that there are some things that are worth doing, that are beneficial, that might be different from what they currently do and believe and to make sure that we move that way but I can't make that happen... I've been able to do a whole bunch of things that are kind of a long way along the path of being the right things to be doing. There are a lot of reasons for that but, by and large, it's really helpful when your attitude is 'I'm going to do what I'm going to do and if somebody decides they don't like it, well get rid of me and move me along.'...So that allows you a lot of latitude to pursue things...I basically decided I wanted to do what I was going to do and I was going to do it...It's incredible the things that people have done in such a short bit of time. It really amazes me.

The match between administrators' perceptions of the personal significance attached to addressing issues of cultural diversity and their perception of the collective orientation of the school community to addressing such issues is clearly outlined by these administrators in their assessments. Alec believes that as administrator he, by his actions, has to demonstrate concretely what it is he values; what it is that he attaches personal significance to

in terms of program, processes, time, energy, materials, or whatever value in the sense of in my role as Principal not just talking about it but actually doing. Through my actions hopefully my staff will gather where my values are.

Taking a value stance is necessary to establish those "baseline" issues about which Alec speaks and those "things worth doing" which Aaron highlights. For Armand, that means promoting what he believes is important for students in his school. He explains:

The Principal has a lot of power and influence. One of the areas that we're trying to affect is student empowerment. It's one of our themes as far as school development is

concerned. It's there because I decided it was going to be there and I wasn't going to let it drop. I was going to find any way I could but it was going to be there and staff is slowly coming around and saying, 'this is great.' To me, the Principal sets the tone in the building.

That tone is grounded in beliefs which administrators concretize in the school plans. These plans are developed and negotiated through assessment as indicated by Art:

The one thing I'm prepared to always do is to modify the plan. I'm not prepared to modify the beliefs that I'm building those on...I think you have to always be coming back to 'No, this is what I believe. This is what I stand for!' So if you do that, if you know exactly where you stand, it's going to be a lot easier to make some of those really difficult decisions and selective decisions that you have to make.

The centrality of values in decision-making for these administrators is evident.

Many of these administrators express concerns with the difficulty of establishing the primacy of the baseline issues of cultural diversity within the school communities. According to Aaron, a general shortcoming in education is that

people don't want to say that there are things that are more important than others...For some reason, it's not our mentality to do that but look at what we miss out if we don't do that. We do baton twirling instead of human rights stuff because nobody's willing to say that there's better things to do. We're almost willing to say, not quite but almost, that filling in blanks in workbooks is not a good thing to do but there's even people who won't say that. So what kind of a discussion do you have about real things when people refuse to do that and it's refused? You have to have those with like interests to discuss this.

Once again, the importance of the match between administrator's will and collective orientation is perceived to be fundamental to addressing cultural diversity issues as a total school.

The absence of action amongst many school administrators regarding cultural diversity is at the root of Anne's critique of administrative behavior. She believes that

> it is so necessary to deal with cultural diversity in most of our schools. The issue of multiculturalism is so apparent in many of our schools. It's here but it's not dealt with...Some teachers are very frustrated in the area of multiculturalism. Many principals just aren't tuned into that. It is just so far removed from their minds and their values. They take their values and they would think those are the only values that anyone can ever accept. With people of different multicultural backgrounds, then, they would argue about their values rather than just saying, 'No, they're different values. That's all and they're different cultural beliefs, not that mine's better than yours." So I can see that in schools like that, unless the Superintendent really works and puts people in there that would work with and fit the community, I can see archaic things still happening in those schools because of the Principal. There may be a group of teachers that are really good as far as understanding different cultures but it must be hard for them to work around the Principal.

With the perception of the administrator as the "baseline person", the relevance of the Superintendent's choices in appointing administrative personnel for administrative positions is highlighted. Suggesting that Central Office attention has the capacity to bolster the cause of addressing cultural diversity issues, Angie advises:

> I think that there should be some leadership exercised by Central office because I think the more you make that environmental awareness the easier it is to do it. But a good classroom teacher can also do it within the school of the Principal, like someone I know of in a school who might not even ever be able to say the word 'multicultural' and he'll never say the word 'anti-racist' or 'racism'. I don't think he ever will but within his school, he can have a teacher who sees the need to do some work in this whole area and I don't see that that precludes it. It just makes it harder and harder.

Although the responsibility for addressing such issues is perceived to be everyone's, the will of administrators in this

context to address issues of cultural diversity is a driving force of advocacy for a total school plan. They are further willing to consciencize others at all levels of the educational system in those endeavors as they continually assess their personal and professional perspectives in order to remain focussed on their priority principles. That Angie stipulates that

> I like the feeling of empowerment as a Principal...But if I were to move into one of the other schools where my population was much more Canadian-born White, I would still begin with a multicultural/anti-racist perspective,

indicates that this advocacy is part of an attitude which is not school-specific or community-confined.

Internalized, firmly held principles are reflected in the administrators' intentions for addressing issues of cultural diversity. These administrators make cultural diversity an important issue regardless of whether it is seen as such by central administration, teachers, or the community. Integral to this commitment, it appears, is the strong personal justification for why the administrators, themselves, and others "need" to address the issues. Much self-reflection appears to have taken place in that regard. Elaborating on the process in which he was engaged, Andrew highlights:

> In order for us to understand other cultures, we have to understand our own culture and hence the idea of getting teachers to go out bragging about their school. We spent a lot of time writing our school profile because getting people to talk about the school forces you to talk about what you think it is about-'What is this school about?'...If we understand multiculturalism, then let's do it in the context of now let's listen to those people talk about 'who are we' without giving a lecture and saying 'This is what this school

is about.'...We've come in the last two years a fair distance in the comfort of talking about racial differences. I also watch individuals to see where they're at in their continuing development. I try to be sensitive to that and to my own development from time to time because we're all biased people. One of my biases has been that I think I'm not prejudiced because I've gotten into this process and that isn't true.

Reflecting on her self-assessment, Alice describes the advantages of collaborative discourse with colleagues. She stresses:

I think it's important for you to always take time out for yourself in a year...I have a relationship with lots of people in other schools and I go and just check myself out and say, 'Hey, I'm doing that' or 'Am I out of tune here?' or 'What is going on in our school?'. Lots of times they learn something from me and I learn something from them. I think it's good to do that. I think some administrators tend too much to stick to 'This is my school. I'm not giving out information. I'm not going to do any travelling.' When you do that, you don't grow at all.

The dangers of insularity in education are underscored.

Angie further extends the thinking on the necessity of personal assessment. She recounts an exercise that prompts critical analysis of "the self":

A wonderful exercise I did in a course was to reflect back on by whom and where did we think we were were influenced in terms of our values around money, education, marriage, children. We had to look at our personal roots. When you're beginning to look at perspectives, I think you have to come from self and move out...It's a way of really thinking about my roots and about the values that are imparted and from whom and which ones you have discarded...Unless you stop to puzzle through questions and actually do some formal writing on that, you're never really going to ever identify some of that stuff for yourself. That's why that question is important...I see far more need and far more emphasis necessary for our aspiring administrators to spend time on self, to spend time on self-understanding of their leadership style; understanding the way they express anger; understanding how they make decisions; and understanding the critical analysis of self. You know, you tend to go out and you hop into 'doing budget' and you 'do politics' and you 'do law', and I'm not negating that those areas are important but, to my way of thinking, the first

thing you do is look at self. There's a need for self analysis, for introspection.

Administrators like Angie put the elements of assessment in perspective. If in decision-making, one assesses the concepts, community, and school in relation to priorities, it logically follows, for many of these administrators, that the individual through whose value system these assessments are filtered also requires scrutiny in terms of self-reflection on thoughts and actions.

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

In conjunction with assessment, an orientation process occurs as administrators work to influence the school community. They are socially constructing meanings in the school with these efforts.

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL

Orienting for Alice means that "the people in the school have to have a good picture of what I see as a school and it has to be done at the very beginning of the year." She points out that she spends time in dialogue with people and has a specific package of materials that she uses to orient people to her school where "preserving" the Native culture is important. In Anne's heritage language school, along with attempting to keep the school working as "one entity", she also talks with people on her staff about "diversity". With her librarian, she has put together a project where they will look at materials to further develop the area. Sharing materials on cultural diversity is the way Angie started

orienting her staff to the issues which she believed they had to address. As in most cases in this context, the definition of cultural diversity includes "all differences" for Angie. She describes her ongoing orientation efforts in this regard:

> We were doing several things at the same time. We were looking to the integration of children with special needs and we looked at the integration of our visible minority children and, of course, children for whom English is a second language. We looked to the issues of integration and we dealt with special needs, ESL, and minority groups. We tried to deal with the issues simultaneously...
>
> I have a wonderful binder of materials. I have articles that are available for staff...I invited staff to sort of peruse their our own filing cabinets and see whether or not they had any articles that would deal with kind of developing some understanding on racism and so on...Some of the things that we did prior to the school opening--the staff were staff who had been in the division for several years and they were all familiar with our system but they were not necessarily familiar with some of the issues that we would need to address for our students of multicultural/multiethnic background--so as a beginning point in the new school, I provided them with some reading opportunities, some articles to read which would kind of begin to also help focus some of our discussions in our staff meetings or in our team meetings in the ensuing months and so on.

With the same intent but with a strategy that focusses his initial attention and communication on a core group of people rather than the total staff as in Angie's case, Allen works on developing an orientation to the issues with his staff. He elaborates on how he nurtures and negotiates the issues to collective prominence:

> The general way we operate in terms of starting with an idea is we do some preliminary work, cultivating it, and then take it to staff...I cultivate first to help people and myself clearly identify the issue so we're not running off in all directions...With the anti-racist program, staff confirmed the need. I guess they saw the need too. This work with the staff is part of the gardening.
>
> At staff a meeting, we raised the issue. Then the group spoke on possibilities of what they had in mind about what

they'd like to do with the classrooms and then, as a general awareness raising of staff, we said we'd get the 'Class Divided' video and show it to them...There can't be any resistance if I close the school down an hour early. They're paid for watching it. I think there's also enough of a climate in this place for people to perhaps appreciate that if we, if some of us think it's important to initiate, then maybe it is. So maybe some of them don't see it exactly that way, but they'll go along because there's a climate for beginning to take a few risks...

I'm a gardener...I say to my Vice-Principal 'Let's do a bit of gardening first. Let's make sure that the soil is just right. Now, where can we put the seeds. Well, we'll talk to So and So. Then when we come to the staff meeting, a quarter of the staff are going to know what I'm talking about and the people who don't are going to be looking around and seeing an eager look on their faces and saying, 'It's okay. We know about that. Don't worry' and that's how we get a lot of things done, just preparation. Gardening is nurturing.

This kind of preparation, of negotiation, is referred to as an "evolution" in Arnold's school. He recounts what happened in the various stages:

I had sent out considerable information like articles on multiculturalism and racism. I sent out five or six articles. They had just come across my desk and I guess in the last four months or so there's been articles in the Educational Aministration Journals and Phi Delta Kappan that are on multiculturalism. It's a topic that has a fair amount written in the last year or maybe I've just paid more attention to it over the past year...A group of teachers were catalysts for going a little deeper into research...Gradually, we just started to notice the changes and little things were done but they were done piecemeal. It was more of a talking to individuals like'You know in your work education classes, you've got nine out of your forty students who are Native students. Maybe it would be a good idea to take in some sessions coming up.'...We get all the information on the Anti-racism Day like the posters and the stickers. I didn't see it as an urgent need for the school but I didn't see it as something, 'Well, we don't have a problem so we won't deal with it.' We made all the teachers aware of it and got some things sent around and one of our teachers set up a few things where she had her kids go around and contact other classrooms and other teachers and that type of thing.

While the strategies of nurturing awareness with individuals, small groups, and whole staffs are highlighted by

administrators in this context, the conflicting debates and challenges to the process do not go unnoticed. They are accepted and considered as part of the work of administration. Administrators in this context do not shy away from conflict. Arnold provides an example of one such situation:

We had a new teacher here this year who came from another school and had some ESL students in his class here. Well, it proved to be very difficult for him and for the students and we actually ended up with a fair amount of dialogue and eventually some addressation. Basically it came down to 'Either you realize that this is the way this school works and you're able to adapt or you can find another school because nothing's going to change and we can't avoid putting students into your classes'...Gradually compromises are reached and viewpoints are kind of shared and sometimes it comes down to 'I understand your viewpoint and I sympathize with what you're doing in the classroom. However, in this case, you're just going to have to accept that what we do in this school is integrate students and you're just going to have to live with that' and sometimes that's been enough for teachers to change. So it hasn't all been 'Wow, yes no problem' but the majority of teachers I think have developed a fairly positive relationship and there's a certain amount of trust there. They've been willing to say, 'Okay, if that's what you're asking, I may not believe in it 100% but I'll try and work on it.'

Attempts at dialogue to orient people to change their thinking about diversity were central to the process in Art's school as well. Realizing the potential for resistance, he made his stance to his staff very clear in saying:

'Let's start to build on our strengths and we started to look at *Our strengths are diversity*. I said, 'That's a strength. It's not a negative. Do we really want to produce homogeneity? If that's what you want, then I'm out of here. That's not me. I really believe that our society, the way Canadian society is going, that we need to learn to value diversity and respect it.'

In schools such as Andrew's those attempts to challenge people to consider new orientations are ongoing. He describes his

influence in this regard:

As I'm combing through research as much as I can find, I'll find something like an article on 'Schools and Classrooms as Caring Communities' that says, 'Ah ha, this is where we're at' not that 'here's something people should know'...Now some people came back and want to read more on that. That's what we're really developing...'I've seen a few changes in people over the last couple of years but it's a slow process.'...At some point in time speakers like those from the Aboriginal community may have to offend. You have to know that your sensibilities hurt because of what the other person's hurting about. They are two different reasons. If you're just talking about multiculturalism being a wonderful experience that everyone ends up having once a year, we might change some things in a generation or two but at some point you've got to say, 'I don't know. I don't like that. We have to do more.'...Maybe we're ready in this school to talk about people who are a little harder on us because this has been gentlemen's stuff in the last few years. In the real world, what will happen one day is that we'll have a very strident person come into the building and make demands on us...Some of my multicultural committee say, 'The staff is not ready for this'.

Dilemmas about readiness in the orientation process are not uncommon. The conflicts which arise, however, do not deter administrators from finding appropriate ways to proceed with orientation procedures. In like manner, the process of orientation is carried out with the parent community.

ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY

Orientation with parents, in particular, occurs through efforts by administrators to have the community participate in meaningful ways in school life. That means that parents, in addition to their common status in schools as fundraisers and volunteers, are seen as significant contributors in decision-making matters.

Parents, according to Andrew, need to feel that they are welcome to be involved in school issues. He conveys:

When you're talking about developing community relationships, we're still at the point of developing school-community relationships with the parent body at large...We have a very active Parent-Teacher Council that are very good fundraisers. Gradually, we've been talking about educational issues. I've insisted that since I've started here, that if we have a major program change, we want to involve the parents.

At her school, Anne takes opportunities to do just that with the organized body of parents at her school. She expresses her interest in extending communication and involvement with the larger community and encourages her staff to do so as well. She states:

The Parent Council loved going through the Human Rights Inventory. They went through it in small groups...We're having an Open House next Thursday which is an information evening about the language program and I haven't done if before but I'm going to share our 'Guiding Principles' because I figure 'What better way to talk about our school and these ideals?' I'll say, 'This is our school. These are our Guiding Principles. Now, I'll tell you a little bit about the Language Program but when you come to us, we are one rather than two schools'...Certainly now I think the community has confidence in us. One of our guiding principles is openness and regular communication and I really try hard to get my staff to do that often.

With a similar human rights program at his school, Aaron chooses to engage in personal communication regarding the things he believes are important. He describes that approach saying:

I find that in the community, things like the human rights program are valued. That's what I find when you talk with them about the things that are important. They agree with you. The parents of every one of those kids will be thrilled to have their kids involved in it because they know what's important. They know the difference between doing human rights things as opposed to selling chocolates...The parents who do not fully understand will talk with me at some point and once I explain it. They'll say, 'Holy mackeral, that's great!"...You have to relate it to the school and explain why you do what you do.

Being invitational and connecting with parents to make sure that explanations are clear are particular areas of concern for Angie. She discusses what she concentrates on in her school:

We need to be better connected to parents. Now we're able to be better connected with whomever because of translators. They're coming into school to be sure that the parents are understanding the information that we're giving. Often the parents, one of them, will have usually some degree of expertise in English and we're very careful not to use any of our educational jargon or acronyms and to be sure that they have an understanding of what is ahead of their child in the school...I would have used the statement about inclusiveness and the 'richness of diversity' in the September newsletter. I used it the next opportunity to address the community as a whole which would have been towards the end of September when we had our first Open House and then the next opportunity was when when I opened the Holiday concert. So I had three opportunities in a kind of public way to say those things...At our Parent Council meetings I highlight some of the activities of the previous month and speak about what happened and focus some of the upcoming activities but I always do just a kind of concise and brief summary of what we were working on together at our staff meeting.

In newer program formats like French Immersion, that communication and explanation, administrators believe, is particularly required on a continual basis. As Armand indicates,

we constantly tell people 'This is what French Immersion is all about. Latch onto this. Hang onto this. This is very important.' If we let it stray as an idea, people tend to loose track of it, of what the real outcomes should be or what the real objective is...We like to inform our parents as much as we can. With parents who want to change their child from this school to another school, I will spend a lot of time talking to them about the advantages and disadvantages of French Immersion...We're hoping to get more parents involved in the building during the day. Very few high schools have parent volunteers.

Thinking about parent participation and orientation to the school is common in this context. Arnold expresses his

concern and hopes for the future in this regard:

We've also found it very difficult to get parental involvement from the area. I think down the road what we may want to do is take the mission statement and then have that adapted as a student response and a parent response to see what kind of reaction they give to it.

Parental reaction to schools are perceived as something educators need to understand in order to better understand their work in schools. It is, for instance, her reaction as parent that has helped Alice understand her work with parents at her school. She explains:

I have an 'open door' policy...I just want to develop the idea that 'It's okay to come here. I'm going to be available and it's okay for you to come.' I think that's really extending a welcome to them. I think they were really uncomfortable before...I remember the time my son got into trouble at school for taking out a football without permission. I'll never forget getting called in. We sat in this room with a table and all these people were standing around me and there was just me and him. I felt like a caged animal trying to answer them. I didn't even know what the problem was. They didn't even bother to start the meeting off nicely by asking, 'Would you like a cup of coffee?' or talking about the weather or just saying 'Your son got into trouble and this and that.' I didn't even know previously what had happened. I should have been given an explanation. So now when a parent comes in, I always explain who needs to be here and I think that's why parents are comfortable...

One of my aspirations for the school is to get more community involvement and have parents sitting on different committees. I think that's important. I've now worked on a discipline package where the parents and the school work hand in hand...Our people have a history of non-trust in schools because of the loss of their Native language and going to boarding schools. For a long time, parents didn't trust...I'm really pleased this year that the parents are not afraid to come to the school...I feel good that at least I've broken that barrier and parents are comfortable coming to school.

Welcoming meaningful interaction with parents is part of an orientation strategy in this context. This interaction is not a one way process but a negotiated one in which the

administrator may adapt to parent perspectives as well as vice versa. This is valued as an essential component of the advocacy process in the "voiced" context.

REFLECTION: MONITORING IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

Monitoring in the form of assessment and orientation in the "voiced" context occurs with administrators' full acknowledgment that addressing issues of cultural diversity in school is coupled with addressing conflicts as well. Here, conflicts are addressed with the attitude that conflict can be generative (sometimes regenerative, renewing) creative, and constructive.

Most of these administrators would likely agree with Lynch's (1987) "education for prejudice reduction" which is focussed on the "eradication of socially damaging and unacceptable prejudices" and would likely support their teachers and community members "in combatting racism, sexism, credism, and classism as virulent and specific manifestations of the propensity of society to discriminate on irrational and illogical grounds" (p. 11).

A fairly definitive intention to addressing issues of cultural diversity has been negotiated in this context. Concepts of cultural diversity, the community, the school, and self are sources of assessment. Sometimes this occurs in a planned manner and sometimes less informally and by chance. Orientation to addressing the issues of cultural diversity occurs within the school and community. Risks are taken and

conflicts confronted as administrators go about negotiating their intention.

MONITORING IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

PRIORITY: SURVIVAL

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS, COMMUNITY, SCHOOL, AND SELF

Although issues of cultural diversity are not priorities, they are given some, albeit limited consideration by these administrators. The merits of the concepts and their relationships to the community and school are assessed to some degree. Orientation of the school and community to issues of cultural diversity is almost negligible because the issues are not perceived as directly related to the priority of survival and at the school, the result is that a collective staff orientation towards such issues has not been a prime objective. Consequently, it is not perceived that cultural diversity issues are of any great concern for the school community.

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS

In assessing concepts of cultural diversity, Brian has come to the conclusion that "our focus on multiculturalism in the country unfortunately feeds racism." He comments:

> I think that one of the 'sacred cows' in Manitoba, and I think it's wonderful, is the festival in the Fall, 'Folklorama', but it's a double bind. That's wonderful but it does feed to acknowledge differences. I'm not saying that we'll all ever be the same. We have to have those differences and I think it's wonderful for people to meet a new culture but I don't know how you have both. I think that that translates into racism.

You can celebrate differences but I think there is only a minority of the population who really know how to celebrate differences and you get your backlash and your problems from the majority of people who are unable to do that. I think that's tied into a whole lot of things. It's tied into the 'Why are you bringing people over when all of these Native peoples aren't working?'...There are people who feel threatened in various ways by anyone who is different and I don't know what to do about that. There's hostility. It doesn't come together for me that we're trying to have equal rights but then over here a large group of the population will perceive special treatment. It engrains racism.

I don't see it changing and I don't pretend to be any expert on immigration or multiracism but I don't see it improving as long as we continue the way we're going. I know I heard on CBC a documentary on immigration policy and not only immigration policy but the funding of ethnic interest groups and the perception that our federal government is funding the various ethnic groups to promote people to take political office meaning 'jobs away from those of us others'...The message was: 'We're shooting ourselves in the foot' because we're trying to make everybody feel part of this country but then we're saying, 'Here's some money. Go ahead and take over' is the perception.

Although Brian appears to support a designated Aboriginal language program in his school, he has difficulty coming to terms with the general concept of multiculturalism and its programs. He expresses his awareness of injustices which have surfaced for him in the process of considering whether to address issues of cultural diversity in the school:

I would like to be more optimistic but I think that a lot of people, for instance, will say that there's not as much racism and so on as there was in the past. I'm afraid I don't believe that. I think that it was just as prevalent then as it is now. I think I'm kind of cynical I guess. I think the difference is now we have more people telling us that things are better but if you talk with Native people or with other groups in the city; if you talk with immigrant people in particular, it 'ain't the truth'.

Except for Brian's differentiation between multicultural and anti-racist perspectives, no other discussion on cultural diversity concepts emerges in this context.

ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY

Community assessment is a prominent feature in this context. There is an attempt to respond to the community as Brian specifically indicates when he says, "So one of our emphases of working with the community and trying to bring in the community, is if any part of the community, for instance, is Native, then we have to do things that will appeal to that community." He highlights that there is a particular focus on Native programming designated to occur at his school because of the nature of his community:

> Our Native population come from all over Manitoba. I think if you were to talk to some Native parents about their concern, again, when they move into an area like this, they're concerned about safety issues...A lot of the Native kids come with really, really poor attendance; with two and three year gaps in their skills and they maybe have learned very, very little. We get kids who on occasion are in their third year of grade four or something like that. They come, a lot of them, with a multitude of problems like that. Then of course, there's the whole issue of them coming here and not having a job; having to wait for a period of time until the welfare or whatever social assistance they're going to get kicks in; having to find food and so on and we, the people here, know, I don't personally, but the people who work here know where those supports are, where those services are and we certainly direct them. There have been occasions where the family comes in and has very little and we have a clothing storage here so we make sure that they have clothes and so on...
>
> The thing that happens a great deal is that they'll move back and forth a couple of times a year. They'll be here for a while then back up to the reserve and here, then back to the reserve, then here and then back to the reserve for the summer. Then they'll come back in October and so on. One of the big problems is no stability and you hear it in the way that the Natives talk. Many of the Native students will not say, 'Where do you live?'. They'll say, 'Where do you stay?'

Further, Brian touches on the necessity for an understanding of the issues as they affect "Native" people but also as they affect "other groups" in the community. He

states:

We have to, of course, be aware and sensitive to how the rest of the community is going to think about the Native Awareness program. To this point, there's been no negative comments at any time. So I'm not too sure what that means. I know that the community when we send stuff like surveys out, we don't get a lot of feedback. We don't get a lot of response back and I think it's because people are basically saying, 'Look I've got all these things to take care of in my life and, at least when my child is in school, I know you guys are looking after him.'

We sent them home a letter and let them know last year that we were having a Pow-Wow here. You know a lot of the community came and a lot of people who were not Native came to the Pow-Wow. Some Asian parents were there. I think it's pretty well known that we're doing these 'Native' things. I don't know if they understand that that means that the school is developing a certain focus on Natives and I guess it won't be a problem until, for whatever reason, others should happen to feel alienated. But again, that hasn't happened yet as far as I know. Issues only come up when something happens that directly affects someone.

Sometimes I suppose that the question that you might get from the Native community itself would be, 'Who's running your Pow-Wow? Who are your drummers?' because sometimes certain Native groups don't get along with one another and if that certain group is going to be there, then perhaps the others may not come. There are very, very many factions. There are many different societies who really don't agree with one another on basic issues and basic values and, then of course, there's a number of different languages. So when we started up the language program we were very, very careful to involve as many people as we could because we kept saying to the Native people who were helping us, 'We want to start something. We know we're not going to make everybody happy but then again we want to make sure that we offend as few people as possible along the way.' So again, we haven't got any feedback about that. We haven't had any problem with that yet. As the program develops, becomes more high profile, than we'll probably see requests for some changes or for accommodating from, perhaps, other groups and so on.

Brian appears aware of the competing interests in his community. Many of the unique circumstances of struggle in Brian's school community causes him consternation. He conveys:

There is tension between some of the Asian students and the

Native students because of things that happen on weekends. The whole issue of juvenile prostitution and money is just enormous. It's going to blow. There's other community things going on in the community too. When you can't let your kid out at night for fear of her being abused or becoming a target for drugs or because of the four gangs that are out there at the moment, you don't worry about that other stuff even if you happen to be Black, or as the case may be, because you're too worried about your everyday stuff.
It's a violent community on weekends. The poverty is enormous. What seems to happen is that the situations don't build gradually to a point where kids fight. Too often it goes from looking at each other and being mad to the fists flying. So we do a lot of work with the kids in terms of how to you handle conflict and how you handle your feelings and things like that.

A lot of the kids consider this place to be home and, unfortunately in many situations, this is the place that they feel the most safe. We have a problem in the neighbourhood, too, with a lot of these kids who won't go home at nights or won't go home a certain way at certain times because home is, for a variety of things that may be going on there, not a safe place or not a very happy place to be. So they'll go to other friends' houses or we have a number of kids who, during the summmer time, just sleep outside on the riverbank or sleep out in the alcoves or doorways of apartment blocks.

We have a pretty good feeder system into the community through the Community Education Development worker and through community workers who report back to us on how things are going out there from what they hear.

In his thinking, Brian has come to a decision that there are some things which are not appropriate on which to focus in his school. He elaborates:

So, the celebration kind of thing, in terms of multiculturalism and racism is kind of elitist. It doesn't really affect my kids in the school one little bit. It doesn't address their needs. It's another kind of source of frustration, if you will. What I mean by that is if you're in these schools around Christmas time or Easter time or any other celebration times, in order to celebrate it in the standard way is going to cost money. It's not a happy time here. You can feel that the kids are unsettled and unhappy and a lot of it is that they have no place to go during summer and during the holidays, during Christmas holidays but also they are not a part of what most of society perceives as being a part of the particular kind of celebration. So far, touch wood, we're not getting kids out there fighting or parents complaining because we're not doing those celebration things.

In a sense, Brian's critique is consistent with an anti-racist approach. To some extent, Bill is concerned about some of the same issues. In dealing with a community which, too, was once "very homogeneous", he elaborates on the challenge of change he has witnessed saying:

Unfortunately, some people don't want to think that the community has changed over the past twenty-five years. They still want to see the 'dear old school' of the 50's. These messages come from the school itself and from the Alumni groups. The school was the epitome of middle-class solid Germanic-Scandinavian type people. Now there's all sorts of people. Let's face it, the Natives do get a reaction from certain people which is not very nice. I guess it's pretty scary. You see these kids are living in kind of foster homes and sometimes this doesn't work out. But more and more have been hanging in and we really try to make them feel at home. We have a Native teacher and we integrate the kids into regular classes.

Barry from a different perspective also assesses his community. His concern is not with how the impact of heterogeneity but with how the impact of the homogeneity in his community influences his school decisions. He explains:

The community, of course, is vital in this area. The values we promote or things that we may not allow are as a result of the general feeling of the majority in our community. We do want our teachers to stress some absolute values regardless since this is very much a Christian community. The school population, other than for a few Asians, a couple Black students, and one or two Native kids is mostly a white population and I haven't noticed that kids are racists. The occasional thing happens.

Barry specifies one of those occasional things. In his description of the "incident", he reveals that not all community voices are perceived as valid interpretations of the school's reality:

I've had one parent challenge me on the issue of racism. He tends to be a little bit radical and very sensitive to being

Black. He almost goes out of his way to try and find an issue that would show that we are racial, racist. He might say that his kids are treated different because they're Black and that's the only one parent. But I think he is super sensitive that way.

It appears that the potential power differential between the dominant mainstream and the Other by whom the "problem" is perceived to be owned is not recognized in this circumstance. The critique is focussed on the individual rather than on any systemic limitations.

ASSESSMENT OF SELF AS ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SCHOOL

With reference to his work as administrator in addressing issues of cultural diversity, Brian provides the sole commentary in this context. He indicates that he is not active in justifying, advocating, or endorsing multiculturalism or anti-racism strategies at his school offering this explanation:

We put the racism and discrimination posters up and they're available so the kids that can talk about it but I don't think it gets much attention. I'm trying to think of a real good reason to give you for that other than the fact that it hasn't appeared as an issue we have to deal with. I think that maybe we're a little remiss in not paying more attention to it because, I mean, we work on the whole idea that we work together and we treat each other in a certain way and 'this is appropriate and that is not appropriate' for everybody. Actually specifically, I know that the teachers, on occasions at certain times of the year and so on and when the occasion arises, they will discuss those things and work on those issues in the classroom but we haven't done a school program or a school focus on anything like that. I suppose it's because we haven't had to. Maybe that's what it is.

Reactive responses are considered valid in this context. Segments of programs are "added" on as necessary. This is best described perhaps in Brian's comment that "issues only

come up where something happens that directly affects someone." The justification for the isolated nature of programming to deal with such issues is that there is no time and energy to do otherwise because of the efforts to stabilize a crisis-ridden environment.

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL

In terms of assessing the school beyond the formal programs assigned to schools such as Aboriginal or ESL programming and some passing considerations on areas to be assessed, issues of cultural diversity receive little attention in these crisis-vulnerable contexts. Unless there is an issue that is prompting or exacerbating a crisis situation, these administrators, as Brian indicates, generally feel confident that what is happening at their schools is a stabilizing experience, at least for the moment. Brian elaborates:

> We don't get parents complaining because the kids are fighting because of colour, of race. There's a little of the negative stuff and, unfortunately for them, it's mostly directed at one, two, three but one in particular Black child. I guess we have about half a dozen Black students in the school from Africa and different places and it seems that the main problems that we have to deal with revolve around one of these students, in particular, and he's going through whatever developmental things a student in his position does.
>
> Oh last year, I did have two little girls in here and it turned out that part of their problem was that they were calling each other names. One was a Native girl and one was a non-Native and they were calling each other names back and forth. But, that's basically all I've had.

In the greater scheme of crisis potential, these "individual incidents" are, for the most part, considered to be of limited concern. The problem appears distant and is distanced from

any school agenda to address issues of cultural diversity.

In Bill's case the grouping of students in his already vulnerable school highlights the potential volatility of the environment. He reveals:

Our Business Education program is full of the immigrant kids. Of course, that's not hard to do because the whole area is of immigrant background.

The Native students are in Room 56 there and only the really courageous ones will venture into the lunch room at lunch time. It's kind of chaotic in the lunch room. It's noisy. It's crowded. There's line ups and things like that and everything you associate with a big crush of people and a lot of times, the Native students will just bring their lunch and they'll just sit in their room. They'll listen to their radio and they'll have their soft drinks. A group of them will do this. They keep mainly to the front part of the building here. We have their lockers just out in the hall.

The Filipino group is farther down around the bend. But they haven't been there since Friday because they've all been under cover. They know I'm after them for a fight they were involved in. They are all lying low until the heat's off. They disperse as a group when the heat's on. They're maybe in smaller groups but nothing like maybe fifteen to twenty of them all in a circle there or sitting on the floor watching the traffic go by. They weren't there this morning and they weren't there at noon. I said to one of the teachers, 'It's pretty quiet, eh?' and she said, 'Yeah, they haven't been around for a couple of days.' So now they'll know that I've dealt with the situation. They're like a bunch of blackbirds. When you hit a tree or something, they all fly off and stay away and then they all come back and everything is quiet. Maybe they don't want me to associate them with the fight or they don't want to answer questions about it.

The Vietnamese kids are just a little ways down the hall. They don't bother each other unless something serious has happened somewhere. The Vietnamese kids still have their parents still elsewhere and they worry about their parents. The second year I was here, we got a hold of a couple of kids. I got a call from a restaurant. The kid had filled in a faulty social insurance number so that he could get work. This thing had happened and I don't know but somebody was getting paid. Oh, it was a big mess. I took the kid down there and talked to the owner and we kind got it straightened out. He didn't have a job anymore. The kid's parents were in Vietnam. He was sending money, so much a month and things like that. Boy, you do things like that and you're in trouble. It's 'good-bye' and out of the country because he's not a citizen yet. He could be deported.

We still have a substantial number of Portuguese kids here and I have recognized over the last five years and have been wondering whether there's a lack of focus from home on education. That's something that you can't really determine so I just wanted to get some records. We were going to start them on some kind of remedial program or get to the parents...There's kids in the school that I'm just hanging on to. There's fears that they will never graduate and I can see it. You know I try to keep them in and I hope for the best. Maybe the system in the school is discriminatory not purposely but it is a system. I know a lot has gone into helping ESL students-not as much as has gone into the Natives although more is going in fortunately.

Like Brian in his elementary school, Bill too, in his high school, touches on the awareness of injustices requiring redress.

For administrators like Brian, there is comfort in believing that staff are supportive of the designated system-designated Native Awareness Program aimed at addressing cultural diversity. He explains:

Sometimes when you start to do this sort of thing like the Native Awareness program, in some schools, you find that you get a backlash from staff. We haven't had that here yet and I think the reason we haven't had it here is that the people who are here now have been here a while. There's a very strong group who firmly believe that this is something we should be doing and they accept that it should happen. So there's not any of that. The other thing is it's a program that's not going to cut into our resources, like it's not being staffed over and above this year anyway, what we would normally have anyway. So it's not that we had to give up anything to get this program which then eliminated one potential source of the problem. So so far it hasn't been a problem. Now teachers have said, 'Well look, now that's another half hour or so that these kids are going to be out of my classroom' but to me that's a nice problem because what teachers are really saying to me is 'I really don't want to let these kids go for this extra half hour.' That's much better than saying, 'Oh great, sure you can have them.' So we haven't really had that backlash yet.

Such absence of any additional conflicts in these environments is welcomed.

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

In relation to addressing cultural diversity issues, even less time and energy appears to be given to orientation than is to assessment in this context. Brian, however, does touch on one of his principles of orientation saying:

> What we do is we focus on the similarities of people but if an issue comes up that has been racially motivated, I mean you know as well as I do that that's the stuff they're hearing from their parents and they're hearing it on the street, so we're trying to make them understand to see the good things and see past a whole notion of a physical difference. To a certain extent, it's the same as you do when you have a child with physical handicaps in the classroom.
>
> Unfortunately, racism is something that kids learn. But if you can focus on the idea of 'Let's do these things together' or 'It doesn't matter what colour you are, or who you are', you have a chance with kids.

Other than that, these administrators do not seem to direct energy at orienting the school or community to address issues of cultural diversity because they are "busy" orienting for the priority of survival. This is reflected prominently in Bill's comment that "I've got my hands full just running the inside and I'm not worrying about outside", the "outside" meaning things beyond what he sees as the immediate crisis-stabilization agenda.

REFLECTION: MONITORING IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

In this "considered" context, a definite intention towards addressing issues of cultural diversity is not nurtured. Assessment appears to be more community-constrained than leadership driven. The environment drives the assessment but more from a reactive than proactive stance as assessing occurs more after the fact than in a long-term pre-planned

fashion. Orientation of the school and community beyond a consideration regarding ideology is negligible. Inviting more conflict in so doing, it is perceived, would be unrealistic and overwhelming.

MONITORING IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

PRIORITIES: CONTINUITY, CONFORMITY, DIFFUSION

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS, COMMUNITY, AND SCHOOL

There appear to be continual assessments in this context which serve to deny the need to address issues of cultural diversity. While assessment talk described aspects of concept, community, and school concerns, no talk pertaining to assessment of self occurred. The priorities of diffusion, continuity, and conformity are the foundation principles which appear prominently as criteria in assessment and orientation behavior of these administrators.

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS

In assessing concepts, the centrality of diffusing cultural diversity issues is highlighted by Clinton who says:

> I think I'd much rather than zero in on a conflict because of the racial origin or whatever look at conflict as a larger problem because I think the roots of many of these things are the same. I think we're very actively working on that. Even though it may on the surface be race, I think a lot of those things that end up as conflicts may not be. That may be the reason it comes out but when you look underneath, there may be a lot of other problems because of name calling or it could be jealousy but I'm not saying that that we're just completely devoid of racial prejudice.

When there is acknowledgment of the existence of racial prejudice the response often is subsumed under a generalized

human emotion category like anger. Chuck elaborates on his perspective in this regard:

> Anti-racism--I'm not naive enough to think it doesn't exist. Of course, it does but I guess my approach would be I wouldn't use that term. I would use the idea that we should respect each other. I would come at it from the humanistic point of view rather than focussing on the anti-racism of it because, I mean, let's face it. It's not. It may come out as a symptom but it isn't the cause. So much of my job is mediation and helping people resolve conflicts so to me I want to get at the cause. The cause is that you were angry and so chose that way to hurt them. It's very rarely an anti-racist issue per se. We want to teach the students the basic rules of living and respect and how to handle anger, in particular, and violence. Look at the violence that's happening in our society.

The notion that anger in circumstances of injustice is legitimate appears problematic in this context. No voice is given to it and so in that sense, voice to the individual's perceived injustice is silenced.

Perhaps the reason for diffusion and deflection of issues dealing with cultural diversity is rooted in some anxiety and uncertainty related to any consideration of changing the way administrators currently function. There is a hint of that in Carl's words when he says, "If you become issue-oriented, of course, then you lose focus of your real task which is most important." Issues of cultural diversity are not deemed important enough to be included as an integral part of that "real task".

Further, there is some indication that issues not only get in the way of the "real task", as Carl implies, but are deflected away from the school scene as they arise. If a staff member, for instance, is concerned about detrimental

effects of racist issues, those concerns, sometimes considered fabricated in the eyes of the administrator, are expected to be left outside the school building and not brought in. Those concerns, then, are silenced. Claire provides insight as to how that occurred at his school:

> This racial thing will come up when people are feeling that somehow they're being biased against. I don't care how idyllic anything looks, there's always some kind of problem. But what you have to point out to people is 'Don't look for problems where there isn't any'. Now part of this is people come to you with different backgrounds with some scarring so you have to be sensitive to that and you don't need to hurt them but I don't think you indulge it and I don't think you tolerate it. You tell them precisely that you don't believe that that prejudice is occurring with the individuals in this situation and that's an inappropriate reaction and you're going to deal with it professionally. 'leave your problems outside the door. Do not bring your personal problems in here. I don't bring mine in here and I don't expect you to bring your baggage in either because the first and foremost job in here is as a professional. You are here to work with students and that's got to be your main focus walking in and, if you don't have that as your focus, then you're in the wrong school and I don't want you here.'

There appears to be a expectation that these people who are experiencing injustices divorce the impact of those injustices from their person while they are in the school building. Conceptually, the issues of cultural diversity are perceived to be detachable at will from the person's life in the school building.

ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY

In their assessment of the community, of the "out there", the existence of bias at large is acknowledged by most of these administrators. Clinton shares that "attitudinally sometimes children pick up on something they've heard adults

say." In like fashion, Conrad evaluates, "I have not heard students say anything about differences but I've heard it from parents." Some of those biases are perceived to be reflected in the way schools, particularly language schools, are structured as Claire indicates in his statement that his Division chose dual track or multi-track schools instead of a total immersion emphasis "because that sort of reflects, I think, the community's desires here." He continues, "If you're going to work effectively in this community, you have to reflect, to a certain degree, the community's values." Clinton confirms that stance as he remarks, "I think the bottom line is that the parents feel the school is supportive of where they're at. We try to listen and then our school's, I think, a reflection of the community."

There are limits, it appears, to what some administrators may want to hear from parents in the community. What parents have to say is not always perceived as constructive. There is often a tendency to dismiss the legitimacy of concerns or the credibility of the appellant when comments touch on diversity issues. Conrad describes the apprehension that arises for him around parental perspectives regarding language programming issues:

> There are three parents who like to have an argument about everything. They act as self-appointed watchdogs of the school. They ask questions about 'How about this?' and 'How about that?' and then it was 'How about this French-English war?' starting here. Some Mother picked that up. I guess the only thing that irks me about this is that this particular parent comes out there and she will find fault with everybody and is always loaded like a bear. I don't know if her

personal life is the shambles or what but every meeting she attends, whether it be a French Immersion meeting or camp meeting or a school association meeting or whatever it is, she is a devil's advocate. Everytime I see her there, I know I get ready to duck.

I mean we have an open philosophy. If you have a concern, we invite parents to come and talk to us. Then again, it's usually those parents who are not very educated in some instances or parents who really don't understand what is going on who are so quick to believe what their child says. Then they say, 'Well, that's how it is.' And then they make an issue out of it. It's usually those parents that don't know very much. It's a lack of knowledge. They are ignorant of the facts and will pick up on something and make an issue out of it.

Again, the problem is perceived to rest with the individuals and not the system.

Generally, there is a perception that in relation to issues of cultural diversity, "all is well" with the school in this context and, if it's not in the community, there's nothing at school that can or should be done about it. Most administrators portray that image and, like Chuck, are convinced that parents "feel comfortable that there is a fairness and that there is an equity in the building."

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL

An unproblematic school with "only a few incidents" and an unbiased staff are two features which emerge from the administrator talk about school assessment in this context. Sometimes parents and teachers who raise an issue at the school related to cultural diversity are perceived as problematic.

"There's no problem" is a common characterization that administrators in this context provide of their schools.

Incentives to maintain that image come in the form of praise from senior school officials as in Conrad's case where he notes that "we have often been singled out because we don't have any kind of friction between the two tracks, the French versus the English." In his assessment of students' behavior in this environment, Conrad judges that

> they're also totally unbiased and non-prejudiced and there's not bigotry in grade one or kindergarten. I mean the colour and size makes no difference to kids. They treat each other as human beings.

This perception of an unproblematic environment is seemingly untainted by "little incidents" of which Conrad is aware. He details:

> Although last week we had one class in the physical education dressing room followed by another class and then they sort of played a trick on each other. They got their clothing all mixed up and the one kid found his shorts or his sweat pants in the shower and they were kind of soaked a bit. One of the parents interpreted that as a French versus English conflict. But at a parent-teacher council meeting that we had here last week, when I heard the parent who spoke, I knew it wasn't the issue here because this particular parent picks on strange things. It's not one of our more popular parents. There are about three families that we have here that will make issue over silly things. This particular parent picked on this issue and tried to make it into a racial one or a cultural one, French versus English or English versus French...
>
> There was another incident last week. The French students happened to take over the hill not because they were French students but because some of the boys in there are bigger for some reason than the other boys so obviously they claimed the hill. I guess some of the other students noticed that these were French track and so they started a bit of a kuffufle but that's been two isolated incidents. Some people could build on it if they wished but it has nothing to do with an actual difference or conflict as a result of having two tracks. It has nothing to do with that...
>
> When children get a little frustrated and angry, they sometimes blurt out things, rather hurting statements. I don't hear too many of them, but in regards to being anti-Black, you once in a while hear some child make some remark. We have a little Black boy. But what do children pick on?

They pick on the obvious. Because the child is Black, they make a point of that, the obvious...

We had a girl here from Ethiopia and she was if I may use the term, 'very, very Black'. She was a very dark complexion girl and so kids, being what they are, made a bit of a point of bringing that up to her. They made reference to how dark she was. I dealt with it and that put a stop to that...

We had a young boy here who had his leg amputated. A train went over his little body and he lost a leg. So every now and then, kids would call him 'peg-leg' or something like that. But the fact that he was Indian, a Native boy, I don't think that came into the picture. I mean, if he was White or any other colour, the kids would still have made that remark. But kids are like that, okay...

We had a girl at one time who was not able to see and kids at the upper elementary and junior high can be very, very mean and totally insensitive so they made remarks about her blindness. She was able to see if she looked at an angle because her muscles in her eyes were not functioning properly. Well, some kids took it upon themselves to tease her about that. Then again, it's obvious. It doesn't have anything to do with race quite often or colour or whatever. Kids are like that. I don't think they often understand what they're doing. Like they don't say, 'I'm going to tease this particular person because they're Black, or they're Vietnamese, or because they're blind, or because they limp or whatever.'...

I don't think kids are like adults. A lot of stuff that kids do is particular to the incident, incidental totally. It's what seems to slip through their mind. It's not pre-meditated.

Conrad concludes his assessment with "They're pretty calm here. It's a pretty quiet school."

Where an "incident" arises, it appears to be treated as a consequence of an isolated and interpersonal weakness requiring reprimand rather a systemic attitude that requires re-thinking. Further, there's a notion that school can be absolved of social responsibility in countering these incidents because "kids are kids" and complicating the scenario is that these kids often are influenced by those considered to be "unreasonable parents", those parents who do things which challenge the some of the status quo of school

operations.

Like Conrad, Chuck, too, encounters such "incidents" in his school and assesses them as essentially inconsequential to the issues of cultural diversity. He explains:

> We've had at least two incidents that I can think of in the higher grades where if the child has a problem, it's not in the fact that the child is Native. It just complicates the problem because of all the usual things that go with it and yes, the Mother, in one case, thinks that society isn't dealing with her problem or we're not dealing with her problem because the child is 'Native type thing'. But I think you can get over that very quickly when you have credibility as a school in that you know that 'You've got to trust us and that isn't an issue.' If they have trust in the way that you're going to deal with the problem and that you care for the child etc., then that's an issue that I think can be dealt with very quickly. I think, in other words, it comes back to credibility in the school and the system, doesn't it? So that's not the main issue and we can get on with the real issue which is usually something pretty different.

As evident in Chuck's assessment, there is a portrayal of systemic infallibility in the school which can intimidate the outsider, the perceived "problem-ridden" individual, not to pursue allegations and challenges. As Chuck himself states, "certainly culturally, the Principal is quite an imposing figure. I mean when I walk around the building on Parents' Day, I get lots of bows." The concept of power is recognized by many in this context but the implication of its consequence in relationships appears to not be critically scrutinized.

In assessing school, there surfaces a belief, a trust, that by virtue of being educators, school personnel do not engage in biased behavior. By extension, there is almost an assumption that they are not capable of such. Claire submits:

> You're talking about professional people here that have

degrees. So they know. Any biases they have are intellectual and they will compensate for that. They'll go, 'No, no that's bias. I know that.' So they aren't going to come from those bases. I don't believe most teachers will. You know, the average person on the street might but they haven't had the benefit of a university training either. But, by and large with teachers, I don't think you have to say those things to them. I think you have to just more or less allow people to be themselves and show respect for them.

Hence, one conclusion from such an assumption might be that there is no need for staff development in the area of cultural diversity because there exist some intuitive mechanisms within teachers to deal with the issues.

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

In this context, there appears to be a desire to not raise issues of cultural diversity with staff, students, or community. On the basis of their principles, these administrators believe that not addressing the issues explicitly is appropriate.

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL

In the school, staff receive messages of conformity, continuity, and diffusion which orient them to believe and behave in certain ways through speech, symbols, and behaviors. With respect to conformity, Corey points out:

Well the mission statement says to staff that you are limited in terms of propagating any of your own sort of personal views if they're outside the general constituent thinking. This is a Judeo-Christian community. Our value systems are basically based on that background and so you need to tune into that.

Carl, in a more "secular" sense, stresses "we encourage teachers to 'preach' that we are indeed one, big, happy, loving family in the classroom." In conjunction with speech,

symbols of what is important are often highlighted for the people in the school. Conrad portrays his attempts to orient his school in this regard. He states:

We always have the Canadian flag and the Manitoba flag at the very front and whenever we have Manitoba Day or some kind of an assembly, I make sure I express my feelings about the country, how we should respect our home, our school, our streets, our parks, etc., etc., and of course, eventually our province and our country...People know that I'm going to say, 'I'm for Canada because I'm a Canadian.' Nobody challenges me. I think most people feel that way about Canada.

I sort of quash 'differences' over here, not by written policy so much as my expressing myself at staff meetings, talking to French Immersion teachers, and talking to English teachers and things of that nature.

The power of speech and symbol is employed by adminstrators for negotiating the intention in the school.

People in school are also oriented to modes of behavior on an individual and somewhat disciplinary basis. Claire has approached a staff member in this regard. He relates:

We did have an example where one of our teachers felt that one of our team leaders was prejudiced against him and had no respect for him. He felt they were prejudiced against him because he was Black. So I figured, 'Well, I don't believe that.' I told him that I didn't believe that and meanwhile, what I pointed out to him was that 'the real problem here, Mike, was that you didn't listen and you're looking for prejudice where there is none. Now what you did was you failed to listen. If you don't listen and you want to imagine a game against you, then you're going to get your nose out of joint and you're going to feel bad and you felt bad for no reason whatsoever. If you didn't listen to the other teacher and you didn't listen very well, are you listening to the students? If you're not, then we're going to have to address that. That's all part of your evaluation.'

Mike sees everything in terms of himself. So that's what I think is the problem is that he is always very paranoid to a certain extent. Probably it's from some very bad experience that has justifiably happened. You know, even paranoids have real enemies and he may have felt that so many times that even when it does happen innocently he thinks it's real. The atmosphere is a tolerant one within the school regarding those sort of differences and basically, intellectually, he would

know that.

Some degree of intimidation because of power differential can be a part of diffusing issues of cultural diversity in the school. Shifting the emphasis of the concern onto another perceived weakness of the "problematic individual" can also occur when children are assessed. Cam elaborates:

> Sometimes the children might be sensitive about being a certain culture. They bring that with them, too, and we have to kind of change that attitude. We have one youngster, for example, whose package that he was carrying was: 'Well you don't really care about Native kids. Nobody likes us.' Sometimes they might be using that for getting more attention.

The expectation is that the "problematic individual" and not the mainstream needs a change in attitude.

There are instances where indeed the administrator does recognize the legitimacy of an individual's concern regarding cultural diversity but hesitates to risk a change which might disrupt the "normative behavior" in the school. Claire seems to skirt the conflict inherent in such a situation with his language teachers by making light of the situation. He states:

> At one time you would get a lot of action from Immersion teachers. We had one guy who was one of our team leaders who was always giving me hell about it. He says, 'We have to speak French in the halls.' I said, 'Well, do that then'" and he said, 'Well, we can't speak French in the halls if you're speaking English.' I said, 'It's amazing. I can speak English but you can't speak French. I guess you're going to have to bend, aren't you?--because I'm the boss and you're not. Ha, ha, ha.' And we laugh about it but he seriously thinks that the kids won't learn French if they're not speaking French in the hall. Now that is a legitimate vital concern of his and he's right. However, there's a cost for that and it's not a price I'm prepared to pay.

Essentially, the concern is thus silenced because the price of

change, of dealing with the conflict involved, is perceived to be too high.

ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY

The community, in particular the parental component, appears to be oriented individually and as a group to the importance of continuity, conformity, and diffusion in this context. There appear to be two common messages which these administrators convey to the community. One is that there are no bias problems in the school and another is that language and not culture is what is important in French programming.

In recounting a parent's accusation of prejudice at school, Chuck diffuses the issue by charging it up to a problem in the individual's personal history which may be an accurate assessment. Describing how he orients the parent to re-think her position, he states:

> She just thought that we're prejudiced because the child's Native. That's the usual statement. But then when she's speaking, she's really referring more globally how she's being treated by the system in the past and her perception of that etc.. So we have to bring that down to 'Well, wait a minute now and with specific examples, do you feel that that's happening here? Do you feel that we care about your child and so on and so on?' That's not been an issue because I think we work very hard at doing that.

Although emphasizing care as a feature of the school, any bias in the current school situation does not appear to be part of the assessment objectives.

There are efforts at orienting the thinking of parents whose children are in French language programming as well. In particular, Clair stresses how he points out the necessity of

the separation of culture and language. He asserts, "You don't have to have a knowledge of the culture to truly understand the language." Just as adamantly, Conrad emphasizes:

> I make it very clear that language is what this program's all about and I think, not I think, I know most of the parents accept that definition. That's what it's for. It's language instruction. If we do cultural things, it's to help them acquire the language better, to understand the language better, because if you don't know much about the culture, the language won't be that meaningful to you. So it's for the sake of the language, not the culture, that we do the second language.

Many of these administrators talk about their efforts of orienting the parent community, in particular, about the separation of culture from language in language programming. They usually see that separation as one which alleviates debates and conflicts over the imposition of culture on people.

REFLECTION: MONITORING IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

Maintaining the continuity and conformity of the status quo is an overriding influence in assessing and orienting the school and community in this context. The administrator uses leadership influence to diffuse issues of cultural diversity and to orient the school community to those important themes. Conflict is perceived as destructive, degenerative, and to be avoided. A definite intention to not address explicitly issues of cultural diversity in the school is nurtured. The issues are silenced.

MONITORING IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

PRIORITY: SPECIALISATION

Little conscious monitoring appears to occur in this context because issues of cultural diversity have not been contemplated. However, some issues of cultural diversity did surface during the interview.

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS, COMMUNITY, AND SCHOOL

Assessment commonly in this context deals with the particular areas of specialization but sometimes, interspersed among that talk, are comments about aspects of school functioning that touch on issues of cultural diversity. Where there is one mention of assessment of concepts, it is limited to Don's passing thoughts which have similarities to the diffusion priority in the "silenced" concept. "It's an issue of respect", insists Don who goes on to say:

> We're not without strife. We're not without racial or culturally-based incidents but we treat them rather than an incident of racism as an incident of respect. 'It's not fair treatment of another individual-You made a choice here.' It's a learning opportunity rather than saying, 'Whoops, that one was cultural, or racial, or something.' We try and look at it as 'It violates man's inhumanity to man' though maybe we're naive here but I don't think so. I think the world community, the global village, the 'man respecting man' concept, if fully developed, will preclude racial incidents and the 'anti-cultural-against-culture' incidents.

Don concludes, "I guess I work very hard at being colour-blind and culture-blind in the sense of man's responsible treatment of man, to be respectful of all people regardless of their different situation."

ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY

Community assessment in this context has importance as Diane indicates when she says, "A lot is done to make sure that we are really close to the community in terms of 'Are we responding to what the parents want for their children?' Further Darlene clarifies, "I'm very concerned about teachers giving opinions that might directly influence a child and might not be something the parents want." Yet, not all concerns expressed by "the community" are accepted as legitimate in this context either, not unlike what occurs in the "silenced" contest. For example, Denise states:

> We have a Black family who are pretty sensitive and I'm in contact with them but I think it's their personality more than anything. I don't see any discrimination or anything with that child. I think sometimes it's just the father who simply reacts very quickly, just flares up, in a tirade about something. Then when he gets a little cooler, he realizes that it really wasn't an issue at all. It's usually against the school that he complains.

Communities differ in the assessment concerns they raise for administrators. In this context, those concerns tend to be related to socio-economic and linguistic aspects of the school.

The parent community, as Darlene perceives it at her school, can reflect two polar socio-economic opposites. She notes:

> People from the lower socio-economic area don't get involved with the school. They stay away from the school and, I think for them, school wasn't a positive experience. It's something that you have to go through and the school gets dumped on a fair amount by the people in the lower socio-economic area because they can't, in a lot of cases, sort out their own problems. So we become the scapegoat or the people to blame

and that sort of thing.

On the other hand, Darlene relates:

A lot of our children from the higher socio-economic area are very materialist. Obviously, they get a lot. They're very impressed with things that cost a lot. They have no idea of how other people live but that hasn't been something that I've pushed up to this point...Parents have been very good. Last year was one of the few times that we did go to the parents with the 'Share Christmas' program. This group takes old toys and if they're in good condition, they will give them to children in need and that sort of thing. Probably in the last year or so I've been wondering if there's a need to do that because one of the things that seems to happen is, I think, our children end up thinking of only themselves and there isn't that other extension out there. So I'm starting to wonder if there's a need to do some other things.

Even with incorporating such charitable agendas, tensions between the two distinct socio-economic groups within the community are not alleviated as Darlene elaborates:

The parents from the wealthy area have been very adamant saying: 'The children from the lower socio-economic area are on a bus anyway so why don't we keep bussing them to another school. Keep them going' and that sort of thing. In actual fact, because the lower socio-economic area is a transient population, because there are more problems there, in actual fact, those are not the children who should be bussed. It should be the other children that have stable homes and have some very excellent experiences and who can deal with change. But, at that point in time, that issue came up and the parents from the wealthy area said: 'Well, okay. If we could get rid of the lower socio-economic people, it would be fine. It would be a better situation.'...

The parents of the two groups don't interact with each other. And because we do a lot of things where we try to get parents involved, parents from the lower socio-economic area don't get involved. They don't get involved in our lunch programs where we provide hot lunches. They don't get involved in the parent technology group. So the issue doesn't come to a head. There is no addressation. You don't notice them very often because these people just sit in the background.

The children on the playground notice the differences because what you have are children who are extremely well-dressed with all designer fashions even to the point where some of the parents have had their girls' colours done and this type of thing to the point in the lower socio-economic

group where you have children who have received clothes from the community. Some of them come to school without having lunches. We have children in a family that we provided a shower program for because they were getting isolated by the other children and that sort of thing, just their dress, how they keep their hair, their haircuts, everything was different and the children quite often would get picked on by the other children. You don't hear about that a whole lot until you're talking with the parents of the lower socio-economic area who are saying, 'We'd really like to move out of this area because it's too hard on my child.' You don't hear it from the children. The children don't come to you and say, 'Would you please stop someone from making fun of my clothes.' It's a whole different world because these children have to be street smart. They have to be very tough to survive because for a lot of them, they are bringing themselves up. You have two very diverse groups where one is tremendously over-protective and the other, if a child misses a school bus and you have a meeting and you drive the child home at six o'clock at night, the parents are sitting and drinking with their friends and they haven't even noticed that a seven year old child hasn't come home yet and you can't get a hold of them because they're not home.

It appears that the parenting skills aren't there and the experiences aren't there. We've explored the possibility of actually going in and running the kind of thing where parents come and talk with a group leader about issues and parenting and that the children are involved in sort of play experiences with good educational play toys and that sort of thing. People were fairly receptive to that sort of thing. It's just that I didn't follow it further because of the involvement of time. It's a major, major commitment of time and effort. So, I think, to be fair, we probably haven't looked at the strategies closely enough in order to get these people into the school.

Denise's community, also, is not without its tensions albeit stemming primarily from language rather than socio-economic difference. She explains:

We have to be very careful about things being fair. One way we've done that is that there are many more kids from French Immersion who are bussed and that means they stay for lunch. So we have an absolute open door policy because really what would happen is that the French kids would stay for lunch and the English kids would have to go home. Now everybody can stay and most of them do because it becomes an issue 'Who looks after my kids at noon? The French put their kids on a bus. Their kids are looked after from 8:30 to 4:00. I've got to be home for lunch for those my kids. Why should I be tied

down just because I didn't want to choose French?' Some think that maybe those parents chose French because they knew that their kid got on a bus and was looked after for lunch. Like some of them believe that.

French-English controversies spill over into school programming at times. Hesitancy with language extra-curricular activities reveals some biases in this regard. Denise observes:

We just sent our grade six's to a French Immersion camp that was totally French for three days. Actually, some of the parents were concerned about that, that having a total immersion camp was just going to be a very big burden on these children, that that wasn't fair for them to speak French all the time. They felt this would be just terrible, that they couldn't possibly be speaking French all the time; that this wasn't fair; and that they weren't really interested in French culture. This just kind of amazes me when your child is in French Immersion. I think it's a basic misunderstanding that parents have about what French Immersion does or what it could do. I think that if you're not providing for all of the resources you could possibly find to support this second language that you're sort of paying lip service to it and you're making it more and more difficult for it to happen because students are in an English milieu. There's no doubt about that. English is all over the place. You don't have to go searching out English. It's there. It's everywhere and in order to learn French, you're fighting a battle all the time.

The concern about community attitudes towards language learning are not all that different for Diane in her French Immersion school. She relates:

Attitudes are important. Like right now, we started the Quebec trip. There's a lot of opposition like 'Grade six, it is too early-later' and that sort of thing. It takes some education though. It happens when we have a Christmas concert too. We do it all in French. The operetta was all in French. Well, there were a few comments in there by people who are considered important who will say, 'Well, I didn't understand anything but it was nice.' Then I'll sort of say, 'That's what they're here for. If we had the Christmas all in English, we'd have to prepare for that and that would mean students doing English all the time. Is that what you really want?' They say, 'No.' They understand that. 'Maybe we could have one song in English?' So that has been asked.

We'll usually do that sort of thing. But that still kind of surfaces and a lot of it is because the songs are in English and they know the songs in English and they'd like to sing them. So we usually will have the one song which we say will be a 'Sing Along' so that they can sing along.

There is a concurrance with the issues in Denise's school. Referring to "anglophones" in her community, she concludes, "They can be pretty anti-French."

Although issues of community bias surface, these administrators focus their attention on other areas, those of specialization with which they perceive the community is concerned and comfortable. Denise conveys her comfort with the relationships which currently exist saying:

I don't see any of the broader issues in what the parents discuss and what they do. Their focus is strictly on the school, strictly on their children's education and how they can be of help. There's no notion of social issues, I don't think so. They're very, very focussed on their children. They have no concept of the larger issues. Very few of them have any concept of the larger social issues and how they impact on their children in this school. It's very directed to the child and to their needs.

Darlene is of similar mind regarding the limitations of parental perspectives and seems to feel no need to influence, assess, or orient, the community otherwise. It appears that, having themselves not contemplated action in explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity, these administrators perceive that the community is not inclined to do so as well.

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL

In assessing her school during the course of the interview, Darlene says she does remember an issue which has arisen at her school with respect to cultural diversity

programming. She details:

There were one or two letters that we got based on the Easter egg. There was a situation in which the grade four's had gone to visit the Ukrainian Cultural Center and then, as part of their program, they did the Easter egg painting and that kind of thing and plus, they put on an assembly production where they did some songs which related to Ukrainian Easter and that sort of thing. We got an anonymous letter saying, 'Where does it say in the curriculum that we should be doing this kind of thing?' and 'If there were any kind of cultural things that we were to emphasize, it should be French and should not be Ukrainian'. In this case, the person did not have the courtesy to sign the letter.

Although Darlene says she has not previously given thought to addressing areas of cultural diversity, she is aware that tensions about school activities do exist.

Some issues regarding discrimination appear to be surfacing at Diane's elementary school. She notes:

We don't have a lot of diversity. We have a few Native children. I think that's almost worse than having a lot because they're even more different when there's just one. If there's a lot, there's still discrimination but we do find that with one Native child in the classroom, the teachers have come to me and said, 'There's discrimination'...We do have Black and the East Indian children...Sometimes it depends, too, if the child is already in trouble for other reasons. I think that makes a difference, too. Maybe he gets in trouble because he doesn't pay attention. He doesn't do this or he doesn't do that. To give you an example, at the beginning of the year, this one child was never bringing in his equipment like pencils and so on and I guess the teacher at the beginning of the year was asking if everybody has brought their stuff and saying, 'Have you got this?' and 'Have you got the money for that?' Then the Mother, called me and said, 'Will you get that teacher off my child's back? If he hasn't got his stuff, it's not his fault. It's my fault.' It's not like 'We'll get it in.' It's 'get the teacher off his back.' So when things like that happen in this kind of area and it's still an area where kids come to school and try to have everything such as runners and that. They'll try. So maybe because things like that happen, they kind of are a little bit different so the kids see the difference. In an instance like that, the teacher just never even asks him about anything now because it is true. It's not his fault, being late and things like that that, I think they are cultural a little bit. There

again, 'It's not my fault and I won't do anything about it.' Are we supposed to accept that? Everybody's supposed to be on time. The Native culture is sort of different in that sense. Maybe then if we had a lot it would be different. It's not a big problem...

There's been some discrimination, I have to admit. 'Discrimination' may not be the right word. There has been kind of name-calling from kids to other kids. We deal with it. The whole philosophy of the school is respect for one another so that falls into it right then and there, whether somebody is dressed differently or is different, respect.

Diane, too, echoes some of the concerns of the "silenced" context.

It is the stereotyping of the "Native student" which gives rise to some concern for David as well at his school. He conveys:

The Native students here are an interesting group because, I think, actually, they have the greatest difficulty even though they're 'Canadian', they probably have more difficulty at the beginning getting used to our school than somebody from Hong Kong or somebody from Mexico. I think, probably, there are a lot of stereotypes that we've built up. There aren't obviously obvious differences between Native children and other children, just culturally. But, I think there's probably a different attitude.

With this comment, although it is not totally consistent with some of his earlier ones about his perception of neighborhood characteristics, David's concern appears similar to some of those in the "voiced" context.

More commonly in this context, some of the spontaneous assessment is not unlike that in the "silenced" context where the "different" are stereotyped as "problems". "They" are perceived to have value problems which impact on how we go about schooling and education as Don indicates stipulating:

There are issues of child care and quality of life at home. A number of cultures have different beliefs about the

treatment of women and girls; about sexual initiation procedures into the culture; about what it's okay for uncle to do. Those issues are very alive and living and we need all the counsellor time we've got. We've been known to call the family services agencies. We've had our days. We've had our incidents. We've had our times. It is different. There is a wide diversity here.

Again, similar to the "silenced" context, the implication is that the "other" needs to be helped to "fit in".

When issues of "difference" arise in Denise's school, she reacts to them on an individual basis as she indicates:

We have a lot of diverse cultures here but obviously they've been here long enough that English is their common language. If we talk about religion we have diversity in religion. We have two Sikh children who wore their little turbins but the other families don't wear them because they're sort of westernized. But the two wear their turbins. Once in awhile there would be some issue come up but we would talk about different religions and so on and they felt confident enough to share their differences and they were very well accepted then. Often the counsellor will talk about that. It could have been that one of the kids felt that they were being teased or something and would have either gone to their teacher or to their counsellor who would do something about it.

In addition, issues for Denise also have arisen as a result of administering a dual English and French language track school. She points out:

One of the main things, of course, is that it's a dual track school and that we have French Immersion. If we do value French, we want as much French as possible but it is an English milieu and we've got to keep that in mind. That's always been a delicate issue in dual track-Is it two mini-schools or is it one school or what is it? Well, we've really worked at integrating. I have to be very, very sensitive to that because it's just under the surface there. I'm not dealing with those French-English political issues but I know they're there. Well, I'm not dealing directly with those issues, I'm dealing indirectly with them all the time and have to be very sensitive that it doesn't become a French-English issue. It's another issue but it has nothing to do with the languages.

As in several of the settings with other administrators, Denise is negotiating an orientation to the situation which is congenial to her way of thinking.

These administrators also talk about their staffs not having an orientation to addressing issues of cultural diversity as a school. For example, Darlene illustrates her thinking:

> There isn't a desire, or at least it hasn't been presented to me, that students need to be involved in Canadian issues or world issues. It's not been something that we've really had to deal with.

Further, as Darlene indicates, staff members who may be inclined to move in the direction of "issues" of cultural diversity do so on their own initiative. Darlene comments on what appears to be her initial awareness of such situations:

> One of the teachers who left last year who was the teacher I transferred out and another teacher have just sort of touched on global issues a couple of times. Actually the teacher here has a concern about the environment which is not people so much as Third World populations and stuff. There's a new teacher on staff this year too. There have been a few indications that she probably is going to be involved in more global things.

In describing her school, Darlene emphasizes that cultural diversity is on the periphery of her thinking about the school because its presence is not felt concretely. She describes her school by saying that

> as far as cultural backgrounds, we're probably unique in that we don't have a lot of racial backgrounds. Here, I think we only have one family that's Asian and a little girl that's adopted who is Chinese and one Native boy and the rest are all Caucasians which is very different than most other schools.

As she goes on to characterize her school as having a distinct

lower and upper middle socio-economic population, however, Darlene touches on an issue of bias, a class bias, which she recognizes in her school operations as this relates to the technological specialization priority. She contemplates:

> We're having a little bit of concern with our mentorship program. Because our mentorship program is a teacher-nomination type program, teachers tend to nominate the 'good school goers' and those are the children who sit very well and answer when the teacher requests and don't speak out of turn, look great, do their work ahead of time and all of those kinds of things. And there's a tendency on the part of a couple of teachers to overlook children that are naturally bright and quick because they don't conform to what the teachers expect. They push the system. They challenge the teacher in a way in which the teacher doesn't really want to be challenged. So there's a concern there from myself because the odd time, you'll find that a child who is a very 'good school goer' is in these programs and they don't have the intellectual capacity to be in the program. Half-way through this, they know it themselves and they're starting to back away from it. So it's not fair to the child and it's very much a concern that I have.

Some aspects of the justice issue in this environment appear to be surfacing. Also, as the school population changed from predominantly upper middle class to a much more diverse socio-economic population, teachers were faced with students who were not always the "good school goers" and whose behaviors reflected this difference. Darlene points out:

> So now those things are becoming an issue for teachers because it's hitting them right in their classrooms but before that it wasn't. The issues are coming in but they're very subtle. You have to be aware of them. I think if you talk with most of our teachers they would say, 'No, that's not the case here.' But, I think, if you start looking under the layers, then I think you'll find it exists.

This situation appears to be prompting Darlene to begin reflection on aspects of her school in addition to that of the technological priority.

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

In this context, then, the priorities are quite unrelated to issues of cultural diversity so assessment and orientation of the school and community to such issues does not seem to occur deliberately. Yet some monitoring is intuitively occurring as, for example, with the French-English tensions in Denise's community. She relates:

> I guess I want to make sure that parents are making the decision for good reasons and that they're not making it because somebody down the street is going to French Immersion. This is a very important decision for parents to make for their child for the first seven years in school. They'd better really think about that and what it implies. We talk about what the French Immersion is like and the difference. We talk about what the kindergarten experience is like for a five year old. Then we'll go into the differences like 'You can't support your child in the same way at home if you don't know the language. They will not be getting the same kind of instruction in English.' They get one hour of English a day but they are expected to read and write and work in French which many parents just didn't understand...They didn't know that they used French books-like that's how naive they are. So it's an ongoing kind of education for the parents to really begin to understand French immersion and to get into it for the right reasons.

The absence of planned explicit orientation of school and community in relation to issues of cultural diversity in this context is in keeping with the administrator's stance of not having contemplated addressing those issues and consequently not having engaged in collectively establishing an orientation in that regard.

REFLECTION: MONITORING IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

In this context, administrators talk much about their specialization projects. They do not speak about a will to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity on a school-

wide basis. In fact, Darlene says, "I've never thought about those things." In the "ignored" context, a definite intention towards addressing issues of cultural diversity has not even been considered, let alone nurtured. In essence, the issues are ignored. Issues of cultural diversity are pre-empted by issues of specialization. Interestingly, although these administrators indicate they had not given consideration to cultural diversity issues, many thoughts, particularly with respect to assessment, did surface during the course of the interviews.

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR AS MONITORING

Administrators are engaged in assessment of the concepts, the community, and school in relation to issues of cultural diversity and in orientation of the school and community with respect to their intention. In the "voiced" and "considered" contexts, some assessment of "self as administrator" in this regard occurs as well.

It is in the "voiced" and the "silenced" contexts that the greatest amount of assessing and orienting occurs as administrators negotiate meanings with the school and community. What administrators "see" in assessment appears to closely refect what it is they justify as important in their stances toward cultural diversity. In the "voiced" context, they orient their communities to explicitly addressing the issues while in the "silenced" context, they orient them to not addressing the issues explicitly on a school-wide basis.

In the "considered" and the "ignored" contexts, the processes of assessment and orientation appear less comprehensively developed because the priorities are not specifically focussed on explicitly addressing or on not addressing issues of cultural diversity. Although perhaps not deliberately planned, assessment and orientation somewhat related to the issues do appear to occur in these two contexts intuitively to some degree.

In all contexts, assessment and orientation raise sources of tensions which exist in their environments related to issues of cultural diversity. Schools, as Greenfield (1980) notes, "are a context defined by others for the individual and and a context that individuals may define for themselves. The struggle in the stream of life is to determine which definitions are to prevail over others" (p. 44). In the "voiced" context, these conflicts appear to be confronted as part of the perceived necessary agenda to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity. This intention and action does not appear to occur in the other three contexts. Administrators, therefore, even when they have not contemplated explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity, are influencing the school community by virtue of the symbolism attached to the things they say and do, and do not say and do not do in relation to diversity as people in positions of power and leadership influence in their schools.

The dual processes of assessment and orientation are

carried out simultaneously as administrators monitor their advocacy of what is significant in the school. This is preparation for endorsing what principles and practices are important. From the informal interaction of advocacy, administrators move to the more formal actions of endorsement. They work to legitimize more pervasively by word and deed their intention. They appear to do this in two ways in particular and that is by initiating action for practices and institutionalizing practices.

In the next two chapters, discussion will focus, first, on the formal interaction of administrators as leaders in schools regarding how they endorse their intention by *initiating action* with respect to it and, secondly, on the formal action of administrators as leaders in schools regarding how they endorse their intention by *institutionalizing practices* which make their intention a reality. How advocacy is initially transformed into endorsement in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity is described in the next chapter. The discussion on how administrators initiate action for endorsement is guided by two questions:

1.) "How do administrators use *leadership influence* to initiate action in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity?"

and

2.) "How do administrators use *staff development* to initiate action in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity?"

CHAPTER 8

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS ENDORSER: INITIATING ACTION--LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT

The awareness-building of advocacy becomes concretized in endorsement when administrators translate their principles into practice. While advocacy is more a process of negotiation, endorsement is more one of validation. Leadership influence and staff development are two ways about which administrators talk regarding initiating action to endorse intentions in school life. Although administrators "lead" throughout all the processes of valuing an intention, philosophy as "deliberately conducted practice" (Dewey, 1944) and leadership as "philosophy in action" (Hodgkinson, 1983) are most publicly prominent in the initiating of action for endorsement. Administratators use deliberate leadership influence so that their intention takes shape and they take action to "educate" their staffs by endorsing professional development accordingingly in efforts to establish a collective orientation which would support the values, principles, and practices of the intention.

INITIATING ACTION IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Transforming the awareness of principles relating to issues of cultural diversity into practices through endorsement is kept in the forefront of leadership action in these schools. A "salesperson", a "facilitator", a

"validator", a "mentor", a "clarifier", a "gardener", or a "supporter" are some of the self-identified descriptors used by these administrators to suggest how they use their leadership influence. In some cases, the administrators themselves initiate the foundational groundwork for addressing issues of cultural diversity publically but in some, they empower staff members to do so.

In this context, administrators are constantly making decisions about when it is necessary to lead "at the front" and when it is timely to "lead from behind". Much risk-taking occurs as changes from the status quo progress. There is a continual consideration of how leadership in its philosophical and managerial processes by the administrator needs to encompass the concept of "decentralization of power" thereby empowering teachers and others like parents in the school community with the right and responsibilities for meaningful decisions in their lives. In general, administrators see much of their leadership responsibility as that of developing in staff a common purpose, an orientation to addressing issues of cultural diversity through staff development.

These administrators appear to believe that administrative and school effectiveness requires a proactive stance towards addressing cultural diversity issues both on their part as individuals who are leaders in the school and on the part of staff who are in direct contact with the lives of students on a daily basis. Collaboration, communication, and

risk-taking are interrelated features of their leadership behavior about which administrators talk most in this context.

Leadership strategies in this context are very much associated with collaborative endeavors and the premise that such a leadership approach is intrinsically connected to addressing issues of cultural diversity because it addresses fundamental power relations. Armand in speaking about his school, emphasizes that "the level of collaboration amongst staff members is very, very strong. The collegiality is very strong." From his perspective Andrew reports, "We take up a lot of teachers' energies in collaboration." Similarly, in his school the notion of working together as a group is something that Alec asserts

> ties in very closely in terms of this being a very child-centered place. The whole notion of synergy when you deal with staff working together or kids working together is a very interesting concept. It ties in with the cooperative learning theme and the communication themes at our school...'We're all in this together as a team.'

It should not be assumed that collaborative cultures are inherently present in these schools. It is more likely that the orientation to operate in a such a manner was a process that developed over time with leadership from the administrator. The leadership approach in Art's school changed over time as he explains:

> I really believe in people. One of the things that was the most difficult thing for me was coming here and making those autocratic decisions in the first year. It was not my style of operating...I like to assess the situation and I use the resources of the people who are there...My style is always to empower people...I'm excited about what committees are trying to do...Also I know how to build a team.

Many of these administrators take steps similar to what Art did originally at this school. In Anne's words, "I guess some of my administration does sort of manage people and move them in certain directions." It appears that in many cases these administrators are quite frequently making transitions from autocratic to more democratic leadership strategies. However, depending on the school and staff intricacies, administrators may move back and forth between the two at points in time.

Making their intention and values known, however, does not get sacrificed in the efforts to develop collaborative working relationships. Conscious of the issues, Andrew interprets his administrative actions stating:

> I like to put things on the table to challenge people to think, Hopefully, people would tell you that I'm a democratic leader and I think schools should be teacher-driven. Then again, I haven't abdicated...As people leave old behaviors and start to do something new, I try to stamp a whole bunch of validation on so that people go away feeling good about the change. The staff knows that's my agenda. I don't hide that.

Allen, too, is of the opinion that although there is a back and forth tension in how leadership acts are carried out, leadership from the administrator is imperative in a school. He tells a story which has had an impact on his thinking and behavior:

> A friend of mine said, 'Leadership involves change. Now when you sweep the stairs, where do you start? You start at the top and sweep down. You don't start at the bottom and sweep up. That's revolution. So leadership starts at the top and sweeps down or filters down...My initiative is to initiate a process but to give the staff the ownership of the process. Part of the way of giving them the ownership of the process is to give them the mandate to make decisions in their spheres of responsibilities that they share with me because I need to know but in a non-directed kind of way...I see my job as

facilitating them to work, report back, and get another mandate to proceed. On a major school-wide process, I look at a series of mandates to be validated all the way along. What I think that does is give the staff a sense of being in step and seeing something evolving...There's a series of validating steps.

The validation or endorsement of others' interpretations or viewpoints is central to the way leadership in this context is perceived. Because of the amount and intensity of communication regarding issues and ideas that occurs in these schools through meetings and professional development experiences, it is not always easy to identify from where ideas may have originated. This is not so because of manipulation but because of the negotiation and internalization of ideas that occurs. Arnold speaks of the necessity and benefits of that process and his direct and indirect leadership role in it:

I've always worked on the basis of trying to get other people to come forth with their ideas. The idea may originally almost be mine but at the end nobody knows it was mine. It appears to have come from another individual and another group. I guess that's always been part of my leadership style. I don't like to just say, 'This is the way we're going and that's the way it is.'...I may be in the group as a facilitator or give information about things...For a lot of the things that happen in this school, I try to make sure the individuals involved take a leadership role in it and I try, when they've done something, to highlight that. So I'd rather not speak to the Board about something that's happened in the school. I'd rather have the teacher or teachers make a presentation to the Board and that type of thing. I guess that's always been part of my style. It's just all of a sudden become one of the styles that seems to have become very acceptable in the whole idea of collegiality and things...

At staff meetings, I take some time to clarify my position sometimes to let them know where I'm coming from. I think at the last one I did kind of almost a pep-talk. It was related to where I see things going in education and how research has affected what is going to happen in the next few years...I said, 'I think these are some of things that are

going to be the way of the future and the expectations will be that all teachers will have to try and understand the research and be able to work with the demands of society and the needs of kids. You won't be able to just write this stuff off. Cooperative learning would be an example of what industry is clearly saying: 'We want people who can work together.'...We may find it hard to agree to the fact that streaming is a bad idea. Like we all sit here and say, 'Yeah, it's best to put a 00 kid with a 00 kid and 01 separate because it's easier to teach and it's more effective and we look around this room and almost to a person we believe that because that's what we've done. But the research indicates test after test that we're wrong and one of these days, we're going to have to look at that and say, '*Gee maybe we are. I've done that kind of thing.*' I do this I guess just to generate thought and then I'll follow-up with an article on 'streaming' or whatever...So those are the kinds of things I talk about as administrator of the school.

The focus on communication in this context appears to create an atmosphere which is open to the discussion of issues. People are oriented to perceive such interaction as normative and welcomed behavior, behavior that allows for critiques of self and others. Alec describes the on-going forum created at his school for such analysis:

Governance is in evolution at this point and it came from the communications committee...I'll engage staff as much as they wish to be engaged in the decision-making process about how we talk about decision making. It takes a lot of energy and time...This is a very highly self-actualized building. They are very committed to what they do. They have formed very solid beliefs about how we interact with kids and what's important when we do that. It doesn't mean that we always agree. In fact, lots of times we disagree but what it does mean is that it has an impact on me and my position as Principal because if one were to come to a building like this and say, 'I'm the leader and you will follow', there would either be a revolution or there would be a lot of people leaving and it just wouldn't work. So it does speak to me in my position about how I can best utilize the human resources in this building which is obviously a primary function that I have to meet. And the word 'empowerment' to me is a critical word here in terms of how can people best function. So there's a lot of leading from behind like trouble-shooting, encouraging, and all those things that I think are part of empowerment including a lot of trust, lots of honesty. We

work a lot on communication and we go after that as an issue constantly. I think that's for me a sign of a healthy place to be because we aren't satisfied with the communication that exists. There are always ways to improve regardless of how open I feel I am. I think I'm pretty open but I'm always encountering places where the staff is giving me feedback that I could be more open here; I could be doing things differently there to improve their understanding of what's happening in the building.

Leadership in this context can also be characterized by considerable re-evaluation of self and system. Self reflection and analysis is understood by these administrators as a requirement for lifelong learning. They perceive this essential for themselves as well as for their staffs.

In these schools, the understanding of how things happen specifically in relation to diversity often is influenced by groups of people within the school working collaboratively on selected themes dealing with the topic. In many cases, administrators delegate specific responsibilities to formal committees or less formal groups of resource people. Within this format, administrators carve out their work as they initiate processes and actions to address the issues of cultural diversity.

Investing time in dialogue about the issues is a common feature of administrators in this context. They provide the leadership for that to occur. Alec talks about that endorsement process in his school:

I talk about leading from behind. The very self-actualized members of the multicultural committee came to me and said, 'I'd like to report on what we've been doing' and I said, 'Of course. You have some time at the staff meeting and while you're talking about that, would you be comfortable in introducing some of the issues that you've been talking about

in the multicultural committee as some of the issues that we as a school, as an institution, might want to look at?' Then my part is saying to the staff assembled, 'How do you feel about this as having some potential as a theme that we could look at for next year?'...We broke off into little groups and did a bit of discussion, generated some ideas, and came back and basically the answer was 'Yes, we see some real potential in doing this in many different ways.' Then I said, 'Let's have a small group of people do some planning and then bring it back to the whole staff because it's efficient to do it that way.' I consider myself in something like that as almost an ex-officio member of that committee.

Allen operates in a similar manner but under different circumstances. Describing how he interprets this leadership endorsement function at his school, he states:

There had been some name-calling...I sat down with the group of teachers concerned and did a little brainstorming with them about whether my impressions were correct and whether or not we should do something about it and if they were correct what might be some of the appropriate things to do. So in a fairly intimate group of about four or five adults, we started talking. Now at the end of that meeting, we gave each other jobs. It was agreed that I would take it to the next staff meeting and put it in a context. Then the group was going to be looking at some information and suggesting some ways to proceed that would address the issue for the staff. They would come up with the detail. We did that and got a mandate to proceed with the development of an anti-racism program.

In Angie's school, the leadership process of endorsing what was important occurred in a different manner. In a much more administrator-directed approach, she brought the topic of cultural diversity to the attention of her staff. She relates:

On the first staff meeting in September, I posed the question about 'What are the ways that we can value the culture of all children and incorporate that value into the existing school curriculum and daily teaching?' It is a question that's lasted the whole year and will carry into next year. Well, this is kind of where I moved in on the question. I asked them to take the back of their sheet of paper and I said, 'Just for a moment, stop and think about 'a Canadian student'. Now, what is the image that comes into your mind? Write down

the first word that came into your mind.' Of course, that was a discussion in itself. Then all of a sudden people said, 'Well, a Canadian student in our school may not speak English yet. A Canadian student in our school may be Black. A Canadian student may be Chinese.' So it immediately just opened up a wonderful discussion and some people said, 'I saw only White faces in front of me and yet I've worked in this school for a year and I know I'm going to see children of the rainbow. I'm going to see children of all different backgrounds and cultural backgrounds.'

I did the same with 'our school'. Then we looked at what were some of the implications of that particular question and what were the implications for us as we were working and developing curriculum using the provincial curriculum, using the provincially authorized textual materials. How could we augment and supplement and what might be some of the things that we could do?...There are some things I do with staff. For example, there is a little multicultural checklist that I've sent to the staff to every now and then stop and think about the culture of our school and about the areas we need to address. We do it each Fall and each Spring to check 'How are we coming along?' Actually, it's mostly from the Kehoe book but I think it was a good way for us to begin to just do some talking as a staff and I think these are very important questions.

As with most administrators in this context, research materials in Andrew's school, as well, are perceived as valuable resources. He uses them to challenge people to think about the issues. He comments on his approach to leadership in the area:

We do things and then in the literature, I find they're writing an article and quoting stuff that we do so I put that in people's mailboxes and say, 'Look this is what we're doing and you need to know that, that here we are.' That's validating and that's a specific strategy. Now I sometimes give people something to read that is a bit of a gadfly issue like 'Whose Culture?...I'm interested in interaction analysis on how teachers interact in that process; the skills teachers are developing; new things teachers are trying to do; and I try to make that very focussed when we go to the process and support people who are trying this stuff.

Support for efforts to address issues of cultural diversity is at the root of leadership and action in this

context. In the re-assessment and commitment that occurred with the multicultural committee at Arnold's school, that administrative support to initiate action was evident. He tells the story:

When the multicultural committee gave their first plan, I was prepared to go ahead with some of the ideas that they had at that time and I supported that by providing time for them to meet, trying to get people to take a leadership role in setting up a day or an event; making sure we had time so that the kids could be part of it; and, if finances were involved, providing them and so forth encouraging it to go ahead...So I really let them go and encouraged them, and then down the road if we felt that we needed to add something or if I felt something needed to be added, I'd try to work it in in terms of a session where we went back and had a feedback session where we all would ask: 'What did you think? What can we do to change or improve?' So we give them that opportunity too...

I set up goals every year and let staff know what my goals are. One of those goals at any school would be to let them know that I'm interested in pursuing some things in multiculturalism and then do follow-up by getting information on multicultural issues and then circulating it. I would just start up an awareness about things and gradually build them into it. That would be the first year...In a new school if there wasn't a statement on multiculturalism, down the road it will be up to me to introduce the subject to teachers and to discuss it. Now, again, it's the kind of thing I can say, 'Well, we're adding it' or I can take the time to try and build some support from the staff based on the concerns that they themselves start to see and say, 'Sure, this is one of the things that we should have.' So I don't know what tact I would use but I would go back to my normal strategies which are seeing what kind of individuals you have, work with them, and from there build a base.

The potential long-term effects of leadership in addressing issues of cultural diversity are perhaps best evidenced in Arnold's closing statements. The incentive to embark on addressing the issues does not remain only in the school which has experienced the process but moves on with the individual administrator who will justify, advocate, and

endorse that intention in another school in the future. In addition to the individual action taken on the part of the administrator, the intensive focus on collective staff development impacts on the internalization of principles and practices related to issues of cultural diversity in context.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Most administrators in this context contend that staff recruitment and development are critical to addressing issues diversity. These administrators admit that although their staffs are generally supportive of addressing the issues, individual staff members are at different levels of development in this regard. Administrators are involved in sensitizing staff through total staff development programming. To that end, they expend energy, resources, and professional time. Almost invariably staff development programs are part of long-term school plans.

While most of these administrators embark on the initiatives without any sustained support from the Divisional offices, Arnold explains how his school integrated the focus on issues of cultural diversity with divisional initiatives:

> At the start of our five year action plan, we did an inventory of the school and its administration. Because our division had invested previously in five years of professional development dealing with innovations, teachers were prepared with the needed skill development for continued growth. Then we began some initial inservice awareness sessions on issues of multiculturalism.

In trying to make sense of changes in society and schools, administrators work at raising awareness of some of

the issues through incremental levels of professional development. In most cases, the focus extends from the first year of basically doing "folklorama-type" activities, the artefact-focussed element of cultural diversity, to more specifically focussing on issues such as racism in the years following. Often in this context, multicultural committees and the student components of such present proposals that cultural diversity be a topic of discussion, organize to bring in speakers with expertise in the area, and develop appropriate learning experiences. Administrators in this context speak about continuous multi-faceted professional development programs which are long-term total school experiences. Professional development of staff is a central focus in these schools.

The formal staff development programs are validation and legitimization of the advocacy that occurs in the communicating and monitoring of the priority principles of the intention. This development appears sometimes to begin with recruitment considerations (Appendix K) before it extends to specific professional development programming related to cultural diversity in the school where frameworks and content are considered.

How and when frameworks for staff development are designed at these schools varies considerably. Administrators, it appears, move the process along at a pace which they believe suits their staff's readiness level. Into

her second year with the Heritage Language program at her school, Anne says, "I think staff is now experienced enough to spend some time on 'other' issues." For a different reason, time was also necessary for Art's staff to become involved in professional development programming. He reflects on the stages of his staff's acceptance of staff development endeavors:

> People were starting to move away from 'This is the Principal's agenda or this is the Vice-Principal's agenda' to 'This is our agenda' and they began to sort of by the end of year two to say, 'Okay, now we seem to sense that there are about three areas that we really need to focus on. One is Science and Technology. One is multiculturalism. The third one is at-risk students' learning styles and learning strategies to address the needs of a variety of abilities and a variety of ways that kids learn.' Again, I'm talking about a process that's now in year five. If I were to pick a timeline, it was about half way through the second year where the trust level was starting to get better. People were starting to say, 'These are our agendas. We need to get involved.' Committees started to be created. We began to focus and say, 'If we're going, to spend our dollars, we're going to spend them on three areas. Teachers should begin to pick areas of interest in those three areas. I would say I would sense that by the middle of the second year, the trust level had changed somewhat and by the end of the second year, those committees were actively working...a collaborative approach.

In Aaron's school, incremental staff development change can also be identified. That there is a growing sophistication in decision-making and planning which comes with the confidence of working collaboratively in the school is a common notion of many of these administrators. That development process is described by Aaron as he relates:

> There are certainly some people that I talk to who are very like-minded. We know that this is the way that I work; this is the way you work; this is the way we'll always work...It makes it fun to do things because there's so many people that

trust that things are going to go, that they make things go. They just make them go. And they make things work...

There are four longstanding sort of continuous groups in the school. There is the multicultural committee and its job is to do the rationale for the content work that we do. There's a cooperative learning group and that's a group that's learning about cooperative learning. There's a learning styles group and there's a language arts group that's basically focussing upon literature circle. Except for one person, everyone in the school has joined one of those groups...Any dollars that we spend from our professional development account or any dollars that I find for things that will be approved, they will be to support those initiatives.

Then we have whole school themes that involve everybody in the school every time. The whole school theme of 'Peace' is presented with a rationale from the multicultural committee. That's one of their jobs. Then some teaching strategies for how you might do that in your class are presented from the Language Arts, Learning Styles, and Cooperative Learning committees and there's representation from across the school in terms of looking at broader issues so that it's appropriate for all age groups. That theme group changes each theme but those long-standing groups don't change. Those are for the year...There's a whole bunch of evolutions that are kind of going on at the same time.

It appears that the processes of staff development serve as sources of collective challenges and self-renewal for people in these schools. Arnold tells of the involvement of his staff in developing a school profile and of the commitment the multicultural committee shows in developing a plan that incorporates as much recent research as possible. He elaborates:

As a process a number of years ago in the our Division, we started to look at a five year plan and an action plan. The emphasis at that time was for schools to look at where they are, the clientele that they have, and where they would like to be in the future. So the first step was that there was some inservice for administrators. In some of those cases, we involved one or two teachers from the school so that the administrator wasn't the only person getting this information and then the first step in the school itself was to look at a school profile. All the schools in the Division looked at that. The next step was then to look at a mission statement based on your inventory of what you have. You look at a

mission statement that would deal with the present and try to project into the future based on some of the information that we have and now we are using the mission statement to build an action plan. So if you believe, for example, in the multicultural nature of the school and assisting each student, then somewhere along the line we have to be doing something that is tied to multiculturalism...

Teachers were involved in coming up with the school profile so it wasn't like somebody outside did it. They basically were involved in coming up with the information, putting it together, and helping write it. We had a number of sessions where we discussed the profile, discussed where we wanted to be, and looked at mission statements. We had a committee work on it. We had a facilitator then come in and help the entire staff go through this and look at some of the things they saw coming out of the mission statement that would lead into an action plan and we ended up with four major areas. One of them was multiculturalism...So that process itself has been very worthwhile and has set up a kind of an atmosphere that would allow for other projects to be implemented. It's much easier than it would have been two or three years ago...The process just keeps renewing itself...

As part of our mission statement, we set up a committee to deal with multiculturalism...I guess we've still got a long way to go here with multiculturalism. We've got a good base but there's still a long way to go with the kinds of things that the committee is looking at. So there's still some education for staff and some demands need to be put on staff in order to look at things differently and to try different things. In our Division, there's a possibility of doing some teaming with other schools and doing some joint ventures. So some of the things that have started here particularly related to multiculturalism could just as easily involve two staffs.

Collaboration and lifelong learning are not divorced from ongoing staff development in this context.

In addition to these two perceived fundamentals of staff growth, administrators also highlight their understanding of two other elements of staff development. These are that learning is optimal when it is collegial and that there are different entry points for different people at different times in different places for this learning to occur.

With reference to the specific cultural diversity

professional development agenda, common to all in this context is the fact that the focus is on process as well as on content. The programs are developmental over the long-term. Each phase appears to build on the next as administrators respond to the readiness of staff orientations.

Aaron, perhaps, reveals the most comprehensive history of staff development which occurred in his school. He details the growth of a collective orientation to addressing cultural diversity issues:

I guess the way that things have evolved here are the beginnings of looking at that kind of multicultural topic area that has become more or less the driving force of all things here. It's become extended. The first year was basically doing a folklorama kind of deal which was sort of a week of special activities that focussed things and that worked very, very well. We then in that topic area were looking at what to do the next year and then we decided that we would very specifically focus on the people that were here as opposed to fancy cultural things that had nothing to do with the actual bodies in front of us. So that was a bit of a change for the second year but what goes with that is the importance of beginning to move on with a whole school plan in some areas and the way that you involve a whole school staff in the life of the building and what that means in terms of children in the building and it wasn't the same thing at the time. It was sort of just areas to address in a school like all schools do professional development or all schools do this or all schools do that. There was a degree of separateness there...

So the second year of that multicultural stuff became more of a local focus and wanting to use actual people from our neighborhood as actual resources and actual classrooms but it was still a kind of low level multicultural education in that way. We were still focussing on food and dance and celebrations as opposed to the deeper meaning of that whole issue of equality...In the third year, we started to look at some other aspects. We started looking at discrimination and eliminating discrimination. So there was kind of a big jump between the second to the third year. We decided that we would present staff with a proposal of one of three areas that they could address still using a cultural focus but the cultural focus was looking at the possibility of one of the three areas. Those three areas were human rights, participation in Canadian society, and dismantling

discrimination. What we did was after we decided that if we were going to use Japanese Canadian culture as the focal point for the multicultural part, you would look at that but then you would look at the context of that as human rights within that. So you then have a group studying Canadian Japanese culture but exploring what happened to people in Canada that arrived here and went through the internment. So it became kind of a different flavor. It kind of took another level in terms of "What are the issues related to those people of that background?' So you have a great deal of growth in order to do that. People needed a whole lot more information as educators about how to do that. It became a more integral part of our school plan because it was getting deeper now and you needed to funnel more resources that way and more professional development time. You also needed to do more explaining to people within and outside of the building about what you were starting to look at and why and how and what shape it would take because that's a whole lot different than 'This is what a Chinese cultural mosaic kind of looks like and this is the food and this is the that.' It becomes very different than that...

We found also some other things. I got hold of a human rights pilot project that was out there and we decided we wanted to take a look at that. So that became another part of us as a school. That started us looking at the things we believe in around that issue of human rights and the things that we do. It started getting us into some of the things that maybe we should examine and change.

In addition to that, there was another step in terms of school planning so that the focus was becoming much narrower in terms of all of the things that someone might do as opposed to 'Okay so as a school, here are some major areas that we're going to spend our time on.' This now becomes or professional development plan as well as our school plan as well as curriculum development that we were going to do as well as the way we're starting to think about how do we treat people over all. In the fourth year, last year, I think some great leaps were made again and that became a very comprehensive kind of a plan for us and even more so this year. So it was this year that we're looking at major theme areas that are getting developed through some teacher skill areas that are identified by research as the kinds of things that you would want to do in a school with the kind of catchment that we've got and we are guided by those principles of human rights. So it becomes everything. It's all that we do.

The community was a good excuse to get going on these things...I don't think this school staff at this point in time would say, 'Oh we don't think that doing 'peace' is important anymore. Let's do something different.' I don't think they would do that because it's an established thing that we've done and we've grown with it each year...For example, last year we wanted to look at omission and we decided we wanted to

do a project on Black History. So there was a degree of inservicing, a few days of that. There was a need for people to hear why you would do this stuff first of all and how you could go about it. People went into it and did a nice job. But once you start talking very specifically 'Black History', hey you know there are some people who are not quite sure. They think, 'This is pretty serious stuff here and we've learned some pretty serious stuff and I don't know, you know we do a lot of stuff. Maybe this was just a little too far.'...So with some, it's 'Yeah, yeah, let's go' and with some people 'Well, I don't know. This is touchy stuff. I don't know. This isn't the United States.' They're thinking that there is some big difference about some things. So for some staff it's a little more touchy but they would never think that we're going to do nothing.

So that's also the way it is about 'peace'. I don't think anyone here would even think that we would come into a school year and we wouldn't be thinking about a peace theme around the October-November time. It's automatic. It's something we do. So we do it. We believe in it. There's some things around it. We change the shape each year and we extend things in different ways. Sometimes we have to cycle back because there's new people but it's not something that you talk about doing any more. You know that you do that.

The negotiation of meanings and emphases continues to occur as a staff moves from "separativeness" to a "collectiveness" in orientation. Transformation is occurring as the "school taken for granted" changes its emphases in what is taken for granted.

Conflict in the form of resistance such as that with staff members who are "not sure about this" in Aaron's school do not appear to deter these administrators from working at endorsing what they believe is important. Angie details the reality of such tensions in her school:

There's a lot of proactive stuff that's going on among staff and there's a lot of neutral stuff that's going on, too, with staff who are not particularly comfortable. They're not putting up any roadblocks but I don't see them reading and discussing and developing...Some of the staff are ready to begin with the anti-racist materials...Obviously some people were ready to begin talking and for other people, their ears

hurt when this kind of a scene is being discussed...But they're hearing it. They understand what my value is. They understand the direction that we're going in this whole area...We're only talking two years here, not quite two years of working together...We're going to be at all different stages of development. Some of this stuff won't look quite the same but it's all going to come again like the discussion about the invitational culture of the school; the teamwork; the focus on a more global kind of curricula; being sensitive to textual materials that we're using with the kids; and 'Are there some alternative materials that can be used that give an alternative view, another view?'

Highlighting the need for a change of viewpoint, a potential area of conflict within the school, is also a prime objective for many of these administrators. For example, professional development in Art's school emphasized making sure that students received central attention and that teachers worked together to achieve this. He explains:

There was a need to begin some awareness building, some professional development around the idea that this was now a very multiculticultural school...The kids here, from their faces to the languages that they spoke to their religious backgrounds were diverse...Teachers who come here have to be committed and they have to be prepared to work on behalf of the kids...What I did is I looked at our own school community. Some of the teachers who had been on a divisional committee were members of this staff. So we started talking together on how we could look at our own school and look at some directions in that whole area of multiculturalism. Initially, the reaction of staff was, 'Oh we don't see any difference in our community.' Staff had been here for many, many years and basically, still saw the community as being unchanged...So we needed to raise staff awareness. We brought a staff committee together and we started to look at how we could begin to do that through professional development, through speakers at our staff meetings, and those kind of things began to start to happen in year one. Now at the same time, the teachers were already in a couple of areas doing a fair amount in their classrooms. The Social Studies Department annually took multiculturalism as a theme in their history program and they had about three weeks where kids actually worked on multicultural ethnic groups that had come to Winnipeg. They researched them and they would have a day where they would make a presentation and bring in speakers. In grade eleven because the Social Studies people here tend to teach a lot

through field trips, through taking kids out of school and by bringing speakers in, they were fairly open to those kinds of things taking place because they had already been doing some of those things. They were very receptive and there were people in the English Department who were doing some things as well on the issues of human rights and prejudice...The staff is changing. There's a chemistry that happens with a staff and you need to know how to build it. It's like building a team.

Even when an orientation to addressing issues appears to be strongly established, where there is a "good chemistry" to proceed, challenges of conflict occur. Alec talks about his encounters with staff development concerns:

If we were to engage in a staff debate on the propriety of something like Native self-government, an issue like that would start getting into people's value systems and moral beliefs...This staff is typical in the way it reacts to those things. It has that character of grabbing on to those things and being involved and taking a position...The multicultural committee has an interest in things that are multicultural in nature. The multicultural committee also arises out of the major themes we had in the school last year...We did several professional devlopment things on the multicultural theme. We were involved in two exchange trips to Indian reservations. We tackled a number of issues which had a multicultural flavor such as the concert and 'What do you do if you're trying to be inclusive from a multicultural perspective?' 'What do you do at Christmas time?' We tackled that very poorly last year because it crept up on us and swacked us from behind without us knowing that it was a substantive issue. So we were deep into it by the time we realized that it was substantive and sides had been drawn and we had these wonderful, awful arguments about what the thing should be called. It really was a painful growing experience for us which we hope now is going to create something positive for this year. But there are still issues there which we will be tackling...

If you had to identify a theme on which we expended lots of energy and resources, professional development time, and stuff like that, it was multiculturalism. That doesn't mean that there weren't other things. It was the whole staff, too, so it wasn't like an action where you have a certain part of the staff that's interested in something and it's going on from that direction. Now, this year when the multicultural committee meets, what we put on the table is: 'What are the issues? What are some plans for things happening in the school? How can this committee work to either generate new ideas or support the ones that are already in place or make

recommendations around issues?'...So we started with a half day session with staff group sharing experiences to identify some of the issues that we believed were germain to the school in terms of multiculturalism and one of those was a process where we shared in groups what our cultures were and that was important to education and the teaching act. We did brainstroming to come up with ideas of what might happen during the year. 'What's this thing going to look like for you, for the whole school, for each classroom, for each person, for each student, for parents?'...dealing with multiculturalism as an issue...allowing ourselves we hoped the widest possible range of opportunity to identify what it was that multiculturalism meant to us. I called the session, 'Multiculturalism is not a four letter word'. That was my title partly because people reacted to the very term. From that basically came the formation of the staff committee to look at the issues generated and to investigate the kinds of issues that might happen in the school which might have a multicultural flavor and to be consistent with the theme that we had said we were interested in...Multiculturalism will be one of those fronts that will continue for some time to come because I think the issues that are facing us in society, and therefore as educators, aren't going to go away quickly.

Anti-racist programming, focussed on justice-based education and schooling, is prominent in a number of these schools as a way of addressing some of those issues. Allen explains the plans for its implementation at his school outlining that

the group working on anti-racist programming reported on their progress, gave their time lines, the dates, suggested in somewhat more detail the format and where it would take place, and answered questions in the discussion at a staff meeting. That's the model of how we proceed. It's a process...So the next time a school-wide anti-racism discussion takes place, it's not going to take place outside that context. So we don't have to do any ground-breaking at all. We can get moving into that by setting up a work group or doing a survey or whatever it is or getting some PD people to inservice us on aspects of multiculturalism and anti-racism. We can go to the options now without having to break ground to even discuss it. So there's some preliminary work that already has been done that's going to take us into next year with curricular matters...

Now, we did one other piece of cultivation. After one of the meetings, the group suggested that as an awareness raising for staff, 'Let's get in the film, *A Class Divided* and show it

to them. We closed down the school half an hour earlier...We did a special mailing home that said, 'On such and such a day, we're going to close down. We're preparing an anti-racism unit and want the staff to participate in the viewing of a video A Class Divided.' So we actually invited parents to come if they wanted to see it. None came. But we put it on in the staffroom and it had quite a powerful impact. It's quite an extraordinary thing and I think what it did was illustrate how subtle the influences of racism are. How it's very much in the eye of the beholder what they see and very much in the way behavior is modelled in the way they behave...What we've done with that is we've gone to staff and said, 'Let's be very proactive about an anti-racism thrust.'...We've got kids who now reflect upon their behavior so the climate is right to address very specifically an anti-racist thing...I'm not seeing clearly where that's going because we haven't got to that yet...

Not seeing clearly and living with some degree of uncertainty regarding new incentives appears to be a legitimate part of developing this uncharted course in schools. Administrators do, however, seem to be working at becoming more focussed on what really is important as they see it. What does appear more certain is that committed staffs with collectively established orientations to addressing issues of cultural diversity are being developed. Describing the nature of the growth experience and staff empowerment that occurred in this regard at his school, Arnold elaborates:

The multicultural committee originally started looking at a number of things that we might do like inservice sessions for teachers, running special days like a 'Native Awareness Day', getting into citizenship; recognizing the Chinese New Year and knowing what that is and so forth. So those are some of the ideas they originally came up with. At their last meeting, they had decided they had done some reading and checking of the literature, and they basically wanted to scrap all their previous ideas and start over again. ...So they have now gone back to the drawing board and what they are now looking at is a whole school approach to dealing with multiculturalism and any racial issues...So I'm not sure where we will be at the end of it but the approach will not be to do it on a piece-meal basis. It will not be to just say, 'Well, we'll run a

Pow-wow and therefore we've done our thing for Native students. I think from what I can gather, there will be much more depth. They'll be looking at curriculum; looking at the books we have; reviewing the literature in the school; looking at where are the things that put down Native culture or put down the Chinese culture or the Polish culture or whatever? and looking at making some changes there; running a series of inservices so that teachers become aware of multicultural issues and the differences between the various cultures; and looking at some of the similarities and some of the differences and how you have to be aware of those if you're going to deal effectively with the students. I guess that will be a kind of a basis from which we will deal with it...

This is what the multicultural committee came up with when they came back and said, 'Can we start again?' The initial directions were 'As a group, gather together your ideas and your thoughts and discuss it and then go from there. So they weren't told that they had to do research or you had to do this. They worked on it on their own initiative so this group just explored and the more they explored, the deeper they got and the more they wanted to change the initial plan which was more or less a brainstorming into a more indepth kind of look at it...Mainly at this stage, the ideas have been shared with the committee members. They've given a brief report to the rest of staff but it was in their meeting that they started to change things. So they're kind of setting more directions for themselves at this point. When they gave the report to staff, I think they gave a pretty good rationale for why they wanted to change and the group was pretty solid in terms of where they wanted to go...The group came back, I would say, pretty well unanimously agreeing and saying that 'We want to re-think this whole thing" and because of the way they presented it to staff, that was fine...

I think that they're going to come up with something that will be pretty worthwhile to the school on a long term basis. The other thing is that the more they do that, the longer they work on that, and start to feel that this is their thing, the more effort they put into it, the more they become disciples of it. They're going to put the effort into it when it comes to working with projects and when it comes to working with other staff and they want to make believers out of everyone else. The less time they put into it, the more kind of superficial work, they'll do like 'We'll run a Pow-wow Day and that will be it' and then the less kind of a response they're going to expect from the rest of staff. They'll be evangelists by the time they finish...The committee would be really the first major thrust in terms of 'Let's look at an overall school policy related to multiculturalism. Let's formalize our views on what we should be doing and now let's start doing them.' They suggest in their action plan some basic awareness things and then some actual implications of what actually happens in the classroom...The committee was

saying, 'We can never lose sight of this and we need to do more.' So anti-racist education wasn't something I felt I had to nudge along. It kind of come out in a natural way that it was an important area.

The leadership for staff development in this context is proactive. Administrators lead by encouraging and validating their staffs initiatives and efforts for addressing issues of cultural diversity. In different ways and to different degrees, as Arnold indicates, staff development can be "staff owned" with the support of the administrator.

REFLECTION: INITIATING ACTION IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

Many of these administrators reflect a commitment to initiating action regarding cultural diversity issues in the way they approach individual leadership and collective staff development opportunities in their schools. In terms of their direct leadership influence as individuals, most of them make their intentions about the culture of the school clear. As Cummins (1988) recommends, "Principals should make it clear that teachers with an Anglo-conformity orientation are out of place in their schools" (p. 151).

Most of these administrators also choose to place cultural diversity issues prominently on the staff development agenda of the school. Some choose to emphasize what is valued by focussing on content, strategies and principles in a manner similar to Lynch's (1987) proposals. In this sense, a number of areas receive attention such as

the commitment to democratic values; the need for partnership, both in the form of collegiality and with the community; the need for organic, systemic and continuing provision and

> support; the intertwining of staff development with the everyday work of teachers; the requirement to address cognitive, affective and behavioural dimensions as well as pedagogical implications (p. 174).

Most administrators in this context further believe that change in the traditional eurocentric curriculum and schooling processes will be effected through staff development. Specifically in relation to the development of an antiracist education approach, most would likely encourage thinking similar to the manner in which Lee (1989) presents her position:

> It's a frame of mind, a way of thinking. What you are presently doing is not neutral. You are either promoting issues of equity along racial lines, or promoting racist ideas. That's the kind of choice you're making. So it's a question of beginning to look at things differently" (p. 8 in Morgan).

Leadership influence is closely tied to staff development. This is crucial because, as Lee (1989) stresses, "It's very important for people who have power to empower teachers to engage in antiracist education, and to reward them for it" (p. 9 in Morgan). It is in that support and encouragement to teachers for addressing issues of cultural diversity on a regular basis in their classrooms that intentions come closer to reality in the school. Issues receive a stronger, ongoing voice as a result.

INITIATING ACTION IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE AND THE ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

These administrators appear to be continually attempting to stabilize their crisis-prone environments. Leadership

influence appears to be exercised more in the managerial processes than in direct philosophical advocacy for addressing explicitly issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis. Much of the administrators' thinking and energy appear to be taken up with matters of discipline and stabilizing order in a form which they perceive is necessary in the school. With reference to cultural diversity issues, courses of action appear not to be planned because addressing diversity is not the priority in the school. Although leadership influence and staff development formats are established to assist in developing a survival environment, they are not directed at addressing issues of cultural diversity in any comprehensive manner.

In this context, attention to some issues of cultural diversity usually occurs when inappropriate behaviors are perceived to be present in the school. Most 'misdemeanors' are usually dealt with on an individual basis. Bill provides insights in the situation at his school:

I deal with these kids. I get to know them. They trust me to some extent. They will talk to me. I don't hammer on them but they know that I will meat out consequences if they act up. This particular group which was involved in a fight happens to be some Filipino boys I have dealt with in the past. I have given them a few breaks and so on, not because they're special, but because I'd give that to anybody. They appreciate it. Well, they phoned me up; they turned themselves in; and then they ran away. They probably had a fear of being found out or being kicked out and they think I'm going to find out anyway. They think I know everything but it's not true...

I also know there's some Vietnamese boys who have been in some scrapes and I know that they run with the gangs. There's no gangs in here as such but we have gang members here. We definitely have some of them. I just say, 'Listen, you keep

it out of here. I don't care what you do out there. I have no control and I can't stop you from doing anything.' They'll say, 'No, you can't.' But we have a kind of understanding. There's a little bit of respect behind it because these boys are maucho, maucho. Well, they think they're tough.

Often when the misdemeanor is related to cultural diversity issues, the response to it is subsumed under headings of disrespect in general as Brian conveys:

We'll have kids fighting and they will start calling each other racial names but we have as part of our behavior policy here that we will not accept verbal abuse or physical abuse. We also consider racist comments and that sort of thing as verbal abuse in terms of the way that we deal with it.

Barry's response is built on a similar premise. He states:

There may be a little teasing involved. Occasionally, there'll be some kids who want to be tough that might take advantage of the new immigrants' innocence and try to goad them into some kind of trouble or fight but it's rare. We don't have much patience with that kind of thing even if our students would give our Special Needs kids a rough time. I would look at that a lot more seriously than at the two normal sort of kids that start an argument or a fight or whatever. That's a normal thing. I mean it's treated seriously but it's dealt with as a kind of a normal thing. But if they start making fun of the disadvantaged, then I get kind of uptight about that. And it's been good. I mean it really hasn't happened a lot.

Administrative influence when it comes to addressing issues of cultural diversity in this context appears to be frequently directed at dealing on an interpersonal basis with "incidents" which arise. "Misdemeanors" which deal with cultural diversity are considered to be minor infractions relative to the greater needs of survival programming. Addressing the issues with the total school is not a priority of administrators in this context at this point in time.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Staff development in terms of cultural diversity issues has received some attention in a generally isolated fashion reflecting the non-priority status of the issues in this context. Brian, however, attaches a degree of importance to developing some of the necessary concepts saying:

> It's kind of the same as integrating Special Education kids. Namely, you can put people together but if you don't do the content, that is, if you don't take the time to teach people how to work together; if you don't take the time with teachers to teach them how to work with an handicapped child and to work with Special Needs kids; all you've done is the surface. I think, to a large extent, what we've done is put kids into classrooms and so on, whether they've been handicapped or of different racial backgrounds, but we haven't done the work that is required to make all those people exist together positively.

Brian continues describing some of the isolated professional development activities which have occurred in his school because they relate to priorities of the larger school system:

> So what staff has done here is that there have been specific professional development things set aside for Native Awareness. When I first heard that term 'Native Awareness', I thought, 'Well, exactly what is it we're trying to become aware of and so on?' but we did it. The staff had had a couple of days the year before I got here. Last year we did a day out at Camp Manitou with some of the leaders in the Native community talking about their whole philosophy of life, view of life, the Circle, and different things that they believe in and so on. So we've become more aware of the background, not necessarily the specific background of the kids that we have now, but certainly the generational backgrounds and there are still some impacts. So even though you look at these kids and people will say, 'Well, they're urban Native kids', there are still some values and some teachings in their background that still do impact on their lives. I understand more clearly now the tug between the kids who've grown up here and the fact that their parents and maybe their grandparents with whom they still have contact on the Reserve, when they talk about Native ways. There very definitely are Native values that are different from ours and these kids do still feel those tugs. So we're trying to

become aware of those things, not saying that it is something that you can deal with on an everyday basis but it certainly is something that people should be aware of who are dealing with Native children, with Native communities. Native Awareness is to get a better understanding of some basic values and beliefs and ideas and interactions among Native people because there is quite a difference in the value systems in Native education.

In much the same fashion, professional development dealing with cross-cultural understandings in Bill's school is carried out. He comments that the Vice-Principal is 'doing a nice job' because

she's looking at different ways that we can help. We've had a number of inservices. We've brought in prominent speakers from the Indian community to speak to staff on customs and things that Native kids might be sensitive to and so on.

Short-term events rather than long-term on going professional development experiences seem common in this context.

REFLECTION: INITIATING ACTION IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

Once again, because the priority is not focussed on addressing issues of cultural diversity, leadership and staff development in this regard are limited in this context. Those issues receive little voice in these schools. Isolated staff development activities infrequently touch on issues of cultural diversity because administrators spend time, energy, and resources attempting to manage their environment in order to stabilize it and issues of cultural diversity are not perceived to have a place in this agenda. A collective orientation to addressing the issues is seemingly not something these administrators feel is essential at this point in time at their schools.

INITIATING ACTION IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Leadership influence in this context appears to be exercised to maintain the status quo. There seems to be emphasis on construing the environment in a manner that issues of cultural diversity are not perceived as impetus for change. Efforts at continuity, conformity, and diffusion appear prominent. The impact of "difference" in society is kept low profile and the disciplining of "problems" using individual reprimands is common. Although the "problems" diversity are perceived to pose to the mainstream are frequently raised by these administrators, addressing explicitly the issues on a school-wide basis is generally perceived as inconsequential. To some extent, these administrators lead by transmitting the message that it is legitimate to play down the issues of cultural diversity.

The use of leadership influence relating to cultural diversity in this context usually means responding to problematic "incidents" with a disciplinary perspective. Therefore, it is "incidents" not "issues" to which the administrator gives attention. When there is an admission of isolated "incidents" occurring, it is perceived to be an individual, interpersonal and not a systemic or school problem. Consequently, disciplinary measures are carried out on a individual or small-group basis as opposed to whole school plans for preventative action as in the "voiced"

context. By dealing with issues as incidents labelled as "interpersonal problems", as problems where there is not "sufficient understanding" or "enough information", or as problems where somebody made a "mistake", the extent of the problem can be perceived as minimal. This is not so because the "problem" is necessarily minimal but perceived so because it is handled in an individualistic manner. The underlying roots of systemic problems are thus contained.

This individualistic, disciplinary approach is one employed with staff as well as with students in this context. At the staff level, Claire indicates how he handles "incidents" on an interpersonal basis. He says, "If a teacher was to make a bigotted comment about a student, I would correct it immediately and not allow that." He expects that teachers in his school would "react" in a similar fashion. In describing one such "incident", he says:

> There were kids that were doing swastikas on books. The Jewish teacher never reacted to it but five other teachers on staff did. One of them took those boys aside and really took a strip off them and what that meant, too, was that he taught lessons in his class about it. That's the kind of thing I think you can expect from good professional people. They will react to prejudice against somebody else. They'll jump in and do it. It just happened. He told me what he had done. He just saw it as ignorance on the part of kids not understanding what the symbol meant and that it could be offensive so he wanted to explain to them why it would be offensive and why specifically it would be offensive to the Jewish teacher and that he would appreciate them not doing it.

Individual teachers or administrators reacting to individual incidents rather than proactively designing preventative school-wide plans for such appears to be the norm in this

context. From his perspective, Conrad like Claire, implies that that individualistic approach is an expectation he has of individual teachers in his school. He explains:

I think regularly teachers put out these little brush fires as they develop. If some child makes a remark that is inappropriate, the child is dealt with. You don't let things reach a point where it's a crisis in regard to race. When you have many races represented in your place, I don't care where it is, there are going to be things said or done, that could probably escalate to a point where you have to do something. That's why I believe if we put a stop to things at the point when they happen, clarify it, and let the two parties understand each other, then it doesn't really develop to the point where you have to deal with it in a major program or thrust. So I have a tendency to stay away from those kinds of things and of sort of generally hitting everybody...

Sometimes some kids call another kid 'Black' and because you're Black, you're 'this this and this' and they start developing an argument over stuff like that. Then I deal with those kids rather than have this kind of an attitude spread throughout the school. It seems to work. I take an individual approach rather than a blanket approach. I'm not saying that there isn't a place for a kind of a blanket at times but some of these, I guess, more sensitive things I'd rather deal with on an 'eyeball to eyeball' kind of way...

I deal with those incidents just as I do with anything else. Then people don't feel that there are any differences or imagine them. You deal with the incidents but at our school they are so far and few that it's not an issue in the school.

It appears that in defusing incidents, issues are diffused.

There appears to be a perception in this context of multicultural/anti-racist education as being negative remedial-action based programs. Chuck refers to his approach to incidents specifically as one of general discipline. He elaborates on his management of incidents:

My role is to try to set a positive tone in the building that suggests we do not tolerate people not accepting people from other countries, people from other cultures, the discipline aspect of it. For example, if some child is out in the playground and he gets angry and when he gets angry, he says something that really hurts and calls some kid a 'Nigger',

well, my response to that is to make it very clear that that is not acceptable...

We haven't had a major issue but I think a lot of that stems from an attitude. We work hard at snuffing out racial tensions which means that you stop it at the very ground roots. For example, children in kindergarten are lining up and one child calls another a 'Nigger' because he's angry at him. Well, we would try to be alert to that and we consider that to be a 'major' in terms of discipline. We try to teach children that 'It's okay to be angry but you don't handle your anger by using bad words' which is what that would be or 'using your fists or your feet' and, then of course, we get at the root of it and the root of it is that they wanted to hurt the other person. It's like calling someone a 'jerk'. So you put it in perspective and that goes all the way up the grades. Most of the conflicts are like that...

Now we have some issues in the community, of course, which sometimes we end up mediating-getting parents in and discussing it. It's never just a racial issue. It's a symptom of something else and so we try to deal with it that way and stress the similarities rather than the differences. We don't even focus on the racial issue. It's usually an anger-related thing where someone wants to hurt another person so we try not to focus on the racial aspect of it. I would say, 'Why did you call him a '*Nigger*?' Well, because he heard somewhere that that was a word that would hurt his feelings. That's what it amounts to. It's just like the other child may call him 'fatty' or whatever. They don't really understand the context of it other than the media and everyone else suggesting that they know that that's a word that's going to hurt someone. It's like 'Paki' or whatever it happens to be. I think if you put it in that context for children, then it doesn't focus on the racism. It focuses on the act of how you dealt with your anger...

I'm not so sure that I agree with focussing on a direct approach. I think it's better to integrate it as part of that package just like it's not acceptable to solve problems by fighting. It's not acceptable to treat someone differently because they're a different colour. I think it puts it into context better than to draw attention because the more you draw attention to difference, the more obvious it becomes...I don't treat an incident as an anti-racist issue. I treat it as how you chose to deal with that and how does that person feels because you called him a 'Paki' and the person will tell you how he felt. 'It's like when he got mad and told you that your Mother is on welfare, you see.' We do things to hurt people and those are the things they've learned to say that hurt. I think if you do it that way and you have a little Black child, who in anger has told this other child that his Mother's on welfare, you say to the kid, 'Were you angry at Jeanny because he comes from another country?' 'Well no, I was angry at him because he hit my sister.' Then you say,

'Well, why did you call him a '*Nigger*?' 'Well, because I wanted to hurt him.' 'Well, where did you hear that?' 'Well, I saw it on teleintention' or something. 'Well, then how did you feel, Jeanny?' Then Jeanny brings up the racist comment but then Jeanny calls him a 'jerk' or told him that his Mother was on welfare, or whatever they choose to use. Then I think it brings the focus onto the real issue that way but you're still dealing with it. You focus on it where if you go off on the other tangent, I think sometimes you lose the battle and win the war because you've taken the action on the wrong sylla'ble.

We're going to deal with those things as we would with any other issue. I don't think there's really that much difference if you have two families fighting each other and kids are egging their satellite dish and you have them in, I don't know that that's all that different from somebody racially giving somebody a rough time. What's the issue? The issue is that they're not getting along. The fact is it doesn't matter what culture or whatever-the fact is 'You didn't handle your anger very well' and that's the focus.

Much energy seems to be expended on establishing that it is an emotion and not an act of racism which is the central problem.

Perceiving problems as individualistic rather than a systemic appears to underpin leadership action in this context. Administrators tend to act in a manner that offers little challenge to changing systemic elements or approaches.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Decisions on staff recruitment (Appendix K) and development reinforce the maintenance of the status quo priorities of this context. Administrators highlight the importance of "a good teacher and school community match" which is necessary to maintain what has previously been established.

In this context, decisions on isolated staff development topics which are often encouraged by the larger school system are not usually made on the basis of cultural diversity issues

but, inadvertently, sometimes are related to cultural diversity issues. Conrad, for instance, is looking for a package program on cooperative learning because the division is encouraging it. He states:

> We're having a cooperative learning inservice... For cooperative learning, we're using this book and another book...There's nothing earth-shaking here. There's a lot of risk-taking. You know, when you start to do things differently, you're putting yourself at risk and you might be putting your kids at risk in terms of what they're going to get out of it. So we're going to refine some of the philosophy of cooperative learning here.

There also seems to be an element of pragmatism at the root of Cam's decision to "do" cooperative learning. He relates:

> We had ESL programming as a choice but then we picked cooperative learning because, if we do cooperative learning, your ESL kids or your multicultural kids all learn to work cooperatively...So we did that for two days in a joint inservice with another school. Then we ordered support materials for it and teachers are working on that...Everybody in the school got that and the way they would implement it depends upon themselves and the needs of the kids in their classroom. It's not dictated.

The individualistic nature of professional development in relation to cultural diversity issues is reflective of the approach in general to cultural diversity issues. Little responsibility appears to be taken for collective follow-through processes in conjunction with isolated professional development activities.

Generally, administrators like Claire, however, insist that they would never have any inservice dealing with cultural diversity because it would "accent differences which would lead to intolerance". This is the collective orientation which administrators perceive their staffs to have as well.

Diversity topics appear to be seen as slightly useful only when a problem with difference is perceived. For Cam, if there was any professional development time devoted to cultural diversity, it would be to ESL, the designated program that would deal with the "problems" of diversity. He states, "if we hit upon ESL as a major priority, we could plug into that but it wasn't a priority." Often "numbers" of "the Other" are equated with "problems" which sometimes prompt a decision about a professional development activity. For instance, Chuck comments:

> We haven't done specific professional development yet although we're planning on having one session next year because we're getting a surge in Native children. We've got, I think, fifteen to twenty right now. So we're going to probably look at that. I shouldn't say that we've had none. We've actually had maybe one or two sessions in the past two years which have focussed on 'What are the needs of our immigrant families' where we've had a speaker come in.

Clinton points out the reactive nature of potential professional development activities related to cultural diversity saying:

> We've never had a in-service session on diversity and changes. I think what's happening is that the changes are things that are happening slowly. There hasn't been a major influx of people.

There does not appear to be a tendency toward proactive staff development regarding issues of cultural diversity in this context.

REFLECTION: INITIATING ACTION IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

As with the absence of leadership focussed on explicitly addressing the issues of cultural diversity, whole school

professional development activities dealing specifically with such issues do not exist in this context. Some isolated titles, like "cooperative learning" as an isolated tool not a philosophical approach, which touch on diversity might be included in a few unconnected sessions but nothing sustained beyond such isolated activities appear evident in this context.[32]

INITIATING ACTION IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE, STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Because leadership is so focussed on areas of specialization, virtually no conscious leadership to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity occurs in this context. Consequently, there is the absence of any total school professional development for staff in the area as well.

It is in the absense of such endorsement, or diversion away from such endorsement, that this context can be particularly characterized. Comments like Darlene's regarding issues of cultural diversity in which she says, "Issues are something that I personally haven't forced" reinforce her earlier statement: "I haven't really thought about it." In the absence of talk about cultural diversity issues in this context, there appears to be a message that issues of cultural

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[32]It must be pointed out that in contexts where issues of cultural diversity are not addressed, leadership and staff development relating to such issues are not evident but, in almost all schools in the study, elaborate leadership, management, and staff development initiatives and formats do exist. They have not, however, been applied in the service of addressing issues of cultural diversity and, therefore, are not discussed in this treatise.

diversity simply do not have the significance, urgency, or momentum to trigger the administrator's agenda in school life at this point in time.

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR AS INITIATING ACTION

Administrators, note Leithwood and Fullan (1984), "like heads of other organizations can make important contributions to the development of the conditions that support continuous teacher development" and effective professional development requires, they say, "a move away from professional passivity and even individual autonomy toward collective professional development" (p. 8). Leadership influence in its philosophical and managerial emphases is evident in the acts administrators commit and in acts they omit in all four contexts in this study. That commission/omission is reflected in individual leadership behavior and in collective staff development experiences related to addressing issues of cultural diversity in the school.

In the "voiced" context, administrators are committed to giving prominent attention to these issues so their interaction on behalf of the principles of that intention is intense, collaborative, and integrated into their leadership and staff development agendas. Lynch's (1987) statement about "the need of teachers for support in the process of absorbing new values into their everyday professional work" and his recognition of "the essentially moral nature of their task" (p. xi) would likely receive little argument from many of

these administrators.

The administrators in the "considered" context have thought about some of the same issues but perceive they have little capacity to proceed much farther than consideration at this point because their survival agenda preoccupies them. The administrators in the "silenced" context, are concerned with leadership in managing the status quo environment. Their individual influence and that of staff development does not work to address issues of cultural diversity explicitly in the school. They believe that any such concerns are addressed in human relations aspects of the generic school operations and require no explicit attention otherwise. In the "ignored" context, leadership influence and staff development in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity have not been considered due to the preoccupation with the priority of specialization development. Each administrator in each context justifies idiosyncratically the endorsement stance taken.

In the next chapter similar emphasis will be evident in these different contexts as administrators work to institutionalize practices through public statements and schooling formats which are the most concrete features of their endorsements. The two questions which will frame that discussion are:

1.) "What *public statements* relating to explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity are endorsed in the school?"

and

2.) "What *schooling formats* relating to explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity are endorsed in the school?"