

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

BY

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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
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CHAPTER 9

THE ADMINISTRATOR AS ENDORSER: INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES--STATEMENTS AND SCHOOLING FORMATS

Administrators endorse the intentions they justify and advocate and it is this endorsement which has a direct impact on the socialization and education of students. The influence of the administrator in students' school lives is substantial as Manley-Casimir (1989) indicates:

The socialization function of schools, the 'schooling' function concerns the inculcation in the young of values, norms, attitudes and knowledge necessary for them to move into adult roles in the community. The education function of schools, the 'enlightenment' function, if you will, concerns the development of the capacity of critical reflection such that students become autonomous moral agents capable of evaluating their lives and their world acting creatively upon them to change them if desired. The principal leads the organization with these purposes (p. 3).

Two forms of endorsing intentions which most frequently surfaced in the data are public statements and schooling formats.

Public statements are usually referred to as mission, philosophy, goal, or guiding statements. Schooling formats take into account structural, programmatic, curricular, and pedagogical considerations. These are most pertinent to the discussion in this study when such endeavors are school-initiated efforts by administration and staff. It is, however, recognized that some of these features are mandated in schools by the larger system and are not necessarily dependent for existence on the administrator's philosophical leadership although their effectiveness may be. How and what

public statements are institutionalized specifically relating to cultural diversity in the different contexts vary. Contributing to that variation is the fact that some institutionalization comes from the larger system's agenda as designated or mandated features which may or may not be in keeping with the administrator's intentions regarding cultural diversity issues. Together public statements and school formats, as concrete endorsed features of the practice of principles, institutionalize and make permanent and prominent, the priority principles of intentions in schools.

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICE IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

The institutionalization most talked about in the "voiced" context is not only that stipulated in those mandates regarding cultural diversity issues but moreso that which comes directly from school-initiated endeavors. In particular administrators talk about those which come from their intentions and which they have justify, advocate, and endorse. The commitment attached to owning that intention and negotiating it to fruition in endorsement is most clearly indicated in the talk of administrators in the "voiced" context.

There is a considerable amount of talk of construction and re-construction of schooling and educational philosophy and arrangements in this context as issues of cultural diversity are explicitly addressed on a school-wide basis. It appears that there is commitment to the initiatives because

they have become "school-owned" through advocacy and endorsement processes discussed previously. The school cultures thus created appear to be quite different in philosophy and experience from those in other contexts where issues of cultural diversity are not explicitly addressed.

PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

For the administrators in this context, the development of public statements is an integral part of staff development endeavors. What is perceived to be important becomes formally endorsed in public documentation of the intentions which have been deliberated in the justification and advocacy processes. As Armand points out, "We tried to identify what the culture of the school was. What are the students like? How do things get done here? We tried to coin all that in the mission statement." Thus too, Arnold is able to say:

The mission statement is a blueprint for what we do in the future. On a yearly basis, we can come back to it and say, 'Well are we still within our mission statement or are we completely outside of it? Do we need to change the mission statement?' So it will be a kind of a yearly touch base situation where you're able to find out whether where you're going is in line. We made a nice jump from the school profile to the mission statement. In fact, diversity is actually in our statement. 'We're a diverse group' is in the mission statement. That is a key part of that mission statement because the beliefs then follow from that. There was a fair amount of discussion that came up related to that and, and a result of those dimensions and the mission statements, not statements that I made so much as part of the group but as others contributed as well, happened to show that one of the areas we needed to look at was related to multiculturalism.

The public endorsement of a mission statement serves to legitimate the intention and to hold people to it ideologically. It is a measure of intention beginning to be

reality. In a sense, it is a public proclamation and evidence of intention. The public statement is a symbol of what the school is now.

The collective effort of staffs in developing their orientation toward issues of cultural diversity appears to have consolidated some strong convictions about the topic which surface in the mission statement development phase. Andrew describes the consequences of the process on his staff:

We didn't just 'get' to be a professionally-oriented group that talks professional issues with staff...We struggled with our mission statement last year. If you believe in the team-driven model as a function of the Principal, you pick up where the team wants to go, where the school wants to go...We've given ourselves a target at the end of the year to have something in the front foyer that shows something that suggests we are multicultural. One of the teachers said that the mission statement itself should be printed in large print and stuck right in the main foyer and someone else piped in and said, 'Yeah, we should have this up in the staffroom, too.' So people are really owning this. It's kind of like 'We don't know all the issues of what anti-racist education is but we know it's here and we're going to work on it. So that's it.' A lot of people have said that that's significantly different from the other schools which tend to have mission statements which are very narrow academically focussed on: 'We're going to get on with the reading and math.' That's fine too...

We haven't written a mission statement and then added the sentence about multiculturalism. This is a process that got combed through team meetings five or six times and then went back to the ad hoc committee that worked on it...In the future we'll have much more made public about what we believe as a school building and it'll come because it will become, if you like, institutionalized. We'll maintain stuff like the Native pictures up in the gym and Laotian New Year stuff and the welcome to the school in languages that are here and gradually increase it. But when we put up our mission statement, we'll make sure that it's very well done so that it shows up as part of the furniture of the school not as something that's been added on. There'll be permanency. 'This is the way we are now.'

Permanency in the form of the concrete public statement,

it is perceived, needs to be understood in terms of the preceeding long-term process of developing a total school orientation to addressing cultural diversity issues. When such a statement becomes permanent, it is perceived by these administrators that there is a sense of permanency of orientation to addressing issues of cultural diversity in the school. Often informal clues, as well, which give evidence to and reinforce the public statements are concretized in the decorative dimensions of the school building such with the school calendar. The Instructional Assistant in Angie's school, for example, uses a Unicef calendar hung in the entrance hallway of the school to mark on all the celebrations of all religions and culture groups within the school. These include the Buddhist's founder "Buddha's Birthday", the Roman Catholic "Ascension Day", "Cricket Day" in Italy, "Youth and Sports Day" in Turkey, "Children's Day" in Nigeria, "International Volunteer Day", and "Human Rights" Day.

While some public statements are developed specifically with the public in mind, others appear to have been initially personal statements that have acquired public status as statements of beliefs. Some are short general statements like listing 'Multiculturalism' as one of the general aims of the school improvement plan (Alec) or listing 'Multiculturalism and Linguistic Programs' as an element in a school focus document (Art) while others are lengthier exhortations of a more specific nature. In many cases, comprehensive public

statements are "voiced" about the principles and practices of the intention to address issues of cultural diversity. Some examples of that public voicing of the intention are highlighted in the following samples taken from public documents of schools in this context.

In a document about the school theme for the year in Angie's school, the statements read:

Proponents of multicultural education have promoted curriculum models that emphasize the following:

- 1.) cultural understanding-students and teachers should become increasingly sensitive to ethnic differences in the classroom.*
- 2.) cultural competence-strive as teachers and students to understand and appreciate some of the differences and similarities of groups outside their own cultural heritage*
- 3.) cultural inclusion-incorporate minority culture in the school curriculum not as an add on but as a natural inclusion...*

How can each staff member begin to make the curricula more global and less ethnocentric or eurocentric? Much discussion, study, thought, and sharing of ideas will be required as we make our way down this uncharted course. Teachers and everyone concerned with education must seek to inform themselves about the history, structure and culture of racism. I believe the dismantling of racism is dependent on this understanding and knowledge...

The major goal of multicultural education is to transform the school so that male and female students, exceptional students, as well as students from diverse cultural, social class, racial and ethnic groups will experience an equal opportunity to learn in the school (p.19, Banks 1989 Multicultural Education Issues and Perspectives).

The intention in Andrew's school is captured in the statement:

The mission of our school is to be a school that reflects and celebrates the changing face of Canadian society. Our mission is to become a multicultural student-centered school. We will help students respect the uniqueness that each one brings to the school. We will ensure that all students leave our school with a personal sense of self-worth, and the tools that they will need to build a better society. We will strive to empower them to be ongoing learners and people who respect the differences in others. As teachers, we accept the challenge to model lifelong learning.

The mission statement for Armand's school includes the following:

The school programme is designed to develop functionally bilingual children who study French as a second language within a framework which is responsible to the social-emotional needs of the students and which

provides them with a sound academic programme...which fosters development of citizenship...a sense of justice...contributes to an appreciation of French-Canadian culture while respecting the student's own cultural identity...contributes to an awareness and appreciation of various cultures...molds bilingual citizens, aware of the multi-cultural Canadian reality, and conscious of the challenge of an ever-changing, global village...fosters an environment of excellence, involvement and cooperation where each individual gains the confidence necessary to develop his/her own physical, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and moral potential...knows the French Canadian culture and all of the other cultures of Canada...Students will be conscious of world issues...Students should be open to the ideas of an ever-changing world.

Alice's mission statement stresses that:

The faculty, staff, students, and community...are devoted to increasing students' respect for the promotion of cultural pluralism, to academic excellence and cultivation of individual strengths and talents in a supportive environment where individual differences and respect for the rights of others guide school and community behavior.

As part of his mission and beliefs statements, Arnold emphasizes:

This school exists for the purpose of preparing a diverse group of students to meet the challenges of a changing world...We should recognize the multicultural nature of our school population and feel that this should be reflected in our attitudes, our programming and in all school activities.

The "guiding principles" in Anne's school include the following:

This school should provide an environment that is committed to the human rights of individuals and groups...This school should be a place where cultural harmony is encouraged and where people learn about the cultures of the many people who live in Canada.

As part of his school's "statement of purpose", Allen states:

This school is responsible to our community and society as a whole. We endeavor to deliver a program that will provide our children with equal opportunities for learning, productivity, future employment, and the best possible quality of life. We advocate holistic child centered programming based on the Manitoba School curricula. This ensures that all students are included in the learning process according to their intellectual, social, emotional, and physical needs...We welcome and value community involvement in curricular and extra-curricular activities. We will continue to support our community through school activities that emphasize the commonalities and cultural diversity of its members, thereby enhancing the ability of our children to grow and learn in a constructive and wholesome atmosphere.

Aaron has a comprehensive document on his philosophical

research base. A portion of his statement reads as follows:

The broad idea of multicultural education, is one where all students, regardless of the groups to which they belong, should experience educational equality in the school. Some students, because of their particular characteristics, will have a better chance to succeed, than many others, unless the variables are examined and made equally accessible through reform...The process of restructuring to provide an equality of opportunity for all students is one that will not 'end' but needs to continue to evolve because the idealized goals that are being attempted to be achieved: educational equality and eradication of all forms of discrimination, are very likely never to be fully achieved...

...Anti-racist education is a perspective that permeates all subject areas and school practices. Its aim is the eradication of racism in all its various forms. Anti-racist education emerges from an understanding that racism exists in society and therefore the school as an institution of society is influenced by racism...An 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, or struggle against, racism. It provides us with the skills to work collectively to combat racism. It shows the relationship between our personal prejudices and the systemic discrimination which institutions practice on a daily basis. It enables us to see that racism is learned, and therefore can be unlearned. It exposes the structures in society, the ways we have organized our lives and institutions that limit some people on the basis of their race, and advance others on the basis of their race...It points to the social ordering of people and groups as one of the major sources of racist ideas. It explores how the political, social, and economic life of a society is reinforced and shaped by our daily exposure to that life through the media, textbooks, cards, games, toys, and so on. It exposes inadequate explanations which attempt to justify and account for people's different positions in society. It attacks the notion that if you work hard, you will make it, for it raises questions about those who have worked hard, and failed to make it. It does not allow the examiner to dismiss such 'failure' as bad luck or inherent inferiority. Rather, anti-racist education highlights some of the human made social structures and barriers which limit individuals and groups from improving their chances in life, despite their best efforts...Anti-racist education moves us forward to construct the true multicultural society of which we presently speak. It moves us beyond the comfortable aspect of each other's culture, food, and festivals, to examining the more controversial dimensions of culture which have led to change and can lead to change...

...A publicly stated goal of our multicultural society is equality of opportunity. Anti-racist education can help us realize that goal by the analysis it enables us to do of the real barriers to equal opportunities. It points to structures in our society and relations between the powerful and the powerless which must be changed if we are to achieve true equality of opportunity. Through anti-racist education, we come to understand that it is not because individuals act in bad faith, or are inherently unwilling to be generous to other people but rather that historical patterns and contemporary situations give us the cue as to how we ought to treat each other...

...Anti-racist education identifies the value which society has placed on people of different racial groups. It exposes the benefits which some derive from these evaluations, and the opportunities others have lost. Anti-racist education is the business of all teachers in all schools...The eradication of racism becomes the task of every teacher. It affects us personally and professionally. Racism can actually prevent us from teaching well, for it can impair our relationships with our students; limit the knowledge we present and explore; and eventually limit

children's opportunity in life...Anti-racist education is the study of the whole child through studying his/her life experience and of issues that relate to the whole human being...

...Public schools are increasingly encountering students considered to be educationally disadvantaged or at risk of not completing their education with an adequate level of skills. These students often lack the home and community resources to benefit from conventional schooling practices and the recent wave of educational reforms(Levin,1987)...A number of factors contribute to students being at risk. Among the most significant are: low socio-economic status; family situation; low achievement; retention in grade; behaviour problems; and cultural background(Ramirez, 1989; Slavin and Madden,1989; Ogden and Germinario, 1988; and Phlegar and Rosse,1988)...Such students are especially concentrated among minority groups, immigrants, non-English speaking families, and economically disadvantaged families(Levin, 1989)...

The guiding principles in the development of the school plan, relate to basic human rights and the development of an anti-racist approach to education...Human rights are fundamental, inalienable rights claimed by virtue of being human. They are essentials to which we are all entitled to preserve the integrity and dignity of life...As applied to children and taken from the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Family and Children's Law, the Statement of Children's rights includes:

The right to food, clothing, and housing...

The right to an environment free from physical abuse, exploitation and degrading treatment...

The right to parental and adult support, guidance, continuity in life...

The right to an education which will ensure the opportunity to reach and exercise full potential...

The right to a competent interpreter where language or a disability is a barrier...

The right to be informed of the rights of children and to have them applied and enforced.

...The guiding principle of an anti-racist approach to education attempts to ensure that an equality of opportunity will be provided to each student...An anti racist curriculum addresses the issues of curriculum as it relates to:

- a. skills to identify and expose negative and stereotyped materials
- b. anti-racist learning strategies (processes that value all students using their experiences and perceptions)
- c. awareness of the ethnocentric nature of existing curriculum, realizing that curriculum is not neutral or unbiased, it always has a perspective; curriculum is created by the "power brokers" of society who operate outside the school yet decide what people will learn to fit their view of society...

...Staff development areas become the context in which student needs will be better met through the learning of new teaching skills and strategies.

A predominant feature highlighted in these statements which has been observed earlier as characterizing this context is the central role attached to addressing issues of cultural diversity in all aspects of the life of the school. Sometimes these goals are found in the multicultural/anti-racist education forum and sometimes in the linguistic program forum

of the school. Principles endorsed in the documents become most concretely "voiced" in the schooling formats, the way schooling and education are organized, which reflect the active practice of principles in schools.

SCHOOLING FORMATS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Ultimately, it is this dimension of endorsement that "really counts" as making the difference in school life. This is so because it influences directly the student experiences and their meanings of such in the school. Although some of these considerations exist as a result of decisions the larger system makes, administrators in this context contextualize those imposed formats to make them meaningful and related to the philosophical culture of the school. They further take it upon themselves to endorse school-initiated endeavors which explicitly address the issues. Whole school efforts of this kind are characteristic of the "voiced" context.

Structural Considerations: In addressing issues of cultural diversity at the school level, structural considerations in the form of school organization and design receive attention from administrators in this context. Restructuring of the system occurs to respond to the needs of cultural diversity in the school community. This restructuring may include considerations regarding student and teacher decision-making, staffing, supports, the school day and student placement, and exchanges at the school.

First, restructuring of student and teacher decision-

making practices is considered important. Often, established structural arrangements in the school are challenged in this context. Change in the way student organizations are structured is one of Aaron's main inclusion agendas. He makes clear the point about working to give students meaningful opportunities to participate in the life of the school stressing:

I disallow a student council at this school only because the context is wrong. I disallow it to take the shape of each classroom electing a president and vice-president to sit together as a student council. Well to do what? So I've always said, 'Okay, if you're going to go this way, beforehand I want it covered with classrooms that people will have a sense of what an organization like that can do and have a purpose to it. I want it ensured that the process that you then undergo has that group of people making choices based on some critical elements because I don't want these students getting together as a student council just to organize a dance. They have a better way of doing that. If that's all it is, it's a waste of time. There's some other things that they can be involved in.' We're going to strike a group around the issues of human rights with staff so there will be a student group around that which will become involved in examining practices of our school...There are some people who look at student council as an example of being meaningful. This human rights group is meaningful. Student council could be meaningful but it isn't meaningful. The human rights is purposeful. It is developing skills. We've got kids that do dances. It's not that it's not getting done but it's getting done in a different way. The human rights group is meaningful when you think of the experience that those people will have...These kids in the next five days at the human rights conference are going to have a more meaningful, more exciting experience than anything my own kids did at another Junior high school in three years...Not all of these kids are trouble-free. There's a couple who with some teachers have spent half their life in hallways and offices but they can do this and they'll do a really good job.

In Art's school, a new student organization also has been established to deal with some issues of cultural diversity. Describing the process of developing that structure, he

states:

We have a student group that works in the areas of Anti-racism and Equality. We had student leadership conferences where we would take thirty to forty kids away for three or four days and bring in people from the Department and from the University and do awareness raising in the area of anti-racist and human rights education...We talked to Department resource people about a model that had been used in other provinces particularly in Ontario and that would be a model where they took students and trained them in anti-racist education. So it was a leadership model...We talked about how we might access some funding for that kind of leadership camp. So our first multicultural leadership camp took place the second year...Out of that group grew the current group. They said, 'We need to organize. We need to meet on a more regular basis. We need to begin to, ourselves, do workshops for kids, begin to go into junior highs and make them aware of the issues' and every year after that we've had a retreat...So that group was very influential in many things happening...They were behind that. They would do inservices. They also got involved in doing workshops in junior high schools at our feeder schools on anti-racist education. They did a couple of workshops for our staff when we had professional development and kids actually came in and ran the workshop on anti-racist education. So they did some very exciting things. It was interesting to see the staff coming in and letting the kids do this. I think we had only one or two people who had trouble with the fact that the kids were leading the session but the majority of the staff bought in and got involved with the kids. They were really quite proud of the fact that the kids could take that kind of leadership...I think they're going to really have an impact when they're at university and when they graduate in a number of areas. I think some of their motivation was internal. They cared about their school. It was the right time. Some of it was that they saw their leadership role as being important so that was validated.

Andrew, too, is trying to change some of the status quo structures in his school but his focus is primarily on teachers. He describes what he terms a "validation" process:

We've done away with a lot of the traditional committees because they were busy work committees. There was a lot of busy work here that people wanted teachers to do...In fact, I persuade people that here you don't have to worry about dividing that timetable into all those discrete subjects. We have a set of curriculum maps that have been designed by our curriculum integration committee and they're simply an outline

of skills and expectations of the provincial curriculum and they're right there and you can look at all seven across the board on one piece of paper...I'm trying to change the corporate structure from committees that deal with busywork to committees that deal with issues. So we've got a planning committee, a multicultural committee. We're always trying to keep the idea of teamwork and people working together as the structure.

Secondly, restructuring of staffing patterns may be initiated. Structural considerations as they pertain to staff representativeness are also an area of concern for many of these administrators. Angie has given some thought to this and shares:

Of course, my wish is that our staff would become a little more multicultural/multiethnic. We're not particularly diverse in the number of languages that we speak nor do we match the children's languages necessarily. That would be a wish. It's something I'm sensitive to in the hiring as time goes on. I had the opportunity three months ago to hire a teaching assistant and we had seven applications for the job. As it happens, I was able to hire someone from one of the ethnic groups which is in the school. I wouldn't hire because of the multicultural part of it but I hired because that person has proven to be excellent and it's also another caring adult in the school. It's modelling for the children. I think our staff needs to become representative of our student body and that will happen as time goes on.

Similar efforts are being carried out by Andrew who states:

In terms of staffing, we're having a woman from Chile come in on a Secretary of State program where they take professionals and give them work experience in their field of work...Now we have a multicultural staff in the sense that among the staff we speak twenty-two languages. We come from a variety of cultures but we have only one person who is from a visible minority...I guess we have a fair sensitivity to other people's points of view although, except for one person, we're all Eurocentric. We still have to be more sensitive to Native people and to other major racial groups.

In addition to staffing representativeness, an important consideration of these administrators is that of making children and their parents feel included in the school. Angie

describes how supports were built into the structure of her school operation to encourage parental participation:

We would have a teaching assistant tied to working on some of the basic English communication skills and there would be some supports in the classroom...It's not unusual to have someone who doesn't speak English in their classroom so the kids have become very good at doing some peer things and they're very welcoming. The kids have been extremely welcoming right across the school. The other thing we did is this is the first time we've had a Korean family in the school so we checked out to see who among our student population spoke Korean and we discovered that we had four younger students in grade one, grade three, and grade four. We invited these children to come down to chat with the grade seven and nine children and their parents who were coming in. They could tell them about the school and take them on a tour of the school and speak to them in Korean...It is interesting to think about whether things like school rules are understood by some of the children new to the school. We ensure that our five children for whom English is still quite a mystery are supported. For instance, in the library today with each child, there was an adult and at the end of the discussion around what was going to be happening, the adult had a private conversation with the child to be sure they understood, just to always be sure they know what's happening. We do try to take care of those details because I think it's all part of the inclusion, part of the ensuring that there's some understanding. We recognize that for most of these kids, it's still going to be several months before we hear any kind of spoken language. They're going to have to listen. They're going to have to nod and they're going to say, 'Yes they understand' when they don't understand and that's okay. We appreciate that.

Thirdly, restructuring may involve the addition of supports to the school. In some schools, supports to assist students and teachers are available to the school upon request. Allen speaks about his utilization of some of the translation resources available to his school:

We use Liaison Officers and Interpreters quite frequently particularly throughout the year for our Parent-Teacher conferences. We schedule them into our building. We book them in probably six months ahead of time to come in. They attend conferences where we or the parents need a translator. We will get a translator at any time to do a document if we

need it translated. It so happens that with this letter right now, I'm using staff to translate but we had a letter to a Cambodian family recently about some medical appointment and we employed a Cambodian who happens to be one of my parents to translate some papers and so on. So we do that from time to time as the need arises. The Liaison and Interpreter services are excellent...Now the other reason we use them, too, is that we have enough boys and girls in the school to raise questions about their academic progress and when we ask questions about their lack of progress we have to say, 'Is it ability or is it disability? What's the root cause of lack of progress?' In an immigrant population, it's very difficult for psychologists to test the kid's hearing and, of course, the audiologist can't communicate with the kid effectively without a translator. We use them quite often...We also have a staff position where the person is responsible to work in classrooms with teachers and Aboriginal students...He will advocate for those students in meetings. He will initiate things around the Child Guidance Clinic or the attendance officer or any of those kinds of things. He is the conscience of the staff in bringing Aboriginal issues to light that we should be aware of or have a response to or think about a policy for. So he keeps things current for us. He will also maintain an inventory of appropriate materials in various curriculum areas that teachers can use with kids. He has an Aide and she is programmed into the classrooms with Native kids so the teacher can use that extra pair of hands to get extra help, particularly around language issues but also we've used them around some attendance issues as well. She'll visit the homes a lot and make connections with parents. She deals directly with teachers who talk to her or she approaches them about the needs of a kid that she's aware of and maybe a teacher isn't.

Although not available directly upon request from his central office for Arnold, translation services are sought out by him as he perceives a need. He discusses the status of such supports including the designated English as a Second Language program in his school stating:

Interpreters and translators have come up in our discussions of 'Should we be doing more of this?' We've been fortunate in that a lot of the families that have come here have been sponsored by the church and they tend to have a liaison with the school. For example, we've had a fair number of Polish students. We've had some who were sponsored by another church who came up from South America and we've had Laotian kids. There's been one person who tended to bring the families in and get them started. So they've tended to, through their own

efforts, I guess, manage to find somebody who does that but it's not a satisfactory link to the parents and down the road, that's something we want to look at a little more. We were wondering about, you couldn't do it for everything, but some items that you would send home can be translated. I mean you could do a little description of the school, for example, have it translated and that could go to every Laotian parent and have another one for Polish but that's next year or the year after...

The ESL component is one of the pluses in the school...The students are a positive element in the school and they're not regarded by teachers as something that 'Oh God, we have to deal with these kids!' The teachers for the most part here see that down the road 'this kid's going to be in my Physics class. He's going to be one of my Math students. He's going to bring some exciting ideas to the class.' So they form a positive force in the school...The ESL program is based on peer-tutoring. The ESL teacher sets up tutors in order to work with the students because they're all at different levels. She has set up groupings and she has a peer tutor work with a group or it might be with an individual student or that might be two or three. So you could have a student who comes in with no language at all and he could be working with one of the grade eleven or twelve students and they'll be spending time going through some very simple things with them and they kind of go from there. So that's been a plus in that they meet Canadian students. Canadian students get to meet them right away and you get a kind of bonding that works out well.

By changing the structure of the system to include the peer-tutors in programming, the system is re-structured to fit the needs of the student.

Fourthly, restructuring may mean re-designing the school day and student placement criteria. Systemic changes are sometimes made by these administrators to incorporate a greater degree of fairness for students in the way courses, timetables, and placement are organized. Arnold allows for adjustments in course assignment completion because, as he points out,

a lot of the kids with an ESL background haven't nailed the course in the required time but they're on their way to doing

that so if you allow a certain amount of flexibility, the kid can pass the course.

A similar consideration regarding a better timetabling arrangement for all students in the school was a concern for Art as well. He explains some major scheduling decisions he made to allow students more access, opportunities, and outcomes:

We now have a six hour school day. Our kids start at quarter to nine and finish at quarter to four and they have one hour for lunch. So it means that the contact time is increased and it means the teachers, then, can do the kind of things like field trips and still cover the curriculum...By doing that, they legitimized the idea that academics are important and legitimized that the contact time between teachers and kids is important. They legitimized a process where they could still hold onto that and still do some creative individual things with their kids in their classrooms and so move it away from straight lecture to a much more student-focussed curriculum. There's all kinds of things that were legitimized. One of the things we also did which was a 'nuts and bolts' thing where we looked at the timetable and we said, 'If this school is going to attract students, we have to determine who it's going to attract. What does the community look like? Our community is increasingly becoming ESL. Increasingly, there's adults who are unemployed. And what about the women who are out there in some of the low rental housing who are relegated to social welfare and may only have a grade nine and they have no skills? Don't they count? Shouldn't they be in our school, too?' So we looked at the schedule...I said, 'We need to open up the school.'

Access considerations are not only evident in structural changes like timetabling and scheduling but also in placement decisions. These administrators believe assumptions about placement and labelling need to be questioned because they are discriminatory. In terms of placement, they endorse the integration of students into heterogeneous groupings. There is a move away from focusing on what they see as the "deficit model of education" to what they call an "inclusive model of

education". That means the integration of special needs, minority, and ESL students are all an equally important part of the school. To counteract discriminatory placements, age appropriateness and not language, grades, or ability are criteria for placement of "immigrant" students in these schools. Most supports are carried out in the classroom with a movement to eliminate all "pull-out" segregated programming.

In general, efforts are made to respond to inclusivity. In her school, Angie is particularly aware of some of the concerns people new to the school might have about student placement. She details her response to the issues:

A Korean family has just registered into the school and we spent about two hours with the family as they were getting registered explaining a little bit about the fact that they do not have to be afraid the children would have to go back to grade one or kindergarten. We explained that that didn't happen in our school and that the children would join their age-appropriate groups...We integrate all students immediately with their age appropriate groups of children regardless of language or ability. There are supports and there is not much pulling out of the classroom.

One of the aspects of inclusivity which is highlighted in these schools is the focus on integration which allows students to bring to the learning act their own experiences. Angie conveys how these attributes are appreciated, respected, and valued in classroom experiences:

We invite the children to use their maternal language. I was in a classroom this morning watching a Math lesson and the children were working on some drill and the five times table. One of the little boys in the class said, 'Borden, can you say the five times table in Cantonese?' and he started rhyming it off and the children just joined in. In fact, they spent about five minutes in the course of the lesson working on the five times table in Cantonese. The teachers encourage the children to freely use their maternal language. They invite

them to bring in story books to read. For example, in one classrooms I noticed this winter during 'I Love to Read' activities that within that class we have The Three Little Pigs and the books from home were in three different languages. So the teacher read the story in English; another child read it in Mandarin; another child read it in Romanian. It was a really beautiful experience for the kids and each time they had the big book so the children were following the story line. Wherever we can, I think we've been trying to make the children feel that their language is valued.

Fifthly, restructuring may mean integrating alternative learning modes like exchanges into school life. Armand illustrates how efforts like exchange trips re-structure the learning experience and foster opportunities for adaptability as a consequence. Armand explains:

I talked with the Superintendents about two things we wanted to do...We would parallel with a school in Quebec for three months and France for a year. They thought that was very strong idea in supporting and upgrading the program of promoting the French language. The other one that I talked about was Pacific Rim studies...The fact that business is starting to say, 'Hey, forget about just thinking about the immediate world here. We're dealing at the international level and you'd better wake up.'...The Pacific Rim course will be taught in French. Our Spanish classes are right now being taught in Spanish-French.

Structural considerations as they relate to the adaptability priority of these administrators are also considered by Art.

He speaks of how they were organized in his school:

One of our teachers who had previously taught in Japan came to me and said, 'I really would like us to see if we could arrange some kind of cultural exchange with Japan.' I said, 'Go ahead, pursue it, and see what you come up with.' They wrote letters for awhile. A couple of other teachers got interested. What began to evolve was more than just the desire to organize a cultural exchange but the recognition that the Asian Pacific, the Pacific Rim, was increasing in importance and there was a real need for our curriculum to reflect that and maybe even for language instruction to reflect that. A core of teachers wanted to pursue that. We made a contract with the Asian Pacific Foundation. In a year and a half, we had a sister school in Japan...In the meantime,

what we were doing last year was teaching Japanese in the evening offering it to a combination of students, parents, and teachers who wanted to learn Japanese. This year we're offering it as a credit course in the curriculum...We have been able to access one of three teachers from Japan on a reverse Jet program...Three of our students leave next week and they're going to our sister school to study there for seven or eight months, come back and work, then go to University next year. But the real purpose is to learn Japanese. So that kind of cultural exchange is happening.

Cultural exchanges have been incorporated as part of the regular school programming in several of these schools. In Alec's school, a yearly exchange trip with a Reserve school occurs and follow-up experiences are carried out. Similarly, Alice places value on such experiences. She explains, "We also do a lot of field trips. Last week we had nine kids from the Mohawk Reserve in Ontario on exchange here...We like to have our kids travel back and forth like that." Consideration of such structural changes in these schools are part of an overall integrated effort to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity.

Programmatic Considerations: Not only is there a concentration on systemic structural re-thinking in order to address issues of cultural diversity in these settings but on programmatic integration as well. Flexibility in making programming, especially celebration experiences, more reflective of students' experiences is viewed as essential to addressing cultural diversity issues in this context. Such acknowledgement of inclusivity is provided a forum in the display of artefacts and, in particular, at times of seasonal celebrations or when world issues become prominent in the

media. There is a sensitization to differences and the respect and equality issues that are raised as a result.

To endorse the importance of inclusivity, on the front page of a December Newsletter to the community, Angie writes:

Many special celebrations are held throughout the world around the time of winter solstice on December 21st. These celebrations include special greetings, visiting with family, friends and neighbours, the singing of good luck songs or carols and the preparation of special foods for the season. Our school is a lovely mosaic of different nationalities, religions, and cultures. Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, and followers of other Chinese and Japanese religions all make up the cultural fabric of our school. I wish to extend a special greeting from my own ancestry...'.

She elaborates on how she tries to be inclusive regarding celebrations held at school as well:

Our concert in December was not a 'Christmas' concert. It was a 'holiday' concert and what we did was we celebrated winter. We celebrated the onset of winter, or the shortest day, and we celebrated the winter season in different ways that the different cultures would do it or engage in with the dances and songs and so on. I tried to build my opening remarks around the theme of 'the gift giving' traditions. I chose about six or eight different cultures. Our tradition on December 25 is but a little blip on the surface when you look at it worldwide...So you try to capitalize on some of those aspects and we do it all the time. This was the second year for our concert. It was a different approach but the concept is the same. It's kind of like an expectation and we're sensitive to that. Our Canadian families expect that there's going to be some kind of a celebration and we, although we're sensitive to children who come from India or from China or Hong Kong or countries other than Canada, we're also sensitive to our Canadian kids and to maintaining some of their traditions as well. So we try to have a couple of carols that were included because that was some of the tradition of some of our kids. So you walk a fine line on that sometimes with staff and you need to be sensitive to it...To my way of thinking when you're looking at your environment, if you were to exclude the Christian aspects, then you're excluding a large group of the children...I think I really encourage teachers to keep the children talking about their culture and their traditions but let's not negate our children of Christian faith also. I mean that not because I'm Christian because I see some differences, too, in the way we approach

the various religious seasons of the year among Christians. A number of my staff are Roman Catholic and they still observe Lent in a very strict manner. I just think we should be sensitive and celebrate the diversity among ourselves and appreciate each other that way.

This acknowledgement of diversity in the calendar year is prominent in Aaron's school. The multicultural committee involves itself in developing activities to reflect inclusiveness that goes beyond the "add-ons" within the framework of Christian festivities as Aaron details:

In December every school in Winnipeg is doing Christmas stuff. Winnipeg is mainly Christian so that's what you do. So we've talked about it in our school in previous years, about the fact and the reality that there is an expectation that there is going to be something in the evening that they can come to and see their kids perform. You could not do that but it's expected. That's something you do and that's what people are geared to. So what we've talked about in the past is we've talked about the fact that we need to do something a little more than Christmas because that's not enough. It doesn't fit with all the other stuff we're doing here. People were kind of left individually to come up with a plan and usually they did some type of a theme like 'Christmas Around the World but that was still Christmas.

At that time for people that was extending it. There were saying, 'Oh, it's not just Christmas here in Winnipeg, let's do Christmas around the world. How do other people do Christmas?' So that gives you a bit of an understanding of the limited thinking to a degree. Even last year at this time of year, we'd just finished 'peace' as our theme for the Fall. People were whacked out and they got into 'What are we going to do for the concert?' and still thinking in terms of 'concert'. Not everyone did songs but thinking in terms of concert was pretty heavy Christmas. There were other things, too. There was Hannakah and some other stuff but still pretty heavy Christmas. But we had not as a school sat down in the same way that we do with 'peace'. For that theme, we have a group of eight to ten people who take a couple of weeks to find and then a couple of days of release time to pull stuff together for the staff. It's a big deal. They come out with a package to give people ideas. They come up with examples and models and an arm's length of resources and contact people. But we hadn't done this for this winter time of year. So in spite of all that stuff that people here know, we hadn't sat down and done that. We've talked about it loosely to get a sense of that but not as much as we did this year formally.

The fact that those people took that time this year to look at resources and develop some ideas for people guaranteed that that would happen. You see before it was more of an individual choice and a hope that by coordinating it in this way, certain things would happen but this way it wasn't a choice. This year it was 'Let's examine these principles' and I asked the multicultural committee for the rationale for 'What is the guide for people to plan this?' They produced the rationale. They came up with 'It must be inclusive and it must provide equal status.' It had those two principles to guide this. So as a rationale, then you bring the people together and say, 'Here are the rules.'...If you do only Christmas, you're being exclusive. You're not being inclusive. You can't do that.

So how do you address that providing that equality and equal status for all groups within the community and yet address this area. So we decided to examine many different kinds of things that happen over this winter period of time, look at their commonality to focus upon, and then present a whole bunch of different options for people to be involved in to allow everybody to examine the context during this time of year. So the structure of a celebration at this winter time period and the recognition of Christmas and what that means, that's there but so is all the other stuff. And it's not just a concert. Some people in the community can't be involved in concerts. If we do a Christmas concert, you're only doing the thing for Christians. You're only doing a thing for people who can be involved in those kinds of musical activities so you're automatically eliminating part of our society. You're saying, 'You don't belong here. You can't be part of it.' If that's what you set up, then it's a discriminatory practice. So having the sensitivity that you've got to do things broader, that's that anti-racist focus...We're looking at an egalitarian view here. We're looking at equal status. We're looking at inclusiveness...

In Aaron's school, the multicultural committee drafted a "Celebration of Light" program as a consequence of these deliberations. The printed programme included the following items: an "African Welcome" song and dance; an explanation of the "Festival of Kwanzaa"; a "Hannakah Festival of Lights"; a "Christmas" fingerplay; a song, "This Little Light of Mine"; a "Birthday of a King" song; a "Native American" song; a "Chinese" legend; a "Chinese Moon Festival"; a song, "Little

Silver Moon"; "What is a Star"; "The Star of Christmas Morning"; a "Light" rap; a Raffi song, "One Light, One Sun"; a "Spanish Fireworks" poem; an "Algonquin Legend"; and many chants, dances, and narratives on the "Light" theme. The introductory passage to this program read as follows:

Throughout history, the star has been a symbol of high hopes and high ideals--hope for good fortune, hope for reaching above oneself. To many Christians the Christmas star expresses the ideals held out by Jesus, called in the Bible 'the bright and morning star'. For all human beings, regardless of religion, stars in general have special meaning. And all share the heavens no matter what barriers keep them apart on earth.

In Alec's school one year, issues arose with respect to the inclusion and naming of seasonal celebrations. He explains the action that ensued the following year:

Now, this year when the multicultural committee meets, what we put on the table is well, '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?' For example, we have a staff meeting coming up this Thursday and that committee will be bringing forward a recommendation for the concert. Last year we had a primary and a four to six--a two night thing. This year the grades four-six classes are going to do something in the spring. The primary kids will do Christmas. And the K-3's get stuck with Christmas so I think everyone understands that. What they're not so certain of is what drives it. What the committee was concerned with was 'OK, how can we bring our parent population to the school for a concert in December which is inclusive and which settles, or in some way satisfies, the inclusive/exclusive issues which we had to deal with last year?'

There really was no problem from the point of view of finding a theme, again. When you talk to teachers, they generate all kinds of ideas for themes, approaches in curriculum, and that sort of thing. So, I mean, the theme is going to be 'Peace'. It seems like a good theme for Christmas time, a good theme for anytime, so everyone can buy into that. There are lots of ideas for things we can do around 'peace'...What we will offer to do is to gather together ideas with "peace" as a theme. We'll put together a kind of binder that we'll house in the library so that people can come in who don't have an idea for their part in the concert. So that's

not difficult at all...

Then, the meeting is almost over and I say, 'Okay, Sue, you're going to present this to staff and you've got your ideas all laid out here. The one issue that we haven't dealt with because we haven't had time is: What are we going to call this?' The interesting part is that she was a teacher who was on maternity leave last year and didn't go through the process and she began by saying, 'Oh, we can just call it something like a 'Peace Concert' or something like that.' I said, 'What about the people who feel that that's kind of excluding them because you can't really have a concert in December and avoid the fact that Christmas is kind a part of that? We recognize that by having a two week holiday, for heaven's sakes! I mean what are we doing here?' So she started talking about it and talking about it and, I hope, began to understand the complexity of the thing. And we're going to have an interesting experience at the staff meeting because that will be one of the issues that we're going to tackle, 'What are we going to call this?'

Now, what we decided on last year was something like 'Festival of Christmas and Other Seasonal Traditions' or something like that so that we tried to leave Christmas in and we tried to also recognize that there were others that we were recognizing as well. I don't know how fully accepted that was. It seemed to be a good solution at the time last year. We'll see this year, whether people are willing to see that as meeting their own personal needs which is what we're talking about here. We're not talking about the kids anymore or the parents because I'm sure if you called it a 'Christmas Concert', they'd come. They'd understand what it was all about. We don't have people in our community banging down our doors saying, 'Wait a minute, you didn't celebrate our Muslim tradition or wait a minute, you didn't celebrate our Native tradition or whatever it is.' It's not there. It's not an issue out in the community but it is in the school here amongst the staff. And it's an issue for staff who aren't even involved in the concert. We have junior high teachers who have absolutely nothing to do with the concert whatsoever feeling as much involved in that as an issue as anyone else.

Controversies and challenges arise as administrators work at endorsing new "standards of conduct" which deal with the inclusion of alternative perspectives into their programmatic considerations surrounding seasonal festivities. These administrators stay with the challenge by confronting the issues and working out the details collectively with their

staffs.

Curricular Considerations: Giving some time and thought to the perspective of another is also carried out when curricular considerations become part of addressing issues of cultural diversity. Infusion or integration of relevant content into the mainstream curriculum so that it becomes mainstream curricula is of particular concern to these administrators.

With respect to integration of curricular components, Alec offers his insights into how the integration of issues of cultural diversity occur in the school:

On reflection I felt good about the fact that we were working on so many different fronts and that it was assumed on the part of staff that we were working on the language arts curriculum and it didn't even become an objective. It was just a basic assumption. They're beyond that. The rest is gravy. The rest is interesting, exciting stuff that we're doing. Working on the language arts curriculum can come through in the context of cooperative learning for instance. Those approaches are going to be important in the language arts curriculum. Collaboration is an approach used. Multiculturalism is impacting on the language arts curriculum and so are exchange trips. You can't have an exchange trip without having it impact on the language arts curriculum. I mean all of those things are impacting on the way curriculum is being implemented...Within the basic curriculum that teachers follow, there are certain natural infusions of issues...An example is the grade nine social studies which is about Canada today. When you say today, you can't avoid dealing with issues. If you look at coming back in September the summer after Oka, the issues were hot. So we came back in September with Aboriginal issues coming at us from the media. It was the year of the Iraq conflict, the free world and the communist world, apartheid, breaking down the Berlin Wall and all those things were happening today in the world so that in a grade nine class that would be a natural flow from the curriculum that says we should be studying today's issues. The nature of the staff makes them feed on that. The interesting part is that the Iraqi War was one of those issues which jumped out of the curriculum to affect the whole school in a peace march...

With the grade nine exchange trip to the Reserve, we felt it was important that the exchange experience have an impact

on the whole school as much as we could so that it wasn't just the exchange students who were benefitting from it and that there would be some kind of component that would involve others. So we had a day when the kids from the exchange trip worked with the kids in other grade levels. There was one project, for instance, where two or three of our kids and two or three of the exchange students from the Reserve worked with a group of grade three's doing legends and the teacher librarian was involved. They spent the better part of an afternoon starting with the planning and then actually working with the kids to talk about how legends developed, why they're valuable, what characteristics they take and then getting kids to generate their own legends from their own experiences like 'What could be a legend for you?' and that kind of elemental understanding of what culture means.

We also had a Pipe Carrier come to talk to the grade six's before their exchange experience. He is in a position where he can perform certain ceremonies which have spiritual and other significance around a pipe and he did this session with the grade six class where the teacher was the exchange trip teacher and the class was just absolutely spellbound...When that was over, I said to the teacher, 'Why don't we consider having him in as one of our presenters for our multicultural professional development session?' Again in thinking about that, it was my own sort of preference for gaining some knowledge and using that as a base to do some things that change some attitudes, develop some sensitivities. So he spent a day with us basically doing the same thing that he had done for the grade six class.

As a school theme for the year, Angie's staff is concentrating on the integration of curriculum content in conjunction with scrutinizing materials for negative bias. She highlights some of the experiences:

This year we're working on curriculum content...That's looking at the whole area of curriculum and not only looking at textual material that we have and that we're using with the children but also 'Is there any place for the Japanese child? Is there any place that it would appear that their culture is being valued or is there something that you could do or introduce in your classroom?' As a result of that particular discussion, we had a wonderful celebration that took place. The third grade class looked at the Chinese population in our city particularly doing some interviews and connecting with some of the families. They did a wonderful Chinese New Year and the whole celebration with the stories of the dragon and we actually had a dragon. It came through the school and chased away the spirits. We had one of the children's

grandfathers come in and he told them stories about crickets and good luck and about some of the colours you would wear on Chinese New Year and the meanings of those colours. The school had, I think, a really meaningful experience...

There's lots of opportunities to do some things around alternatives for kids and exposure for kids to different cultures through Physical Education. They've learned games from other countries. Some of the children who have come from India for example, have actually been instructors for games. In grade two, they've looked at some of the Inuit games and we have an Inuit family in the school. The Mom came in and taught them some of the childhood games. So we try to capitalize on some of those kinds of resources which are available in the school...

We've said to each other as we're reading books from the library, 'Let's watch how various cultures are being portrayed in our literature and let's also look for those books that are good models, that have Black people and Aborigines in positions of power. If we can find those kinds of materials, let's make our library rich.' So that's kind of an underlying theme and an ongoing theme as we develop our collection.

An area that we haven't done a lot of work in yet and it's an area that my counsellor and I have been talking about is the whole area of Family Life Education and being respectful of our different cultures and what the cultural mores are around sex education, family life, and so on. We have just begun to scratch the surface on that one...I don't think that we're close to being respectful to all of our different cultures with respect to Family Life Education. No one has queried it but I always like to be proactive in these areas...We know that two of our East Indian girls in grade eight are going to be married the year after next. They've already been promised and they're both extremely bright girls and they're both fighting the family tradition. I mean they want to complete their high school but they've been promised. They've never met the family of the man they've been promised to. Right now the children are very much a part of the peer culture of our school, western...For children of some of the families, depending on the culture, the whole question of sexuality and reproduction and that whole area is handled in quite different ways and I'm not sure that we're totally in tune with that but we're sensitive.

Concern about curriculum relevance to students is particularly prominent in Alice's work regarding curriculum and materials. She talks about the necessity of infusion of relevant "Native" content emphasizing:

We expect that all teachers use Native curriculum and

materials as much as they can. We follow the Journeys reading series which doesn't, of course, have very much 'Indianness' inside of it. We try to get books that are Native and to infuse them all with our Language Arts so the kids have an appreciation for other Indian people as well as our own people here...We're still following the Manitoba curriculum but we're putting in things that are just the same but at least have a better meaning to kids. I know when I went to school, they had these readers called Dick and Jane and Up and Away or something and Dad was always leaving with his briefcase and, for the life of me, I never knew why he was leaving with his briefcase. I couldn't figure it all out. My Dad didn't carry a briefcase. He went on the lake to fish. So I think all of those things had a lot to do with why Indian people's learning was not progressing.

I think we have to come up with a standardized structured reading series that is relevant to our people. I think it has to be something that's culture-based so that the kids can see themselves and understand themselves. I know it's easy for a kid to move here, an Indian kid, to come here from the city and read about buses and things like that because they're aware of that but our kids are not aware of those kinds of things. I think that we need to start looking at books that are relevant to growth here. Also, I think the Native Studies has to be updated every three years now not every ten years because there's so much like this whole Oka thing that has to be blended in there...

We're trying to do as many things as we can through field trips. For the most part we are following the Manitoba Curriculum but putting things in that are important to us. For instance, in Home Economics the kids should be learning to pickle at this time of year. The people who have gardens have extra things and they bring them to the school and kids are pickling. Last week, they were making jam from crabapples. Then at Christmas time, the grade ten shops put together a Christmas dinner for all the staff in the school so they know what it's like to cater. They go and travel to Winnipeg to seek out their materials and do their shopping and they have a budget from us to do that in Home Economics.

We've always had the library. It has always censored for any kind of racist kinds of books, especially at the primary and elementary level. Now we like to give them out to the high school level. We like the kids to know there's racism out there. How will they handle it? So there are discussions in class about it.

It appears that considerations of curricular content and presentation occur consistently in this context. All priorities are emphasized in that scrutiny.

Pedagogical Considerations: The pedagogy, the "how's of teaching", used in schools comes under scrutiny as the administrators go about addressing issues of cultural diversity in this context. Teacher skill development in "the ways" of teaching are critical to addressing the issues. Learning and understanding teaching and learning styles and using cooperative learning philosophy are perceived as central to that development.

In his school, Arnold sees a need to examine teaching-learning situations. He explains:

Individual differences is a major area and one for which over the next few years we'll be developing an action plan to meet the needs of both students and teachers because what we find is that teachers will need some additional skills to work effectively with these students and doing things like cooperative teaching. We have to make sure they're aware of learning styles and therefore how to teach to students with these different learning styles. There's a whole series of skill development there on the part of teachers which will be part of what we do.

Understanding learning and teaching styles is what Alec perceives as essential in providing for students' needs. He recounts how he personally learned such a lesson:

I use an example which, I think, is a fairly dramatic one but which I think illustrates the point. If I am to perform the teaching act with a group of students who come from a typically white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class kind of environment, then my presentation to them is going to be based on my understanding of how we learn and my understanding of how we learn is that we do things like we listen, we speak, we talk back and forth, we answer questions, we investigate, we do, we practice things and we do all that within a fairly structured setting. In other words, we set it up to be a learning experience and when we have a classroom, we understand that students are going to be at various levels of readiness to learn but the assumption is that, through our experience and our training, we are going to be able to meet the learning needs of most of the students in the class and

bring them to a readiness level that will allow us as teachers to perform our teaching act. And we will do that through various ways of motivating and varying lesson plans and that kind of thing. So that's sort of like one picture of the teaching act which may be a fairly typical one of a public school in Winnipeg.

Now I'm going to move that teaching act to a school in Northern Manitoba with a classroom which is entirely Aboriginal and I'm going to talk now of what my understanding of what the teaching act is as I did before and now I walk into that classroom and my understanding is that I'm going to apply my culture, my understanding of how to teach to that classroom which is made up of Aboriginal students. If I don't understand that there is a completely different way of learning for Aboriginal peoples which has come from their cultures, then it's going to be a long time before I'm doing my job effectively in that classroom because the readiness level of those students to learn is going to be based on their understanding of their role as learners. There's lots of differences.

To use an example, I met with the principal and our cooperating teacher to discuss our exchange trip. We talked about what we did last year and one of the experiences we had was that the group was taken to what was called the 'outpost school' that they've built as a log cabin on a traditional fishing site. The reason they did that was that there was recognition in the community that there was a need to go back to traditional values and to teach their own culture to their own kids and, also, to teach their culture to others, as well, so that the teachers from the school go there and the reason that they go there is not just because it's a nice island in a picturesque setting, it's because there's a hope that 'we'll begin an understanding of the way we learn in our culture and the way we learn in our culture is by observation when we are ready, by listening when we are ready. There is no set up to learning. The learning opportunities are always there, constantly through experience and we will only learn when we are ready to share the experience.'

So what I said in my ignorance to the Principal is: 'Next time, when you take us out to the School, can we structure it a little bit more because last year when we went out, the kids just spent a lot of empty time'. Really there's a lot of social interaction and I recognize that there's a great deal of importance to that. His response was: 'We can, but then we'd be doing something foreign to the Aboriginal experience.' And I stopped right in my tracks and said, 'Holy mackerel, I missed that!' You know, like I didn't see that that was something and so when the owner of the island took us out in skidoos to lift the net, there was no instruction. He just went and lifted the nets. Some of the kids began helping him take the fish out of the net. He threw the suckers on one side and the white fish, the pike, and the pickerel on another

side. Some of the kids threw some of the white fish on the sucker side and he went and took them and threw them on the other side. He didn't say anything. He just took and threw them. Pretty soon, the kids were throwing the suckers on one side and all the other fish on the other side. They watched him as he used his little instrument to take the net from around the gills of the fish. He was very efficient at that and they were quite frustrated trying to do that and so was I. When we were finished we walked up to the shoreline and he showed us where a traditional campsite had been that he'd been to with his father. He explained some of that to us. He was falling a little more into our way of doing things with the show and tell. But when I think back to that experience, I now recognize that he was teaching as much as I would be teaching in my classroom but he was doing it in his own way and that was more structured than they would ever, ever be naturally in the way they teach and so now when I walk into an Aboriginal classroom, I have to understand that the kids have come from families whose tradition is to teach them that way and the kids will learn when they are ready to learn and the experiences are always around them. So now I have to think 'Okay, how do I somehow keep these kids within this classroom, or maybe I can even go other places, but how do I replicate that pattern for those kids?'

In addition to recognizing different teaching and learning styles, cooperative learning as part of an anti-racist philosophy for teaching which allows for the incorporation of students' experiences into their learning is a primary objective in Aaron's school. He elaborates on the importance of using various strategies:

Not only do we need to change structures but we also need to continue to examine what we do in schools and learn more about things that allow us to do that. Part of that is teaching strategies. If you're only teaching things in a certain way, you're discriminating against a segment of your population. Because of culture, socio-economics, or whatever, the opportunity is no longer an equal opportunity. It doesn't exist anymore. So you may not be intending to do that but that's what you're doing. That's what's real. So that's the need to examine teaching strategies and the context and the content. Not only do you need to believe you've got to deliver a different kind of content, you've also got to deliver it in a different way...That's what cooperative learning is all about...Cooperative learning applied in certain ways with certain things is anti-racist because that's

dealing with the act of teaching in a different manner. In that manner, you have opportunities to do certain things that if you don't do that, you will be shortchanging a segment of the population. That provides a better opportunity for some of those things to happen. But it is not right to say that if you're doing cooperative learning strategies, you're addressing all things related to anti-racist education.

Cooperative learning not just as an isolated tool or strategy for learning, but as a total school is favored as a total school approach to teaching and learning in this context.

REFLECTION:

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

These administrators appear to value a total school culture which addresses cultural diversity issues, an "ethos" which Lynch (1987) argues is crucial. They would likely agree with his assertion that

a good and effective school is a good and effective school in the field of multicultural education and prejudice reduction...where all facets of the school's planned life express the commitment to multicultural education and prejudice reduction (p. 78).

They would also likely agree with his contentions that having a school policy, a school document, in this regard is important and that

The entire school community should be included in the process of formulating...a delivery document...which will then be expressed in the institutional structure and values...This process should help the construction of a well-regulated and culturally 'comfortable' ambiance in the school which enhances all pupils' sense of personal worth and the interaction between all cultural groups on a sensitive and just basis. The school ethos flows from the thorough application of the policy to all school practices and attitudes and leads to an 'effective' school (defined as one which values high achievement and a sense of personal worth for all pupils, regardless of race, sex, creed or class). This process in turn, leads to a feeling of justice for all pupils and that, in due succession, feeds back into a heightened school ethos. The process, once commenced, can thus be self-reinforcing

while, at the same time, mechanisms for review ensure that it does not become self-serving or a gloss to a different reality. The declared values and institutional structures, practices, and attitudes are thus brought into congruence (p. 78).

Generally, there is a predisposition to change in this context in an effort to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity by practicing the principles of inclusion, justice, respect, and adaptability. These priorities are publicly validated by and reinforced with supports of public statements and schooling formats to ensure that that change is successful and institutionalized through school organizational structures, materials, and practices. Because of the way schooling is restructured in this context in word and deed, issues of cultural diversity receive a voice.

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Although public statements exist in this context, none contain any reference to addressing issues of cultural diversity. Issues of cultural diversity which may have received passing attention in the thinking of administrators have not found their way into any of the public normative statements of the school.

SCHOOLING FORMATS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Structural Considerations: The administrators in this context have access to many supports available to them such as personnel and ESL programs from the larger system. These administrators accept these supports as generally intended to

assist the student in adjusting to the mainstream. Administrators do not, however, as Bill indicates, believe that all such supports are equally functional for their settings. He clarifies:

I don't need something that is artificially placed on me to solve problems just because the Division says that this is one of our recommendations that we should have a person to institute these programs and to do this and do that. One of these people got up in front of us all and kind of made most people feel uncomfortable...I'd rather work through the liaison officers who work directly with the people. I'd rather have three or four more of these guys. I see them as very useful and I'm not talking about their political interaction within their own community, I'm talking about what I see and in my specific dealings with them. They've got contacts in the community. They'll go to the community. They'll make home visitations. They'll talk to these people. They'll bring the kids in. They'll set a lot of things up. I think the liaison officers are the best things this Division ever did and I have written letters saying that. But having some of these other people just coming in and telling you what to do just does not work. It's just something to me that's just a little political gambit. It's policy, though, and I work for the system and they're my employers so I guess I'm obligated to use such personnel.

Although it may be at his personal discretion that Bill uses some individual support personnel, that choice appears less likely to be there with English as a Second Language programs. It appears quite common to have ESL programs established in schools by mandate of the larger system and it appears that such programs can become the sole focus of efforts to address issues of cultural diversity in a school. "Many of these kids don't speak any English when they come here" says Bill so he has high praise for the ESL teacher who works with about fifty-five students in his school. In Barry's school, the structure for such programming is a little

different. He details:

Just after the Vietnam War, there was a wave of people known as 'Boat People' so we had to introduce ESL instruction. Our resources are very limited in ESL at this point because the demand isn't there. So very often, it's sink or swim in the regular program. But if there are, let's say, six so if we would end up with six and with other schools the area would suddenly have ten students, they would then open up an ESL class in one of the schools. Then our kids would go to that school for, let's say, half a day of ESL instruction. For the other half we would try to integrate them into something like Mathematics, Tutorial English, Tutorial Maths, and something that would be a little easier to come to grips with rather than, for example, Geography or History.

We have one Resource teacher that works with these students but also we have a tutorial program where students will peer tutor some of these students as well. They work with our Resource teacher and during parts of the day the students are in the resource room helping these other students. Very often it's nines helping sevens. Once they get to grade nine, there's a little bit of a shift. Then we have a nine 04 class for these modified students who would go on to an 04 program which is less demanding. In seven and eight, where second languages are compulsory, we have these students opt for what we call 'Tutorial English' and 'Tutorial Maths' instead of taking a second language due to the feeling that help in Maths and Language Arts probably are more important for them than a second language because they would in all likelihood drop it in grade nine and definitely in grade ten.

Barry makes decisions on how student experience will be structured in his school on the basis of the resources available and on what he believes will be most beneficial to his students.

Brian delineates the support options for learning English in a program designated to his school:

The ESL program has a variety of forms now in the division. We also have the ELENS program for Native students. It actually identifies the students and there's certain criteria. Obviously, they have to be Native and they're at least two or more years behind in their academics. They receive teaching in the classroom in a group or individually. The ESL student or a group of ESL students get together if they're at that level where they all require the same kind of developmental

teaching in skills. The Native kids with the ELENS program are basically the same kids who would be on if you had a Special Needs list which we don't but if you had a Special Needs list, they would be on it. So they would be receiving individualized, small group instruction and, in some cases, individualized programming anyway.

Bill, too, in his school has a designated Native student program. As he notes, it has a counselling base because, he says,

it's very, very hard to get Native kids to talk. Oh, they're so shy and they won't say anything to you even if they know you. They won't say anything to you. It's devastating. But slowly and surely the counsellors tell me that more and more kids are going to the counselling office. The counsellors are a part of a Native Program and there are some teachers who are very interested. There are two teachers that are directly hooked up to the program who teach various things. One does English Resource with them. Then we have one course called 'Community Studies' and another course called 'Integrated Studies' where, if you're having trouble with anything, you can go and get a little bit of help and the teacher will get help for you.

In this context, structural considerations are mostly related to supports which are provided by the larger system to help the students fit into the mainstream. Elements of the system are not restructured but are adjusted to some degree to do this.

Programmatic Considerations: Seasonal celebrations, cultural artefacts, and enrichment awareness activities appear to exist in limited form and quantities in this context. Traditional Christian-based celebrations tend to hold a prominent place. Considerations of alternative views on such festivities do not appear to be perceived as important. Brian describes the arrangement for a Christmas celebration:

It's more of a get together related to how they celebrated

Christmas. Here, last year, we had a concert but it had some Christmas themes to it. There was the grade two class who stood up and did the 'Christmas Carol' in Ojibway and it was basically a kind of open thing like that where the students and the teachers just do whatever they wanted to do. There wasn't, again, any problems with it.

I found that it's much easier to run programs like that especially in an Inner-City school than it is in a suburban school. Your demands or your expectations from the parents in those terms in suburbs are much higher. You have to be much more careful. The people who come here for a concert, come to see their kids up there. They basically don't take offence. Their kids are up there. They're watching them. They're proud of something they're doing and they don't get hung up on that other diversity stuff. It's not important to them. They are too many other things that are too important to them.

In very clear terms, Bob comments on the acceptability of a Christian-based Christmas concert in the winter season at his school:

I think that our concerts don't ever, ever favor any one religion over another. We have material in our concerts that are quite general. We have had multicultural concerts, 'Christmas Around the World' which takes a whole host of different backgrounds and 'This is what we do at Christmas' or 'This is what they do at Christmas'. I had a parent come in the other day specifically thanking us that we were not completely leaving behind or leaving out the true meaning of Christmas, the Christian side of Christmas and so on and sort of the divinity side. She really liked the idea that that was still in there. She said she knew it wasn't a pageant. It wasn't just hymns that we were singing and those kinds of things but she said, 'My daughter came home and told me what everything was about and I was so pleased that you have not gone away from that.' However, one of the reasons we haven't gotten away from it is our Music director is very religious. She also knows that the community in general appreciates that slant...

I think the concert reflects that we're prepared to say 'Well, let's look over here and over here.' It's important to us and to many of us, it's very close to our hearts but we have to be accepting of the fact that there are other people in our audience, other clients who we deal with in the public school system who also need to feel as though they are being recognized and their beliefs and their values are being recognized in the school. And how do you recognize it?--by including some thing about their country or their ethnic background or whatever in the concert.

In Barry's school, the expectations appear similar and even more in favor of a religious rather than a secular celebration. He notes:

With things like Christmas celebrations once you move away from the the celebrations that aren't directly related to the birth of Christ or like Santa Claus and that, the community would be concerned. That would disturb some of them. Our Christmas concert would tend to be religious rather than secular. The band may play 'Jolly Old St. Nicholas'. There would be some of that but I would say the majority of it would come from the Christian perspective rather than the secular like the reindeer. There's some of it and for most people it's not an issue but for a very small minority, it still would be an issue. One time our program was called 'An Evening of Carols' where we had items like 'We Need a Little Christmas', 'Quiet Night, Wondrous Sight', 'Sing to the Lord a New Song', and 'Peace Peace'. 'We Need a Little Christmas' was an infusion of both religious and secular. Then there was the choir with 'Good King Wenceslas', 'A Sweet for Old St. Nick', and 'Jingle Bells' which is secular. It was a balance. Then we did a 'Tribute of Carols' with the traditional Christmas carols where the audience sings along with the band and choir like 'Silver Bells', 'Little Drummer Boy', and 'God Rest Ye Merry'. The choir would tend to very much stress the Christian aspect. All these programs tend to be the same. They would have the shepherds and the nativity scene, of course.

Cultural artefacts may play a role in this context when diversity is acknowledged. Brian points out the entertainment contribution of cultural activities:

Actually, what happens when they do the Pow-Wows in schools is they keep it more neutral as perhaps in a church service where there is every denomination together. So the Pow-Wow would not get too far off into spirituality. It's more in line with the 'fancy dancing' as they call it and those sorts of things. It's more of a good time. The spirituality aspect of it that would be represented would only be the ones that are common throughout...

I think what the school's trying to do is you try to keep in mind and you try to acknowledge that a large percentage of our population is Native. It's difficult to acknowledge that through everyday programming but you can deal with it.

It appears that such displays are the extent of school-

initiated cultural diversity activities.

In some cases, administrators appear to take advantage of cultural awareness enrichment and anti-racism activities which come their way as part of the larger system's programming plans. Bill explains:

We participated in 'Power Plays'. That's a group based out of Vancouver. They come and train twenty-five kids from various ethnic groups. Kids go for five days solid. We're having that. They'll learn how to do these skits representing racial incidents and prejudice and all the rest of it. Then they put it on for some of the kids in school. The Division and the Secretary of State allotted us \$3000 for each high school in the city to put that on. So there is some value. It's tough for us not to do it.

We do anti-discrimination days. We're working on this right now. March 17 is anti-discrimination 'Elimination of Racial Discrimination' day so we're going to do a little survey. Then we're going to have a group in to put on some plays.

Although no long-term total school programs to address issues of cultural diversity appear to be perceived as important in this context, some isolated activities have been introduced into the school life. Some minor adjusting but no restructuring for change in school experiences appears to occur in this context.

Curricular Considerations: As school-based initiatives in some settings, mother tongue language programming may occur as a curriculum consideration in relation to cultural diversity. Bill states that "We have three levels of Portuguese in this school. It's part of the regular program. This program's diminishing a bit because some of the Portuguese families are kind of moving out." Brian, too, has language programming in his school. He comments:

We chose Ojibway or Salteaux, which is the same thing, because we surveyed the parents last year to see first of all, how many were interested and we got a lot of letters coming in saying, 'Yes, please' and we asked them whether it would be Cree or Ojibway and there was about 75% in favour of Ojibway or Salteaux, which I understand is the same language.

The talk about curriculum consideration in this context is limited to that on language programming.

Pedagogical Considerations: Cooperative learning as a tool rather than a total school philosophy is considered in this context by one of the administrators. Barry stresses the elements of choice and conflicts in his school surrounding his introduction of cooperative learning as one tool of teaching and learning. He relates:

We use cooperative learning not as an overall philosophy but as a pedagogical tool, an option that teachers have. They may use that for, in some cases, 30% of the time or maybe in some cases, some do it more, some less. We've been quite open in terms of what they feel most comfortable with; in terms of teaching style and strategy. This, as strategy, is not the answer for everything. It did concern some people a bit. I had some parents come in and wonder what's going on. Some wanted their kids moved out of those particular classes. But again, it was because we were able to communicate that these fears were dealt with. It wasn't the only strategy. It was just part of what was happening. Actually, there was probably more concern from the high school than there was from others. They said, 'These kids can't do their Maths because of co-operative learning.' As it turned out, the kids that they were dealing with had never yet had co-operative learning. I mean we're basically starting this in grade seven and they were talking about kids that hadn't yet experienced it.

Barry's experience indicates the challenges to even incremental change in the status quo which may occur within the school system itself.

REFLECTION:

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "CONSIDERED" CONTEXT

In this context, stabilizing the school and community environment is a preoccupation. Administrators appear to be subject to influences from the environment on them and, beyond designated programs, do little to self-initiate programs addressing cultural diversity issues for their schools. Endorsement of such in public statements and school formats, except those designated to the school from the larger system, does not occur.

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT
PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

No reference to addressing explicitly the issues of cultural diversity is made in the school documents of this context.

SCHOOLING FORMATS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Structural Considerations: ESL supports, language programming, and some decision-making practices are concerns for some administrators in this context. They are concerns in the sense that administrators have little choice but to address them under certain circumstances in their schools.

As in all contexts, the administrators in the "silenced" context can have access to supports available to them from the larger system which are geared to help the student fit into the existing mainstream system. Although the type and amount of support available will vary with the larger system, some form of English as a Second Language support appears to be the most common and popular of the approaches to dealing with

diversity in this context. As Chuck states, ESL can be perceived as a "remediation" program. He elaborates:

One of our goals and one of our values is to try and meet the needs and give fair opportunity to all children and the the ESL group happens to be a group within our school that has special needs. We want to program appropriately so that we can meet those special needs but then we also have a group of level II children Special Education children, Gifted children, etc.. So in other words, we're focussing on it, but it's rather not on the diversity of it but as a group within the building that does have some special and unique needs. We have shifted to a more ESL need-based population. What that means is that we have language development. We have to take more of the Resource Teacher's time to offer language development and look at those gaps in learning that occur. There's more children in ESL now who have learning difficulties in their own language. Teachers are, in many senses, more frustrated because 'What do you do with these children?'.

In Conrad's school, too, he notes, "ESL is basically connected directly to our Resource Teacher." He elaborates on the efforts to have ESL students fit in to the school:

When we receive a student like one of our boys here, we have Roman from Poland who just came in, well, as soon as he came in, we know he's ESL. The first thing I do is I alert the Resource teacher because this student has just come in. We have a paraprofessional who works with our ESL students. Now Roman is in our ESL program along with three girls from Portugal, some Vietnamese, a girl from El Salvador, and we have two girls from India that came in a couple of years ago. It varies where they come from but there is an ESL program here with the Resource teacher...

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 but, I think too, for example, the Family Life program and, in general, when someone who arrives here and is from a different culture, we try to help them on a classroom level. For example, we attached Roman to Nick. Nick looks after Roman because Nick is also Polish. He came here about three years ago but he's now Canadian in every respect so he's taken Roman under his wing. I've talked to the two boys and I've said, 'Look if you want to learn English, you speak English.' I said to Nick, 'Don't you dare talk to Roman in Polish. You talk to him in English.' And I said to Roman, 'You want to learn English. You talk to Nick in English. Don't talk to

him in Polish.' It's sort of a light thing. Like we had a bit of fun over this whole thing. In the case of Nick and Roman, now we basically want them to help each other so when we place them in grade six next year, they will be in the same grade six class.

The focus on grouping "like problems" together and assimilating the "difference" with English seems prominent in this context. Similar to the organization in Conrad's school, Chuck's students are also grouped specifically for ESL instruction. He describes the program:

Our Resource Teacher and our ESL teacher deal with the children as a group. They deal with them in terms of a Resource question or a language development question but we do do grouping of children and you'll see the ESL teacher working with four or five or six of them at a time or where they're all basically at the same level. I have an ESL teacher that's three-quarter time and she works a schedule so that she gives them some pull-out time as a group of five, six, or seven and the rest of the time, they're mainstreamed and working with other support personnel. The ESL teacher's timetable is just filled from morning till night with groups of children and they're getting what about fifteen minutes a day. We try to group children within classes sometimes so we can give supports into one group instead of spreading out that type of thing.

In this context, however, not even designated ESL, perceived in some schools as the central multicultural programming component of the school, gets to be a priority. While Chuck questions 'Where do we go with our ESL in terms of our human and financial supports given our shrinking resources?', Cam relates:

Last year, there were major cuts throughout the Division. Yet, we could have given up a classroom teacher and retained our ESL teacher but then we would have ended up with split classes and our goal is to keep our classes straight grades and as small as possible so the priority of staff was to go the other way where the number of pupils will be smaller. That means that those kids don't get as much ESL instructional time out of the classroom as they did before. ESL is also the

multicultural nature of the school. It fits into our school. In this case, perceived staff priorities appear to take precedence over student access to potential support. In other cases where that support may be available, ESL classes are temporary as in Clinton's school where he acknowledges that there was quite an adjustment for some students and we set up ESL classes for them. We tried to integrate them as soon as possible. Depending on how quickly they caught on to the English language, we would integrate them back into the classrooms, regular classrooms. For many of them, that didn't take long. For some, it took quite a while and they really struggled with it.

In Corey's "streamed" school, there is a more laissez-faire nature to the ESL programming. He comments:

We have had quite a few refugee students who are Vietnamese, Laotians, and the like over that last ten years. Some get ESL and some of those kinds of things, but basically they are moved right into their preference and their streams in the programs that they desire and or similar to that. We have one ESL class in this school specifically for people that require this kind of attention. Last year, for example, we had a class running between five and ten people all year. This year we don't have any at this point at least. You have to have certain numbers before you can finance this. Our superintendent's position is 'immerse them in the school and those things will all take care of themselves' and to a certain extent that is true. But some people have been hurt as well because they didn't get additional support.

Although supports external to the school are available to these administrators, some do not seem to be widely used as was the case in the "considered" context. Cam illustrates his personal position in this regard pointing out that

the Division has a person who does multicultural education and then we have a Race Relations officer, also, and a Native Education Consultant. We don't use them a lot. I mean, if they have things that they wish to present, fine, or if we need to call on them, fine. You could call on them if you had a real specific problem. Let's say you had a real problem, for example, with a race relations incident where the school

was saying that they were doing one thing and someone else was saying something else, we could ask for help as sort of an ombudsman person. They come out to speak to parent groups, etc., etc. or professional development stuff, too, with teachers.

As far as Conrad is concerned, as long as the "immigrant" students are "becoming Canadian", there is little else for him to be concerned about. He points out how "problems" are solved:

This school, having a counsellor, if some family is having a particular and obvious problem in adapting to Canada or this particular school or whatever, then the counsellor picks up on that.

Reducing perceived potential problems of "difference" in language programming appears to be a second concern with some of the administrators. Conrad comments:

The school is structured in such a way that we don't separate the two so-called cultural groups which are not really cultural groups. We don't have the French on the one side of the school and the English on the other. We do not want to do anything that would separate one group from the other. The Superintendent's Department has brought it to my attention that they're very pleased with the way we put the two groups together. There seems to be a togetherness about the way we do things here. We don't stress the culture so much. I think once you start to stress the culture, then you get away from the objective of the program which is basically to develop functional bilingualism in this other track. We're not here to make French Canadians out of them. We're here to teach them another language in which they are functional. When I came here five years ago, I said that was the one thing that we weren't going to do is separate the kids, in other words, physically separate them or begin to separate them. If we begin to separate them in their thinking, somebody might say, 'These are different' or 'They do something that we don't do' or 'What they get is better than what we get'. I have a tendency to downplay that. In other words, we are one school. We do things together.

Sharing a similar perspective on other activities, Conrad states, "If we have a Christmas concert, it's one concert. We

had a Christmas concert last year. We intermingle our programs with French and English with whatever we do." In terms of separating and making similarities important, Claire is of the same mind noting:

You'll get somebody that'll get their nose out of joint because the French Immersion kids did this and I had some parents who had their nose out of joint because the French Immersion took a trip to Quebec and the other kids didn't. And I listened to them and I said, 'You're right. It'll never happen again.' So all things we do are all for everyone and that way, I think, that does some good for kids, too, because they no longer see anybody getting anything different than they are. You don't have a French Immersion or Ukrainian or an English trip, there's a grade eight trip or a nine or an eight and nine trip.

Further, Claire expresses his skepticism of the language grouping of students in general:

One of the things students in heritage language programming tend to lack is the social experiences of interacting with strangers in their classroom. So that's why we try to split them up, particularly the Ukrainian class. If we can split them into two or three different sections for different courses, it forces them to change. They have to sort of start to develop other relationships other than falling back on something that's been their since kindergarten. That's one of the reasons I won't go with a ghettoization of this school. I totally disagree with the schools that want to be all Immersion.

Diffusion of grouping often appears to be justified as a "ghettoization-prevention" strategy. At the same time, conformity to the mainstream may also be promoted.

Thirdly, structural considerations may also deal with decision-making in the school. Decision making with parents and teachers varies in this context. Therefore, the power they have in meaningful, regular decision-making varies. Cliff says, "The contact with the community is informal and

ongoing rather than structured" while Cam states, "We used to have an active Parent Council but I don't know with the transiency, it's more difficult. We don't have specific kinds of meetings." Claire, however, does encourage a parent organization for particular purposes with which he is comfortable in terms of power. He says:

We have a parent organization. They've been doing fund raising. I have now, this past month, brought the Music and the Physical Education groups all together and I haven't told them yet, but what they really are is really a Parent Council. They are organizing all the fund raising and working cooperatively. So next year we'll just say, 'Yeah, okay, so we don't need a Music Association. We'll have a Parent Council.' They're evolving but I wanted them to evolve with a certain agenda in the school rather than thinking they were going to run the school and I mentioned that to them at a meeting when we were meeting jointly. I said, 'Yeah, I like the idea of having parents involved but you've got to realize that I have to answer to the Department, the School Board, and the Superintendents. So, therefore, there are things that parents will not dictate in the school. But we are your school and there are all kinds of things that you can say and have input and do but don't try to get into the field of curriculum because that I can't have. Nor will I allow you to staff the school.'

Chuck perceives parent involvement in his school in some ways similar to Claire and in some ways different. Although like Claire, he perceives parent involvement as not exerting power in curricular or staffing issues, he sees his parent group functioning quite actively particularly in relation to the community outside the immediate school building. He describes their role:

They take ownership for a number of things. For example, last year they did a community survey. They found out what the needs were so that they could then, in turn, offer a parenting program. I think where we focus on the cultural group per se is when we have our Parent Advisory group trying to attend to cultural differences in the sense that they have particular

needs. Our Parent Advisory group is well aware in the survey they did that there is that element of the population. They started a clothing depot and those kinds of things.

For Conrad, a parent group also means a forum for questioning.

He relates:

We have a Community School Association which operates as a Parent Council. We meet regularly each month and we deal with issues and this month this Mother brought up what she thought was a French-English issue only because I asked if there were any burning concerns to please mention them. If it hadn't been that, it would have been something else. I mean, there just are those kinds of people in the world.

While the forum for fundraising and charitable projects on the part of parents appears quite open, direct critiques of or dialogues on schooling considerations, it appears, are not so readily welcomed by many of these administrators.

Programmatic Considerations: Like in the "considered" context, seasonal celebrations, cultural artefacts, and enrichment awareness events are considerations about which administrators in this context talk. Again, as in the "considered" context, most programmatic considerations such as celebration activities are within the parameters of Christian traditions in this context.

Some administrators like Calvin justify such tradition by suggesting there is little reason to do otherwise. He states, "Regarding Christmas and people not being included, it's never happened". Conrad perceives concerns only in terms of languages of use. He says:

We never have had any concern expressed about the Christmas activities from the community. No one has ever said, 'You should have more French or less French or more English or less English' or anything like that. We could include everyone

very quickly. All we would have to do is have the first half-hour French and the second English. After one half hour, the group who don't understand will get a little fidgety. When you get a little fidgety your mind starts to go to work and they wonder, 'Now, why are they doing this? Why are the French first?' The first question would be 'Why did they put French first? If they had put English first, then I could leave after the English program was over.' Again, you could conjure all kinds of reasons to begin to think all sorts of bad things so what you do is that you intersperse French with one English, two English one French, two French one English items.

With reference to consideration of any non-Christian multicultural elements in celebrations, Conrad further comments:

I suspect that we do have non-Christian people in our school, but I don't go out of the way looking for them. We probably do have a population that is non-Christian. We have people who are, say, from Vietnam. I guess a good many of them probably are Christians but we don't go out on our own to search out the non-Christians and say, 'Because you're non-Christians, we'll exclude you from the program.' We treat everybody the same basically and if people want to exclude themselves or opt out from a particular program or whatever, then they should approach us. I mean, if I was going out looking for these people, I'm going to find myself in some pretty hot water. I'm pretty sure we have non-Christians. You see nobody's had a concern about the Christmas concert because most of us celebrate Christmas.

Exclusion appears to be perceived as a legitimate option for those who do not experience Christian celebration as meaningful. Changes to the program elements do not seem to be a consideration.

Even where the diversity is more explicitly acknowledged, the will to advocate for representative programming is perceived to be "community-constrained" as Cam reports:

With the multicultural education concept, there are different cultures in this school and, I guess, the programming in this school reflects that and it can be reflected in a variety of things that the teachers do. For example, one year we did a

concert and it had to do with refugees from another country. When we switched it, some of the parents said 'Oh, gee, we really missed the Christmas Pageant. Why did we do this one?' They really missed the continuity. What they expected, they didn't get. Some people say, 'Oh my goodness gracious, we missed the Christmas pageant and it wasn't Christmassy enough' kind of thing.

The endorsement of continuity is seen to be rooted in the community. Cam goes on to explain what the significant and not so significant elements of such "concert" programming are at his school:

Each different class would perhaps do different skits and so therefore, we probably could do and we probably did, I don't remember, some things that reflects ethnic diversity in a concert in December. So it's not necessarily entitled a 'Christmas' Concert either. It's a 'December' concert. That's intentional. Well, I mean, sometimes we do and sometimes we don't intentionally call it that. People might want to call it 'Christmas' so we say, 'Yeah, people want to call it *Christmas*'. We'll call it 'Christmas' or whatever the Secretary, who is typing it up quickly calls it and we just go for it. If we get comments, we get comments. If we don't, we don't. We can't worry about every little thing, we just go ahead and do it.

The concert is for the kids so no one really gets upset about the content of these things. During the concert too, they will include carols and the audience will sing in, too.

Further, commonly in this context, discussion of power relations and bias do not surface. Recognizing the existence of diversity is sometimes interpreted as difference only within the Christian framework as Chuck comments:

Like we've done Christmas themes where we've had a multicultural approach. It's becoming much more of an issue because our population is changing so if you walk through the school, you see a real United Nations. So in that sense then, we're trying to say, I guess basically, that's the philosophy in the country itself is that we have similarities in that we're all part of the school but yes, we do come from different backgrounds and cultures and that's a good thing and not a bad thing. So we had a big map out in the hallway that we did last year. We did a multicultural Christmas.

The perception of multicultural activities appears to rest only within a Christian framework for most of these administrators.

As a second element of programmatic considerations, it appears that this context is not devoid of cultural artefact displays. Some of the reason for this appears to be because there are some activities dealing with artefacts and festivities in a country with a multicultural policy that come with funding incentives to schools. In some instances, this attention to the some of the symbols of cultural diversity is initiated by interested teachers in a school as Cam describes:

The multicultural week is the one that is across Canada. We just happened to do something that week. We wouldn't necessarily do something every year...Each teacher in each classroom has the expertise in terms of programming for children...Today, if you walk past room four of grade three, you have the Chinese New Year display up. Last Christmas our grade five and two classes got together and did a Christmas customs display. Parents also contributed different ethnic foods. We ended up taking pictures of those things. The table was all set up and the outfits were very ethnic. It almost looked like a banquet or luncheon and you wouldn't have found such a diversity of foods in the best restaurants in Winnipeg...We have a lot of Native posters in the hallways, too, the career modelling ones so it's not just one culture here...I know one of our teachers takes a role in changing the displays on the bulletin board. He's does the multicultural thing with grades five and two and does a lot of work in the displays. It's not a major, major time consumer.

Short-term isolated activities appear to take precedence over long-term total school processes relating to issues of cultural diversity in this context.

Isolated enrichment awareness events also occur in this context to a degree as a third element of programmatic considerations. For example, in speaking about an event at

his school, Chuck states "Every year we do a focus that's a cross-grading thing where we take a theme and take a whole day with a whole variety of activities. So next year it will be a multicultural theme." As well, funding incentives are motivation for some administrators to engage in isolated activities like fieldtrips of a multicultural nature as Cam relates:

The grant helped to pay for the admission costs of this outing... The multicultural enhancement category overlaps with the heritage funding. Now, usually you are allowed to apply no more than twice for the same project. Otherwise, it's year after year the same thing. So you have to keep changing what you're doing and asking money for.

Exchanges, requiring some considerable amount of initiative on the part of the administrator, are not common in this context. However, Corey comments on his involvement in one such occurrence:

One of the things that we have promoted over the years is exchanges. We are hosting the Voyageur exchange. There's some fourteen students that have come now from Northumberland constituency. We have an on going German cultural exchange going with Germany. We have had one of our teachers go to Japan for a year and we had a Japanese gal here. We've arranged now for one of our teachers to be taking a leave to go to Australia on a year teacher exchange and we'll have his colleague from there joining us.

Like seasonal celebrations and the displays of cultural artefacts, enrichment awareness activities in general do not seem to be part of an ongoing long term plan of cultural diversity programming.

Curricular Considerations: Integrating into curriculum isolated topics which may be quite distant from the daily life in the school but touch on the diverse nature of world society

is an approach which receives some attention in this context. Conrad highlights that "In this day and age, kids already know a lot about a lot of countries and through Social Studies programs, other countries are studied. For example, we study like Japan." Calvin expands on his understanding of curriculum in terms of diversity stating:

In terms of issues of the larger society that deal with anti-racism and anti-discrimination things, well possibly some discussion may happen more so through courses whether in History or the Political Science Club, through that kind of thing where the preoccupation that society has with rights and abuse and those things are dealt with. I think they're probably in English classes, in Literature classes, and certainly they are in History classes but there's not a conscious focus on our part to have a program or a module of lessons delivered on that.

Where there are some specific curricular agendas endorsed relating to diversity, they are directed at reinforcing the conformity agenda as Carl indicates:

I think in our Social Studies the focus on being Canadian comes out very clearly. When we study, we just focus on Canadian society in Social Studies when we deal with a unit on government; when we try to teach students that government is what Canadians generally express is the necessary evil to contend with.

In addition to the traditional curriculum, there appears to be a popularity of packaged programs to "hit" concepts of perceived importance. Cam describes how in a diffused manner, cultural diversity is "added" to an element of the school agenda:

I guess, basically, when you talk anti-racist education, it all comes under little things like that poster on the board, 'Fair Play', even the way children are relating to other children. No matter what race or culture you are, if you're making someone feel bad because you're name-calling or fighting, that's not tolerated under any circumstances. So

that's the key and people haven't said, 'Oh well, they've called me this.' 'Fair Play' is a government package. It's just encouraging the concept of fair play in sports.

The generalized package program approach is most obvious in Conrad's assumption that a focus on respect in the divisional "Family Life" program will suffice in dealing with issues of cultural diversity. He relates:

Now we have a program in this school division, the 'Family Life Program' which I think is in most schools in this province now. But our 'Family Life' program stresses a lot of things like respecting differences and values. It would be connected to that and we're presently doing that...Most of our teachers at this time are in the Family Life program. We usually do it in the new year...It's a very good program. Students can opt out of the program or opt back into it. It's basically a family decision whether the child takes the program...When you get into 'Family Life', you're bound to get into the area of respect at large. You're probably likely to get into the area of respecting the differences in people. It's throughout the whole program--showing respect and goodwill toward others; showing respect for parents and elders; all of those things.

Placing confidence in traditional curriculum and in generalized topics within certain programs added to that curriculum appear to be the preferences of administrators in this context.

Pedagogical Considerations: As in the "considered" context, a mention is made by a few administrators about using cooperative learning as a tool but not as a school philosophy. Again, Conrad, for instance, shares that he has acquired two books at a day's inservice on "cooperative learning".

REFLECTION:

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

There is a predisposition to continuity, conformity, and diffusion in this context which is endorsed by the absence of

initiatives at the school level to engage in explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity as a total school. With no public statement and no substantial personal commitment to developing programs to restructure the mainstream school in order to meet the needs of diversity, designated programs to get students to fit in the traditional curriculum are prominent in this context. Some isolated activities related to cultural diversity may be added on to this curriculum but no voice is given to issues of cultural diversity on an ongoing total school basis.

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

As with all three contexts where cultural diversity issues are not explicitly addressed by a total school program, public statements in this context do not make reference to cultural diversity issues.

SCHOOLING FORMATS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Although some schooling formats exist to accommodate some cultural diversity programming, like in the "silenced" and "considered" contexts, they are not spurred on by personal initiative on the part of the administrator and collective staff commitment but by mandates designated for the school from outside the school.

Structural Considerations: Student and parent communication and decision-making are two aspects of structural considerations about which administrators commented that may

in some ways relate to issues of cultural diversity. Even designated programs did not receive much attention in the talk of these administrators. Plans for dealing with needs appear to be somewhat spontaneous at times as Denise indicates:

We don't have to have translators or anything like that. The people that we have had have always had some connection to someone else who has been here longer. There was one family coming in who we really had problems communicating with but there was a brother or a cousin that would come in and talk for them so we really did not have to do anything like that. They were little kids and they seemed to fit in. In fact before long they were able to kind of translate for the parents. We really never had a problem like that. In fact, that one family we were thinking of was Filipino. We thought that the children might be better off in one of the ESL programs in an ESL designated school because we had nothing 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 a thing. And we had pretty strong language programs here so we felt that they would probably fit in quite well and they seemed to...In our division, every school has access to an ESL program but you have to send your children to an ESL designated school. If we have a student identified we can send them. The children go to the ESL room for certain periods of the day but they are in a classroom. The Filipino parents didn't want that and that just meant that our resource looks after it. They aren't specialists in ESL but I think 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.

Changes in structural considerations with respect to dealing with the community communication appear limited. Don describes a situation in his school stating:

I guess given the number of ESL families that we have we certainly have a number of families we can't call directly because they can't talk to us and we can't talk to them. We try. When those families register, they usually bring a relative who speaks English. Generally, that's what happened for us and what we do is we attempt to make sure that we always have their name and address and phone number so that in the event that we need parents to receive information, we have a channel built for us. On one occasion, we explored the church link up for us to get an interpreter to deal with the family because there was a particular situation. Through the

International Center, and based on the issue that we were dealing with the family, we got referred to the pastor of the church who are able to work with us. Most of it we try and handle incidently through existing connections with the family because usually those connections are trusted connections.

Decision-making formats with the parent community vary from a fundraising emphasis with some involvement opportunities to no formal forums at all for participation.

David comments:

We have a parents' association and every parent is a member of that. Their role is fundraising and their role is to communicate, to make sure the communication between parents on social functions and things like that is done. Every parent has an issue at some point and they're directly encouraged to bring issues to me.

Denise, too, has a structure for parent involvement. She states:

We have a parent council and they're very active so that's their forum. Administration as representatives go to all their meetings. They do a lot of fundraising. We have over a hundred volunteers in the school. They run hotdog days and have joint community fun fairs which they initiated. Mostly issues as they pertain to school come up here. In the beginning, we didn't talk about what the school was doing. They would have liked that in some ways, to get into curriculum issues, and I was pretty careful to keep them away from that area at the beginning because we really needed to get started and we pretty well knew what we wanted, what we were instructed to do in terms of the curriculum and all that. I think there's a better understanding now, too. We've done a lot of seminars and parent night orientation to Family Life, Kindergarten, French Immersion, a night for Science Fair and reading workshops so they understand about reading instruction.

Darlene, on the other hand, operates much differently. She points out how she influences the design of school-community interaction:

I don't have a parent organization. I don't like parents' organizations so we don't have one and about two to three years ago, there was one parent who tried to start one and we

went through a lot of talking and discussing and this kind of thing. The parents did a survey and it wasn't a great survey. Because I don't like parent organizations very much, I supported it but I didn't say that maybe you should do the survey a different way or better way or anything. Anyway, it came back that the parents were satisfied with what was happening and that they didn't need to have a formal parent organization...We have a lot of parents from the higher socioeconomic area involved in the school. We have somewhere between eighty and a hundred parents that volunteer for different things. We have what we call a 'Coffee Gathering' so once a month I invite parents to come and have coffee with me from ten to eleven o'clock and talk about anything they want to in the school. Usually, it's day to day running kinds of things like: 'Why aren't there enough coat racks for the grade six class?' and that sort of thing. I'll say, 'I don't know. I'll check it.' Anyway that's one forum for parents to give input. I believe very much in task forces or committees. If there's a need for a committee, then we'll establish it. There was a need for a technology committee and for a particular group of parents to get involved in that area so we have a technology committee for parents where those parents want to be involved.

Boundaries appear to be constructed by some administrators for community participation in this context. No talk about restructuring these or communication relationships with students or teachers occurs within these administrators.

Programmatic Considerations: The content of celebrations has received some attention in this context even though no school plan to consider diversity issues is in place. In Darlene's case, it was perceived to be expedient to revise the Christmas concert tradition but not on the premise of responding to diversity considerations. She talks of the traditional Christmas experience:

With Christmas, about four years ago, we cut out the Christmas concert. At that point of time, the teachers said, 'We are spending too much of our time preparing for the Christmas concert. We want to spend our time teaching. It's taking away from our teaching.' I said, 'Okay, that's fine. Is there anything else you want to do instead?' and I said that

I would support what they were saying. They said, 'Well, how about if we go to senior citizen's homes and we will perform?' That sounded fine to me and that's what they have done...The classroom teacher develops a program with the children. They bake cookies and that sort of thing to have tea with the seniors and each one of them makes a present. We did that...The first year, we got this reaction from the comments: 'How dare you not have a Christmas concert? This is what we are expecting. You're making our children grow up too fast. It's tradition. It's always happened and you need to do it.' ...The funny thing out of this is that the teachers spend as much time preparing for this as for the Christmas concert and they keep giving this same argument but, in actual fact, I think, it's much more the control of the classroom type thing rather than it is the academic time because at Christmas time, teachers are very much in tune with their kids doing things for Christmas...We got a little flack but we stayed with it. The parents don't know how to defend against it when you say that 'Christmas is for giving and these children are out giving seniors a lot of pleasure and that kind of thing.'

For the primary Christmas concert, we have the regular Christmas kinds of things. We have never had any concern about our Christmas concert. The only concern that I would have is like when you see it. There was a time when we had less children and every child had a costume but now that's not the case and some of these little girls and boys get on the stage and they are dressed in \$150-200 dresses, kindergarten and grade one, with shoes to match, everything to match. And then you get the lower socio-economic kids. The issue hasn't surfaced or at least I haven't been made aware of it but I look and it's there. Some of the children are wearing dresses that I could not have afforded. I would not have spent my money on my daughter like that when she was that age. We had some concerns when we had children coming in costumes too. You know, 'Come in your blue jeans because you're going to wear a costume on top.' We would have parents who were concerned because Grandmother had gone out and bought a special Christmas outfit. So we still do have some costumes and that sort of thing but we have had reactions like: 'We have this wonderful outfit. We want our daughter or granddaughter to be on stage showing it off.'

Although some issues of class surface, the dominant Christian tradition in relation to the celebration does not appear to be a concern for Darlene.

In her school, however, Diane admits she has had some criticism dealing with the diverse nature of the population.

She comments:

We do have different religious beliefs here. We do have some people who really object to anything having to do with religious components around Christmas and anything having to do with Halloween. So we do have that...Also, we do have some complaints from the same parents that object to Halloween components and that that it's against their religion. Quite a few of them also feel that some of the series of books that we use have too much of the kind of supernatural. We've talked about that. So some of the themes some of the teachers don't even teach...

We try to include all the children's customs. We had once one Jewish person here but we have no one now...We did have an Indian family. At one point the child was all dressed up in costume and the parents are always proud of that and the parents are always very happy when they come to school so I think that they feel comfortable.

Although artefacts and festivities appear to usually reflect the dominant mainstream celebrations in this context, a name change reflecting some attempts at inclusivity has occurred at David's school. He explains:

At Christmas time we, basically reflect, well, we have 'holiday concerts' as we call them now. We don't call them Christmas concerts. That's to reflect on the Jewish Hannakah and as well as other holiday celebrations at this time of the year. We're trying to deal with it by making our holiday periods more diverse in the sense that we reflect the different customs and religious preferences. It's a difficult issue because, of course, we've always had Christmas trees here. Now, do we eliminate the Christmas tree? Or do you have a Christmas tree and a Hannukah bush? And what other ones are you missing, too? How many things? I find that in the end you have to really reflect your history and your roots to a certain extent and, at this point, our roots and history have been Christian and we can't ignore those or we can't sort of pretend they don't exist, on one hand. On the other hand, we want to be inclusive not exclusive. But, how many holidays do you include? We have Native Indians here. Do you have all their major holidays on there, too? We have Moslem people, Rammadan. Do you put all that in? Jewish holidays? There's a difference between what you could practically do and can actually do and, at the same time, to demonstrate what you want to intend to or intend to feel or reflect. The intention is there but the practicality of being totally inclusive, you can't do it but the intention is to be inclusive.

Inclusion beyond Christian traditions is receiving some consideration but in a limited sense as Don illustrates. Some celebrations in his school have a particular, yet as he describes it, incidental focus:

At Christmas time, we have a winter concert and we have a winter break. We don't have a Christmas break although we can sometimes get confused and call them the same. Our winter concert tends to have a Christmas flavor as we haven't taken the Christ out of Christmas totally but we don't do the heavily religious-slanted skits. For example, we may be doing 'Up on the Housetop' instead of 'We Three Kings' although I think I remember 'We Three Kings' were at our Christmas concert this year, alias 'Winter Concert' so we don't ignore it. We don't avoid it and, I guess, as with any events, we probably talk about the group of the world that is Christian and probably does follow this set of practices around Christmas which is what they believe in and is what they're celebrating type of approach but we don't preclude the fact that others will be different and maybe when we get a different event for a different culture, we may have the children of that culture in the class get to talk about what that culture means to them and why they celebrate it. Again, naturalistically, it's part of the way that we do business as respectful of the kids in the class and the differences. We don't ignore it but, also, we don't make an issue of it. But even though there are many different cultures in the school, there still is a fairly large Christian culture in the school.

Further, displays of artefacts seem to find their way into the school as David indicates:

We encourage our students, for instance, in our assemblies, to put on things like Japanese girls would do their sword dances or tea or things like that and within classes too, especially in the younger ones this happens.

Some isolated awareness experiences may occur in this context as Diane relates:

There was also something this year which had to do with some plays and dialogues that were made that had to do with racial subjects. I think some of those plays were on discrimination. I remember that...I know I remember giving that to teachers and I know that some of them have done something with that. I really always direct it if I've heard that a teacher's more interested in that or sometimes I present it at a staff

meeting and say that that's going to be in the library or somewhere. I try not to give it to somebody that I know so it's just not going to lie there. Usually I try to find the teachers who are more interested or I'll make sure it's announced so that they know where to get the material. So, you know, we do use those materials. We touch on this maybe at a staff meeting and there's multicultural week and that sort of thing but we really haven't maybe done a whole school-wide thing on it.

Whole-school programming does not appear to have been contemplated in this context.

In general, consideration to some aspects of cultural diversity is given, as Don states, in a "natural" not planned way. Programmatic considerations appear to relate more to the celebratory aspects of cultural diversity than to any issues arising out of cultural diversity.

Curricular Considerations: Some isolated curriculum projects in these schools do relate to cultural diversity. As part of dual language track curricula, exchanges quite automatically occur. Diane comments that "for quite a few years now the grade six's have gone to Quebec and they have a first hand experience. She goes on to state that isolated activities on cultural diversity topics occur in the sense that

we do things about the different cultures, like multiculturalism and that. In fact, this year, the grade four's had a project and a play with the parents on that. That was a project that was very, very good. So there you saw the ancestry and sort of the descendents. They had British and German and we have Japanese, and North American Indian and a few things like that...We had that and that brought out quite a few and the kids were really happy to do that. They had the foods and some people went all out and had the traditional Ukrainian and all kinds of good foods out there and that. So that was sort of a nice project to sort of see the different groups...It was the grade four teachers that did that and some at the other levels did it too on a smaller scale. I think the multicultural evening was a grade level

project and certainly the school Librarian was involved with those classes. It probably was part of Social Studies or something in the class like that because there's a lot of integration going on...The grade three's have projects like that, too, which I'm not sure we even called it multiculturalism but it is with the different races and nationalities and going back into them...They study Japan and I think from there that was a kind of stepping springboard to study other nationalities and races and, again, they have the type of thing not necessarily after school though. The other one was more elaborate where they bring in the foods and they dress up and they have little plays and things like that.

Similarly, Denise comments on the "add on" projects which teachers do in her school:

The English grade three's, for example, when they're studying different countries, they always have the kids pick a country and it could be their ethnic background and it quite often is because then they can get more artefacts and this kind of thing. Part of it is that they bring in some food so the kids will taste the different foods and this kind of thing. So in that sense, it's strictly part of the curriculum but they encourage this. The French program studies different countries, too. In the grade four French Immersion they do 'olden days' but they encourage kids to make a picnic and dress in olden day costumes so there could be something there. And then there's our Chinese teacher. Quite often, when the grade three's study China, they'll call her in to show them a few Chinese characters and bring in some artefacts and this kind of stuff. So we use that. And in her room, she always does Ukrainian Easter egg painting. So people sort of capitalize on different ethnic backgrounds wherever they manage to find that and use different teachers or whatever it is to make it as authentic as they can.

Although not common in this context, issue-based topics are sometimes integrated into existing curricula as "add-ons".

Don notes:

In terms of the age and stage of kids and what some of the things are that they have to deal with, you do have to deal with prejudice with early adolescent kids. It's a theme that is alive and living in Language Arts and Social Studies in the school and it's attended to. Issues arise naturally. Even when they're studying countries in the southern hemisphere, those issues are 'How do those people live? Why do they live that way?' That's part of the study but it's done in a-I believe it to be done in a, respectful way as opposed to a

'they only have' disparaging way.

Generally, events and artefacts claim more legitimacy in this context than do issues. In all instances of curricular considerations regarding cultural diversity, the components were "added on" elements which were not cohesively tied to a total school philosophy or orientation towards cultural diversity issues.

Pedagogical Considerations: As a tool, Diane comments that cooperative learning has been introduced to her school. She says:

We stress the cooperative learning strategies because I think that students may learn that there's a role for everybody in that group and everybody is important. Like you have to do something for the benefit of the whole and be contributing members of our society.

The development of this concept specifically relating to cultural diversity issues has not as yet, it appears, been considered.

REFLECTION:

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "IGNORED" CONTEXT

These administrators talk little about public statements and schooling formats related to issues of cultural diversity because they have generally not thought about the area as requiring attention in thought, word, or deed. What then is endorsed in this context is traditional or mandated elements and activities to which little personal commitment appears to be attached. School-initiated intentions and endeavors do not appear to exist.

REFLECTION:**ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR AS INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES**

Administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts is as diverse in endorsement as it is in the advocacy and justification processes of administrative intentions. In each of the four contexts, administrators appear to construct the life in schools through public statements and schooling formats to reflect their intentions with respect to addressing or not addressing issues of cultural diversity. In this study, it does appear that because the moral order "lies within people, the moral order is not everywhere the same" (Greenfield, 1980, p. 33). For that reason, the principles and practices in each of the contexts as well as within each of the contexts is very different.

For the moment, some fairly definitive stances are taken by these administrators in relation to cultural diversity issues. In the "voiced" context, practices endorsed aim specifically at explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity while in the "silenced" context, practices are directed more at diffusing than addressing these issues. In both the "considered" and the "ignored" contexts, the practices endorsed do not relate to issues of cultural diversity issues in any explicit way because these administrators are not specifically concerned about either addressing or diffusing the issues. They appear somewhat indifferent to these issues because their intentions and attention are concentratedly focussed on other areas of school

life which do not directly relate to issues of cultural diversity as perceived by these administrators at the moment.

Four different worlds are reflected in the public statements, or in the absence of them, in relation to cultural diversity. Four different worlds are created in schools as schooling formats are designed with the different emphases of administrators' differently negotiated intentions. The "many voices of truth" (Greenfield, 1980, p. 38) in schools where socialization and education occurs.

Students socialized under different principles and practices are prepared differently to live in culturally diverse society as a result. Although it is in the "voiced" context that students, it appears, are prepared most proactively to live in that society, students in the "silenced", "considered", and "ignored" contexts are also being prepared to live in that society--only differently so. Some students live in school cultures which explicitly address, value, and legitimate diversity and some live in school cultures which do not explicitly address issues of diversity and where different values are important.

Whether students live out their school lives in a school culture which addresses issues of cultural diversity or not seems to be influenced by the administrator's intentions in that school. No matter what the intention regarding issues of cultural is, Sleeter & Grant (1994) point out that when a decision is made, it is a "value decision" and, the leadership

encompassed in the decision and actions, Hodgkinson (1983) highlights, may be good, bad, or indifferent but it is still leadership. It moves others to do things in certain ways in the school.

There are varieties of subjective realities lived out in schools. In expressing a subjective view of organizations, such as schools, Foster (1986) cites Greenfield's statement that "organizations are inside people and defined completely by them as they work out ideas in their heads through their actions in the practical world" (1983, p. 1). In the "voiced" and "silenced" contexts, these definitions in relation to cultural diversity issues appear to be most comprehensively and definitively worked out at least for the present time. In the "considered" context, some aspects appear to be worked out for these administrators but some are not while in the "ignored" context, it appears that in relation to cultural diversity issues, these ideas have not been worked out.

There are yet some administrators in this study, however, who were not described in the contexts of the typology. These administrators appear currently to be working out these ideas in their heads. It is to their administrative behavior in the next two chapters that this discussion will now turn for some insights about that process of decision-making about making a value decision.

CHAPTER 10

THE EXCEPTIONS TO THE TYPOLOGY: THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT JUSTIFYING THE INTENTION THE CONTEXT

The four cell typology described in chapters four through nine identifies temporal and developmental behaviors of administrators who have some pretty definitive perceptions about the importance of addressing issues of cultural diversity either because they have thought about it to some extent or have not thought about it at all. In any case, an identifiable promotion or neglect of the issues of cultural diversity can be perceived in their principles and practices. The administrators described in this chapter, however, have not been placed into that typology. They appear to be currently working out their thoughts which might in the future take on more definitive stances similar to some cells in the typology.

The administrative behavior in this context, referred to in the language of grounded theory as the "negative instances" of the typology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), does not totally "fit" the typological criteria used to categorize contexts of administrative behavior. Because of this uniqueness, the behavior of these administrators may offer unique insights into what administrative decision making behavior entails when such value stances are initially being worked out. As Patton (1980) indicates, "Where patterns and trends have been identified, our understanding of those patterns and trends is

increased by considering the instances and cases that do not fit within the patterns" (p. 328).

These administrators talk about the principles and practices of idiosyncratic beings who are currently negotiating their intention for schools. They are experiencing to varying degrees continual conflicts, changes, and challenges. These administrators provide some insights into the justification, advocacy, and endorsement processes of those administrators who have already chosen to address issues of cultural diversity as well as of those who have reservations about doing so and, consequently to varying degrees, have chosen not to address issues of cultural diversity.

At the time of interview, these administrators were in the process of thinking through the issues of cultural diversity. Different from the administrators in the typology, these administrators were in the initial stages of formulating their perspectives on the issues. Most of them were working out their personal significance stance and had not yet reached the stage of making a decision on the collective orientation of their school community. In a sense, except for the one commonality of each currently thinking about the issues, and hence, each characterized by the absence of a formal statement on issues of cultural diversity in the school, these administrators do not really form a "group" as such. However, for purposes of this study, they, too, like those in the cells

in the typology, are temporarily labelled under one name. In this case, this group of administrators will be referred to as the **"Deciding" Context**.

Administrators in this context highlight, in particular, the very individualistic, and somewhat autonomous, nature of the administration process. Their one commonality, then, is that they have not yet made definite decisions on the importance of cultural diversity issues in their school lives. They are, however, currently involved in clarifying their stances on those issues for themselves and, in some cases, with some staff members. By getting a glimpse of how these administrators, consciously or unconsciously, are trying to make sense of their justification, advocacy, and endorsement stances, a clearer understanding of administrators' inward journey of examining values and intentions may be obtained.

Most administrators in this "deciding" context appear to be testing or experimenting with some aspect of multicultural and anti-racist education ideas. They may not even have contemplated whether giving their concepts a particular name is important. They are primarily concerned about grappling with the issues and making sense of the concepts for themselves. In a way, this can be described as a transition process (Perry, 1970) through which the administrators pass before making firm decisions about their practices relating to issues of cultural diversity.

THE PRINCIPLES OF PRACTICE

THE ADMINISTRATORS' JUSTIFICATIONS OF THEIR INTENTIONS

The administrators in this context highlight the variety of perspectives held regarding administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. For example, Martin, Marie, and Jean, like many immersion milieu administrators, are strong advocates of language immersion settings as one way of addressing issues of cultural diversity. Paul sees the language learning atmosphere in his triple track language school as an asset to learning about multicultural living and, like Philip in his triple track language setting, is focussed on having students "all get along" as one school. Lorraine and Ellen both work in schools that they describe as being culturally and racially homogeneous. Their concern is for the retention of the children's cultural identity as well as for the enhancement of their opportunities for justice, equality, and equity in mainstream society. Securing access and equality for his students, also, are prime priorities for Robert in his school. While Lloyd believes a focus on anti-racist education is necessary in all schools, Jerry, Rick, and Jim generally feel that no specific programming is necessary and that education as it exists can address issues which arise as they arise. Each of these administrators justify in uniquely idiosyncratic ways their developing intentions as they relate to addressing cultural diversity issues.

PROFILES OF THE ADMINISTRATORS IN THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT

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

Martin's intention encompasses the notion that bilingual education, in his case French Immersion Milieu programming, predisposes students to growth and development in becoming multicultural citizens. It creates an awareness and familiarity with "a broader, bigger world." Martin is convinced that for a bilingual person

the language in the immersion program opens up that whole component of that other culture, that other way of looking at things, that other way of analyzing, of looking at life. It adds rather than takes away. You're not losing anything. You're gaining. That's the basic task of the school, to provide the child with the kinds of experiences that are going to add to their knowledge, their way of understanding the world around them, their way of relating and dealing with the world around them. French Immersion becomes a positive factor in students' lives in terms of being more accepting of others who are different from oneself.

Working in a predominantly White anglophone middle-class neighborhood, he is cognizant of forthcoming changes which he believes will impact on the community as a result of immigration patterns. "As a school," he says, "we need to be preparing children for the world that they're going to live in and we know that that will be a multicultural world." Attitudes towards that world will vary he suggests:

We can look at it in two ways. We can look at it as a threat which a lot of people do or we can look at it as a source of enrichment which, as far as I'm concerned, not enough people do. I guess the role of the school in that respect is to try and work in that message that we can all learn from each other. We can all enrich each other. We can all grow together regardless of what our background might be. And maybe the Immersion school, the fact that we have Anglophone children studying French-Canadian culture is an ideal. 'Bi' is better than 'mono' and 'multi' is better than 'bi'. The world they're going to be living in is not going to be 'mono'. For years and years, we've been talking about the 'global village' and people sort of use that term a lot perhaps not realizing that

it's coming a lot faster than we think it's coming and that the 'global village' doesn't mean being in close contact with people in Malawi. It means Malawians living here among us. We might say, 'I can get along well with Africans. We write letters to a school in Africa. We have pen-pals.' Those are comfortable aspects of the global village. The less comfortable aspects of the global village are ones like "That family I used to write to is now living next door to me." They come in and they have different ways of being, different ways of doing things, different values than my own, a different religion, and a different language. If I can't accept that multiplicity, that diversity that exists in a community, then my life is going to be pretty hard and it's going to create friction.

In Martin's opinion, schools have a role to play in addressing issues of cultural diversity. "Schools," he points out, "tend not to do enough in the direction of being proactive in looking for the richness in that diversity rather than viewing it as a threat or menace." He elaborates on the fear of "difference" people have:

The notion of 'menace' has always been around any time groups have mixed throughout the entire history of mankind. We've been invading and beating each other up for millenia and rejecting the one who is 'different' from ourselves. There have always been people who have said that we should not do that and try to take a more positive approach to it but it seems that we tend to shy away from that which is too different from ourselves and this threat or fear brings the notion of menace.

Most of Martin's professional life has been devoted to working on aspects of professional development with teachers and he currently sees a role in starting to raise issues of cultural diversity with teachers. Relating his interpretation of teacher empowerment to his leadership influence, he speaks of facilitating experiences at his school:

The teacher has to remain in control. The teacher has to be consulted. The teachers make decisions about their classrooms. I think you need to have that decision making power...If you're going to have some effect on the people that you're working with in education, then I think the school is the place to do it. You can do that as a teacher and you can do that as a principal...With an issue like racism, as an administrator, you have to start thinking about what are some of the steps that you have to put in place to begin that process. I think it starts basically by reflecting on and making decisions about the issue and the problem.

Although he works in the absence of any formal statement about cultural

diversity at the school, Martin speaks of having "teachers buy into" the decision to work on such a process.

Marie			
<u>SCHOOL TYPE</u>		<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
K-6	French Immersion Milieu	Suburban city	Yes

Marie, also a French Immersion administrator but in a more culturally and socio-economically diverse community than Martin, is one such administrator who has chosen to take some initial steps in what she names as "multicultural" and "anti-racist" education. She shares with Martin the conviction that by virtue of the nature of French Immersion programming, issues of cultural diversity are being intuitively addressed.

Marie explains its impact on attitude development:

French Immersion is an opening of the mind to something other than what your own family or culture is used to and if you're open to that first step, then you generally are going to say, 'That's right. French is good; Black is good; the learning of a second language is good; and any of these differences are enriching rather than detrimental.'

From the time she was a teenager, Marie recounts that she has been inclined to think about the issues of diversity--once writing a paper on the topic 'Is Tolerance better than Understanding?' and concluding that tolerance is too narrow a word "but if you understand people and their background, then you would just accept them as equals and peers." Involved in women's and equality issues, Marie says her understanding of others and of "loving your neighbor" has come from her church which she still attends and admits that this is "quite unusual for her age group, educational level, and group of 'yuppy' friends". She insists that the French Immersion experience broadens students' views and this is in keeping with her Catholic convictions. Multicultural and anti-racism

ideas "go right along with that theory and philosophy".

More specifically, Marie has taken the initiative to integrate into the Immersion programming direct attention to the issues of racism. She explains that

even if you have a school that hasn't got the 'problem', you are really preparing students to be Canadian citizens and they have to go out there and they have to be able to vote and think in a responsible manner towards others. So if we say, 'Well, we have no problem so we have no work to do in that area', I think we're just sticking our heads in the sand. I don't think education is just what's in the book.

"This", Marie confirms, "was what I talked about when I presented the anti-racism material to the staff." She believes she has the leadership influence and responsibility to develop a staff orientation in this regard stating:

I think before you go ahead with something it's important to do consciousness raising to make people realize what the situation is and then say, 'OK this is a problem. Now what are we going to do about it?' rather than telling them, 'Here's what we should do Here's what we must do. Here's the way to go.' It's more like 'Here's a problem. It's our problem'. I also try to bring that in saying: 'It's our problem . We're in this and what are we going to do about it?'

Jean			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
K-6	French Immersion Milieu	Inner city	Yes

Although also a French Immersion administrator in a diverse community, the collective, whole school plan which Marie proposes is not one upon which Jean plans to embark in his school. He chooses a more individualistic approach to diversity issues. There is a sense of a potential risk-resistance dynamic which makes Jean somewhat uneasy as he states:

If I have something to say to the staff, I'd rather do it individually or in small groups. This way you can predict the reaction if something will

happen because you know your staff well...I've learned over the years that you can't force things on people. If you force it, then their heart is not in it and it doesn't work.

The certainty, however, with which Jean views the benefits of French Immersion programming to a culturally diverse society appears strong. In addition to acknowledging that segments of multicultural and anti-racist programs are welcomed in his school by some, he espouses the inherent merits and hopes of bilingual programming per se in accomplishing the objectives necessary. He asserts:

Kids from French Immersion will be able to appreciate another culture because they're learning a language of another culture and they're having a bird's eye view of what their culture is. By doing that, they're probably open to other cultures and the little bit of multiculturalism that we do at the class level should prepare them to be able to accept other people as they are...The children in French Immersion, I am sure, will not later on in life call the French 'frogs'. I can't see children being racist if they've been in a program like this.

Jean cites his own bilingualism as the reason he feels so comfortably "at home" in this setting. He reinforces the advantages which immersion programming offers to people living in culturally diverse society by recalling a speaker he once heard saying: 'For a bilingual child when he sees the picture of a house, this child's got two words for that. The unilingual only has one.' Jean concludes, "any language learning opens horizons".

Paul			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
7-9	Triple Track Language	Rural	No

Primarily concerned about students becoming creative, lifelong learners who are exposed to a variety of academic and cultural experiences, Paul is confident that offering three language programs in

his school is accomplishing goals related to cultural diversity. He explains:

We're a multicultural school and I think it's important that we promote that in our schools...We promote staff communication in French as much as possible and in Ukrainian as much as possible...I think the idea of a triple-track language school fits well with broadening educational experiences because a triple track student is studying in three languages.

For Paul growing up in a home where he learned two languages, the value of language learning cannot be overestimated. Particularly because the school community is quite homogenous, Paul foresees that the triple track language experience in school will contribute to students' living harmoniously in a cultural diverse society. He claims that

students in this school have the advantage of realizing that out there, when they leave this community, they will see a diverse population in terms of ethnic backgrounds. They have to understand that English is not the only language that is used. They learn that French and Ukrainian and other languages are important, too. They mix a lot. I think there is the awareness right in the school and the understanding that we are a multicultural world; the understanding that Paris or Kiev is only as far as a few hours of flight by jet; and the understanding that all of these things make us truly Canadian.

Reflecting on the changes from a unilingual to a trilingual program which have occurred during his time as administrator in the school, Paul describes how he orients his staff to accept diversity within the school stating:

I always keep saying 'We remember that word, triple track school. We're a whole school with all three languages. No one thing is more important than the other.' We would treat it as something important if concerns arose because of that. I don't think it's ever going to be an issue, not before I retire anyway...You won't necessarily see who is the principal here but we also understand that we are a team here and the leadership comes from the administration.

More directly, Paul describes how he can use his leadership influence to make issues important or unimportant at the school:

If I feel it's an issue our school should know about, I'll promote it. Now, if it's a poster that I feel, 'Hey, I'm not going to make this a big

deal,' I'll screen it and throw it there in the garbage. But if I feel it's an issue that's not going to hurt the school, I'll promote it.

<u>Phil</u>		
<u>SCHOOL TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
K-6 Triple Track Language	Suburban city	Yes

Promoting the need for everyone to "get along well" in his culturally diverse triple track language school with a large number of students for whom English is their second language, Phil finds himself offering the following caution:

We need to constantly be reminding ourselves and the other kids that this is a very unique school and that there are groups of kids here from all over the world, many of whom speak differently and look differently and have different customs and cultural backgrounds. We have to try to be aware of and celebrate those differences rather than using them as opportunities to act inappropriately with one another.

As he recounts his experience in an overseas multi-language track school, he expresses his concern over the divisiveness he witnessed when different groups within a school "forget that they are part of whole and use too much of their energy trying to do what is unique to the need of their group."

Phil expresses a desire for "harmony" conceding that cultural diversity is something that we're probably all going to experience more and more as the world shrinks in size and people move from one continent to another, one culture to another. That makes me feel good about the cultural diversity here or the cultural differences that exist here in our school. We have a unique opportunity to try and promote those things as being positive.

The leadership influence to promote "positive things" appears to be directed at general areas of staff relations as he indicates:

I have a lot of indirect impact on the student body. The teachers have the direct impact so my impact is probably a step removed. If I have a good impact on what the teachers are doing, on what they're feeling, and what they're thinking, then I suspect that that's one of the contributions

that I can make to having the children have a good experience...I think it's absolutely imperative that there be a good working relationship between the administrator and the staff. To me that's the most important thing in the school because if that works well, the chances of there being success with the kids and good relations with the community are extremely high. It is for me the prerequisite to the specifics of programming.

It is on developing such a collective orientation with staff toward designing mission statements and defining goals, which do not necessarily focus much attention on issues of cultural diversity, that Phil appears to concentrate his attention at this point in time.

Lorraine			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
K-9	English/Heritage Language	Rural	No

With emphasis on keeping the integrity of her students' cultural attributes in tact, Lorraine is concerned about the cultural and academic needs of her students in her very homogeneous school community. She asserts:

Part of what these kids need is to value their culture, look at the positive in it, and build on the strengths of that culture. We don't want to upset their cultural community's whole society and beliefs. They're losing a lot of their language skills, too, because they're not using the language as much anymore and that frightens them. Part of their whole culture is tied to that language and they're losing it...Our responsibility is to give them enough thinking skills to be able to stretch their minds to look at the possibilities.

Lorraine's attention to justice in opportunities for access and outcomes, she believes, stems from her family's early experiences where there is a history of fleeing to Canada. She reflects on the detrimental effects of stereotyping and discriminatory practices which have been lived out by those thought to be "different" from the mainstream. She relates:

My Dad who was sixteen got put in a grade one class because he couldn't speak English. How humiliating that was! He quit...When your parents

were viewed as different in their young years, it sensitizes you when you work with a culture that's different.

That sensitization prompts Lorraine to suggest that we need to

bring more people to different settings, let them look and insist that they lay aside all their pre-conceived ideas and look at the kids...They just have different values and often we don't value what their values are.

It is essential, Lorraine insists, to use leadership influence to raise awareness about the injustices, inequities, exclusion, and disrespect inherent in these discriminatory practices. Alerting colleagues to action against apathy in this regard is a prime objective for Lorraine as she indicates with some frustration:

The discussion on discrimination and racism is occurring all the time...People are choosing to ignore it. If you look for it, it's in the media every day of the week nearly...It comes across educators' desks everyday. I must have received three things last week from the Department of Education...If you look for it, it's there. If you choose not to look at racism, discrimination, cultural values; if you choose to throw it in the garbage; then that's what you choose to do. It's a choice for every single person to make it. In the school system, it's there for the Principal to make or to not to make.

Ellen			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
N-6	English	Inner city	No

Ellen, it appears, would have little difficulty disagreeing with Lorraine's statement. She speaks about her personal experience of being a "Native person" and experiencing discrimination and racism as a consequence of "who" she is as "different" from the mainstream. In her professional life, working in a fairly homogenous community, she witnesses "Native kids experiencing racism". Poverty is a major concern as well. Ellen, however, is quick to point out that "I always say to people that being poor and having all these difficulties doesn't necessarily mean that

it's part of a certain culture but when you're poor, you get into a culture of poverty." Concerned about promoting justice and equality in her school, she says:

We've spent an awful lot of time considering the confidence level of the kids, their own perception of themselves, and paying some attention to what they're experiencing and trying to do something about that. Everyone's entitled to an education and to their individuality.

Ellen insists that a balanced approach to cultural preservation and to integration into the mainstream is essential because the students will be required to live in both worlds, the one of their own culture and the integrated world. She suggests that a focus on cultural preservation may be necessary to precede integration:

Kids need to be able to have the cultural background for their identity and own personal strength. There's some strong values in my roots and it's those things that we need to preserve. We don't need the trappings. It's the same as religion. Some people need the trappings of the artefacts and ceremonies as a way of reminding them. The rituals are important in any situation even just something as simple as your morning coffee and a shower. But everybody needs a spiritual base, a belief that they as a person have value and have validity in any setting...Integration is not a comfortable thing unless you have built up the skills to deal with it. If you're a hurting person and you're dealing with all kinds of things, integration is hard. The feelings have to happen first by coming to terms with yourself and what you want for yourself and how you fit into things. If you've dealt with a lot of those things and you're settled within yourself and you're comfortable with yourself as a person, then integration is fine.

Ellen perceives that as an administrator, she works for the school and the school doesn't work for her. Using her leadership influence to act as a "facilitator", "co-ordinator", and a "supporter", she says, "My job is to get the ideas out of staff, put them down on paper, get the resources that we need to get it done, and then go on."

Robert			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
10-12	English	Inner city	Yes

Working in a highly culturally, academically, and socio-economically diverse school community, Robert's intention for his school has much in common with Ellen's. His drive for justice in terms of opportunity, access, and outcomes for his students takes into account his particular understanding of "inclusiveness" in the term "culture". That is,

it covers more than just Black, White, or Red. It's a culture of the disadvantaged; a culture of people who have failed; it's a culture of people who don't feel that there has been success for the people that they've worked with and lived with in a lot of cases. So they don't necessarily feel that there's success in their future. They have to actually do successful things to learn that there is success.

While attempting to provide programming which recognizes in particular the Native culture, Robert like Ellen, is very focussed on providing "redress" programs which will empower the students to live life successfully beyond the school setting. "Our priority", he says,

is literacy to bring their academics up to a point where they can really make use of them and go into society and live some kind of a productive, useful life. Logically, we want to get every one of our students involved in the work force...We're not proposing that one group has any special status. We're hoping that everybody can work together. But, our goal, our top priority, is to get people exposed to employment; get them out on jobs; get them a little better equipped to compete and not capital 'c' compete like run out there and fight for jobs but to feel, in their own mind, that they have a right to try that, that they have the right to be there.

Recounting his own youth characterized by "poverty and welfare", Robert cites the way in which he uses his leadership influence with students and staff to make his students' lives better. He explains:

I care about them and that's what I want them to continue to feel because our kids in this school have been kicked around a lot. They have not got a lot of respect for authority. They do not have a lot of respect for the

notion that 'if you work hard, everything is going to be okay.' They don't have a lot of background and history that show that that's the way life treats them and so they need some people who are willing to say, 'We're going to stand behind you'...They see the principal as a fairly strong figure there. These kids really believe the principal has a lot of power...If they see the Principal as somebody who really is ready to sit down and listen to them and care about them and reach out to them, then that changes the notion of power from one who can decide your fate to one who can really assist you. These kids have seen the other power. They see it all the time and they mistrust it. They don't like the police. They don't like bosses. They don't like people who run the housing authorities. They don't even necessarily get along or have a respect for their chiefs or their parents or teachers because they've grown into a sense of feeling that they've seen power misused to hurt them or to hurt their people. Now, everytime they run across people who don't use power that way, then you really notice how they come alive...

We try and gear our program to take them through successful things. If they like the teacher, they'll work. They need more than anybody to be able to have someone they trust; that they think really cares about them; that they'll spend time with because they're important as a person. They won't do anything unless they like you and they think you care about them. If our teachers don't do that, they haven't done anything.

Lloyd			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
N-6	English	Inner city	Yes

Care at Lloyd's school is paramount as well. One of the few rules there is "Please take good care of each other". To a significant extent, Lloyd believes that better care will occur for students and society if educators scrutinize more intensely the concepts of schooling, education and cultural diversity. Having himself been in his estimation "well-schooled" to move through the system but not that "well-educated" to challenge the acceptance of some principles in society, Lloyd is concerned about developing a wholistic approach to education where teachers and students do not get locked into "absolutes and prescriptive answers" to learning. Further, because of the diversity in his school, Lloyd recommends that

our programming and our responses have to be somewhat different. It's very, very important that we value differences. It's very important that we also look for similarities. I often hope that if we do our job well in this school, as teachers, in terms of making this a good place for people by valuing each other, by axiom, we value their culture.

More specifically, Lloyd promotes what he refers to as a "shift in paradigms" from status-quo traditional educational agendas to "asking the right questions" using an anti-racist approach to education. In attempting to clarify differences between "anti-racist" and "multicultural" education, it is his contention that

anti-racist education is what we need to be about. Multicultural education is a public exhibit and it's not much more than that. I think it's a facade, not that there's not a place for it. Maybe you have to have that first because what that does is it prepares the table before the main course. Maybe that's what multicultural education does but the main course has to be anti-racist education. We can't move from the setting of the table all the way to dessert and often we do that...We make public claims that we are doing a good job of addressing issues, racist issues. The evidence we're giving is: 'Look at what we're doing multiculturally. Look at all the programs and initiatives we have in place like the posters, the expenses.' The department of education will pay for all that stuff. We go through all that...

Anti-racist education is what we need to be about and that means sitting down with community leaders. It's not just a school system's obligation. It's much more than that. We need to be prepared to ask those right questions and then to invest and take the risk of really having to bleed a bit. We're going to have to bleed on this one. It won't come without a cost because of the long, long history with not the best of records in North America on anti-semitic and racial issues.

As Lloyd considers his proposition, he acknowledges the influence of the administrator in making things happen in schools. He asserts:

I think the character of the school is very much the principal. In this school, the principal is key. Now, there's a problem with that. Some day, I will leave this school and I will take the key with me. I mean you have to respect that piece in all of this but understand clearly that what you're going to get in a school has a great, great deal to do with who you put there to lead that school. The principal is the most important individual position in the building. The most important work is not done by the principal. The most important work is done by the teachers and the children. But the most important position and the most important single representative of what a school is about is the principal. I should hope the principal does the facilitating so that the important work gets done and is recognized as important work...Some days I do that very well and

some days I don't do it well at all and I know that.

Jerry			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
K-6	English	Suburban city	No

Jerry would appear to have little argument with Lloyd's interpretation of the power of the principal in the school.

Principals dictate the flavour of the school. When I say 'dictate', I don't mean in a disparaging way. We do have an impact on the school. Also the discretionary judgment of principals is fairly broad and as long as I have money in the petty cash account, I could say to the teacher wishing to work on equality issues, 'Here's \$500. How's that as a start to buy materials, posters, or whatever you want?' So we do have some discretionary power to assign money. I have to try to judge if what we're doing in the school is good for the kids...I like, if possible, to steer staff in the direction I feel the school should be going and I do have an intention of what we should be doing. I have my views on society and that probably comes through with the staff.

In addition to focussing on academics, Jerry feels that it is important to stress the notion of "getting along" with his students. He explains that by the way he teaches and deals with his staff and students, he emphasizes "accepting one another and being kind to one another". These values are particularly significant to him because of his experiences of being ridiculed for his religious beliefs by relatives in the British Isles and then coming to Canada and living with a "Ukrainian" family which was very accepting of him. In his homogenous school community, he enintentions that

students need to learn to work well with people of mixed backgrounds. I'm hoping what we are going to do is we're going to send children out of this school who are mutually more respectful of each other and happy about who they are and what they represent as they move out of here...We talk about getting on well together here at the site but also as a lifeskill that they use within our society in general and later on in life.

Rick			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
K-8	English	Suburban city	Yes

Similarly, the important work as Rick sees it in his culturally diverse community is also focussing on the theme of "getting along with other people, living together, and being of service to other people." He attributes his perspective to the ideals of his religious faith. In analyzing his school, Rick conveys, "one of our goals is to create a community to be open and to really promote the ideas of sharing and communal living. So when we talk about cultural diversity, that's a part of it."

Although cultural diversity issues appear to be subsumed under categorical concerns regarding "harmonious relations", Rick raises some very specific concerns in the area of cultural diversity:

If we could get over the bigotries and our fighting between founding nations and if we started looking after the Native people and if we can open the doors to other nationalities and say, 'Come on in. You can maintain the mosaic in the sense of bringing the richness that you've got from your culture', we could show the rest of the world that we can live together. I'm not going to be foolish and think that there isn't going to be any problems along the way. I guess it scares me when I read the papers and see what's going on in Germany and places like that. They don't know the other group so they think there's something wrong with them and then react negatively to that group...Somehow cultural assimilation to me is scary. I guess there are some people who are afraid they're going to lose something. My sense is that something greater will come along out of it.

How these particular thoughts might impact on Rick's school is, as yet, unclear. Speaking of the influence holds as administrator, he says,

I have a management team and I pick different people each year. It rotates so everybody gets a bit of being involved in management. It's less likely that people are going to complain when they end up every five years being part of the "problems".

Jim			
<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
7-12	English	Suburban city	Yes

In a fashion not unlike Rick's, Jim also shys away from any specific commitment to naming how he might address issues of cultural diversity directly. His objectives in this regard appear to be subsumed under the generalized category of "citizenship". He comments:

I haven't had a sense that we necessarily are just looking inward at our school and saying we have cultural diversity here, therefore we must provide programs to make everyone feel comfortable and wanted. I get the sense that we're doing it as citizens of the world and that we ought to be tolerant; we ought to be broadminded.

Jim believes that his exposure to people from a variety of cultural backgrounds when he was a child and that his extensive travel experiences have impacted on his perspectives. He thinks it is important that people have a broader, more global view of society. "From an intellectual perspective," he states,

I suppose what we're doing is trying to get the children to realize that they're part of a world community. We know that the children we teach are going to become influential members of their society and it's very important that they have global view values.

Jim expresses some concerns about the habits human beings have of stereotyping people. He uses his leadership influence to convince staff to address that issue in particular. He relates, "I impress upon my staff that September should always be a clean slate for a child. Don't categorize them in terms of what they did in June. Always give them a fresh start."

REFLECTION: THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT

The intentions and justifications regarding issues of

cultural diversity about which administrators in this context talk are still in the process of development.

To a degree, some of the thoughts like those of Marie mirror perspectives on cultural diversity held by Cummins & Denesi (1990). That is that

racial intolerance and systemic discrimination against minority groups are seen, at one level of our consciousness, as American issues that are not problematic in the Canadian context. The celebration of multiculturalism in its superficial aspects has contributed to two potentially false views of Canadian society: (a) that we have always been tolerant and open towards minorities, and (b) that currently there is little or no discrimination against minorities in Canadian institutions. The reality is that Canadian belief systems and institutional structures (including schools) have always been just as racist as those in other western countries and institutional discrimination against minorities on the basis of race, language, and culture continues to exist, although in less overt form than in previous times (p. 21).

With respect to the nature of Canadian society and to the schooling and education which occurs within it, some initial priority themes are surfacing for these administrators.

Some of these administrators talk about engaging in developing some type of total school plan in relation to addressing the issues while others talk about "adding on" isolated segments of programming to the existing school program. Although these administrators have no public statements regarding cultural diversity in their schools, they do talk about some of their advocacy and endorsement behaviors which include varying degrees of attention to cultural diversity issues. Their talk about these behaviors is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 11

THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT: ADVOCACY AND ENDORSEMENT

In this context, although administrators are primarily justifying and making sense of the issues for themselves more so than they are trying to make sense of them for others, they are doing a degree of advocating. Much less energy appears to be devoted to the endorsement process in this context. Although some efforts are directed at exerting leadership influence to bring attention to issues of cultural diversity, coordinated staff development in this regard does not occur in relation to cultural diversity issues. Public statements, which do not include cultural diversity issues as a feature, and schooling formats, which vary in their attention to cultural diversity issues, reflect a context where decisions on addressing issues of cultural diversity are yet in the process of being made.

In a way, the behavior of administrators in this context is similar to that of the "voiced" context because they all attach a degree of personal significance to explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity. In a way, also, the behavior of these administrators reflects that of the "considered" context in that there is no collective orientation established to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity and there is no public statement in relation to these issues. In a way, there is a similarity to the "silenced" context because there are reservations for some

administrators about addressing the issues explicitly, and in a way, there is a similarity to the "ignored" context in that many of these administrators also talk about their engagement with areas of specialty in their schools. Discussing the behavior of administrators in the deciding context can serve as a representative summary of the varieties of administrative behaviors in culturally diverse contexts about which administrators in this study spoke.

COMMUNICATING PRINCIPLES OF PRACTICE: ADVOCACY PHASE I
PRIORITIES: HARMONY, JUSTICE, CHANGE

There are some identifiable themes which describe what these administrators might work on advocating as priorities. Harmony, justice, and change are the most significant of these.

Harmony is an important priority for these administrators. "Respect", "appreciation", and "getting along" are on the harmony wish list of almost all administrators in this study when it comes to verbalizing stances on cultural diversity. The strategies of accomplishing such objectives might be passive or active. From a passive stance, Jim, like many administrators in this study and particularly like those in the "considered", "silenced", and "ignored" contexts, lives with the assumption that respect is innately present in the way his school operates and, therefore, states simply that

if it's someone with a different colour, or a different hairstyle, or different something, that fundamental respect is

just there. It's not a nag; it's not harped on. We don't do that. It's simply the reality of the place.

To some degree, Lloyd is of the same mind saying that "we value the children. I'm hoping that that somehow transfers into valuing each culture."

From a more active stance, for Jerry, who says, "I certainly think it's very important to encourage kids irrespective of their background to get along with one another", the notion of 'mingling' with others is perceived to be synonymous with harmony as it is for many in the "considered", "silenced", and "ignored" contexts. Phil makes some overt attempts to ensure this fusion at his triple track occurs and he describes efforts to do so:

We want to try and create experiences for kids to mix and mingle with people of different cultural backgrounds. Given the complexity of the population that we're serving, we do have a unique opportunity to help kids learn to appreciate differences rather than be afraid of them; to see that as a positive thing; something we can all learn and grow from as opposed to 'because it's different, it's probably 'bad'' kind of an attitude.

For Martin like for many in the "voiced" context, living in harmony includes an appreciation for the value of language learning. In his estimation, enhancing language learning attitudes and acquiring language as a social tool may assist in the quest for "getting along" in a changing world. He suggests that

it's very much a North American phenomenon not to learn other languages...The world's not getting any bigger. It's getting smaller and we're all getting closer to each other. We'd better learn to live with each other and if we can speak each other's language, that's a plus.

Currently, developing interpersonal and international skills appears to be the core of the harmony agenda in this context. Over time, it may come to resemble more the respect or the adaptability priorities of the "voiced" concept or the "diffusion" priority of the "silenced" context.

Justice appears to be surfacing as a priority for some of these administrators as it is for many in the "voiced" context. "I view Canadian society", observes Jerry, "as basically fairly wholesome but there are lots of things that need to be redressed." Many of the administrators in this study perceive that one step in achieving justice and equality for all may actually be initiated by dislodging the stereotypes about those "different from us". That task, Martin submits, is not a new one:

You have to look at the history of mankind. There's always been that fear of what is very different from ourselves, those who are very different from ourselves, and the relationship has been either dominator or dominee. It tends not to be a relationship of equals.

Specifically, Lloyd points out that it is in his view the Aboriginal community which is most identifiable in struggling with the perpetuation of these circumstances of domination, disenfranchisement, and dispossession. Relating the societal injustices of unequal power relations to issues of schooling, he states:

The Aboriginal leadership is starting to ask a lot of questions about whether or not mainstream education, or mainstream schooling, has looked after only a very small portion of the community, an intelligentsia or an economically and socially more successful group of kids and families who have gone on and schooled their kids in their belief system

and their value system and left a lot of other cultures and a lot of other communities with less representation, with less opportunity, and almost without any empowerment to participate as successfully in the school system as I was able to because I subscribed to those features of the day and my family did. It was easier for me to participate than it would be for the Aboriginal community that I serve today.

Similar reflection on the power differential to equal opportunities, access, and outcomes has led Robert to the conviction that

education is probably the key to equality. I really support education that allows kids to go on to post high school training. That hasn't been denied to Native students but it hasn't been easily accessible. Our Native population does not have a lot of success. Students don't see themselves, in general, as potentially having great chances for success.

Building success into programming is a prime objective for Robert.

When this priority is emphasized, there is a focus on developing enabling strategies which empower students to have some control over their marginalized lives so they can move from victim to victor status in a system which often does not work in their favor. For that reason, many of these administrators are making attempts to consciously factor inclusivity and justice concerns into the everyday life of their schools.

Change as a priority permeates both the harmony and the justice theme for most of the administrators in this context as it does in the "voiced" context. A significant amount of reflection on its demographic, ideological, and social dimensions occurs. "This is a changing society, a rapidly changing society and issues that weren't issues fifteen years

ago are now and you can't bury your head in the sand," says Paul. Change, as perceived by most of these administrators, has altered thinking about language, demographics, and power relations in society and schools. When Paul says, "We noticed the tremendous changes that our school had to undergo when we introduced the French Immersion program and the Ukrainian Bilingual program", he is not alone in responding to the ensuing challenges and conflicts.

Martin has little difficulty accepting the fact that the composition of society has changed to a "more culturally mixed population coming particularly from visible minority backgrounds". In his analysis, he notes the tensions which are often associated with such change:

Right away that raises a lot of issues. It's real and it's here and we need to think about what the implications are for schools. Multiculturalism in Canada and its multicultural or culturally diverse communities exist all over the place in this country. People are not coming to Canada anymore with the idea that they want to blend in and be assimilated. They're coming to Canada with the idea that it's a good place, it's a good country with many possibilities. One of those possibilities is that 'I can maintain my cultural values and my cultural beliefs at least to some extent.' But that will raise a lot of hackles in a lot of people. I mean we all see what happens with the turbans and the RCMP. People who couldn't care less about the RCMP or anything else all of a sudden made a big mountain out of this thing. All of a sudden it's really important. I mean you have to ask yourself the question: "So what?"

It basically boils down to the question of accepting change because Canadian society, our society, is changing very quickly. The composition of that society is also changing. The change is in the fact that we can no longer say that we are a White predominantly Anglo-Saxon society in western Canada. We're not. That component is still there and it's very important, very big, but there are a lot of other groups who are coming into play and who are saying, 'Yes, we want to be Canadians but we want to also maintain some of our beliefs and values and so on, some of those very basic things that I

believe in. 'Don't take away from me my Islamic being. Don't try to negate the fact that I'm a different colour than yourself. Don't take away from me my Oriental philosophy.'...In society it's difficult to accept that 'my' way is no longer the 'only' way or the 'main' way or 'the' way that everyone aspires to even. That creates tension.

That tension, that conflict, Martin continues, prompts for him specific analysis of the relationship between school and society:

In the paper, I was reading a comment of a provincial Minister who was suggesting that the Atlantic provinces should separate from Canada and become an independent country because the way Canada is going, it's becoming a country of aliens. I read that and said, 'A country of aliens!?' People who are not, I assume, what he meant was, 'White upper-middle class Anglo-Saxon and Franco-Canadian' because 'Now, you've got Asians, Africans.' He mentioned those groups in particular. In schools we have to ask: 'How prevalent is that attitude?' and 'How, as a school are we preparing children for the world that they're are going to have to live in?'

The attendant conflicts that are perceived in such intentions, deliberations, and realities, these conflicts particularly perceived by the mainstream dominant society, which highlight issues of power permeate the entire discussion in this study.

Like Martin, asking "the right" questions about schools, society, and values is indeed what Lloyd believes should be the school's agenda in making changes. These questions essentially become ones of power and power relations for Lloyd. There has to be a "resolve", he insists, to create a "whole shift in paradigm" where we develop a "basic set of trusts, of principles" and, he proposes,

to do that, we have to begin to ask some difficult questions. Questions like, 'Why is it that the Aboriginal community has not been able to participate successfully in public school education? What's gone wrong? What are the issues that we haven't addressed?' To me, it's a critical question for this

community. 'Are we examining and are we responding effectively to our new Canadians, to our immigrant communities? Or are we more likely to create, not intentionally of course, a number of barriers, a number of impasses for communities outside those that have access?'

Unjust power differentials between the mainstream dominant society and the less powerful "Other" sectors of society is a recurring concern for some administrators in this study while for others, it appears to be totally inconsequential.

Similarly, there are divergent views from administrators in this study on redress initiatives. In the "deciding" context and in the "voiced" context, redress as justice in the struggle for equality is concretized by some administrators as opportunities for access and outcomes to full and equal participation in society by all. Shifts in consciousness brought about by reflection, by analysis, is what Lorraine recommends is necessary if individuals, schools, and the larger society are to live constructively and justly in the "changing world". She asserts:

Self-reflection makes you have to think about what you're about. That's tough for lots of people. That's tough for lots of administrators. Administrators, as a whole, like to talk about all their accomplishments not what they don't know. They find it very hard to open up and brainstorm about just 'What if? What if I try this idea on you and then you re-think it and maybe you will change your idea and you can feed it back to me and maybe I'll change my idea? Let's just see how to rethink that from another perspective.'...There's lots of things I don't know and if you give me some information, I may change my whole first notion about that and that's the only way I can grow.

Life-long learning to nurture this growth is advocated by many in this study, particularly in the "voiced" context. Lamenting the lack of interchange and collaborative dialogue,

as part of that growth, Lorraine underscores its repercussions as she points out "We've been doing this 'racism', 'discrimination', 'women's issues' for years. We're not that much further ahead. I don't think there's much understanding." Understanding and change, she contends, will only occur if people "leave all the stereotypes behind".

Reflection on concepts of change to ensure inclusivity, justice, equality, and respect as opposed to ensuring conformity to ways of the past becomes a source of conflict for many administrators in this context as it is in the "voiced" context. Further, many voice the opinion that reflection itself as a process of self-analysis should be occurring at both systemic and personal levels. Often that means coming to terms with ever-present conflicting ideologies and emotions which tend to surface more prominently as a consequence of change and the analysis of it.

REFLECTION: PRIORITIES COMMUNICATED IN THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT

In comparing this context to those in the typology, it appears that the advocated priorities of justice, equality, and change resemble most closely the priorities in the "voiced" context while aspects of the harmony theme are found in the other three contexts. Administrators in this context vary in the degree to which they support each and all these priorities. While some think about engaging their whole staff in addressing some of the issues framed by the priorities, others give little indication that any such explicit

initiative would be imminent in their schools. Each administrator appears to be negotiating her/his own unique advocacy stances toward issues of cultural diversity.

MONITORING THE PRINCIPLES OF PRACTICE: ADVOCACY PHASE II ASSESSMENT AND ORIENTATION

Because administrators in the "deciding" context are primarily concerned with clarifying their personal intentions for themselves, monitoring in the form of assessment and orientation with others is not intensive. From the talk of administrators, it appears that the assessment process receives more attention at this stage of intention development related to cultural diversity issues than does orientation.

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS, COMMUNITY, AND SCHOOL

These administrators are examining, to some extent, the place of cultural diversity issues in their school. To that end, they review their perceptions of the concepts, of the community, and of the school in relation to these issues.

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS

Many of these administrators are broadening, redefining, or refining definitions and meanings of cultural diversity in ways that make sense to them in the context of their school. These definitions, as is common in the "voiced" context, often also include references to socio-economic, gender, ability, and language-usage factors as inseparable dynamics of cultural diversity issues.

In broadening meanings, some of the intricacies embodied

in the conceptualizations of cultural diversity issues are assessed by these administrators. Jerry, for instance, speaks about race and gender as if they were interrelated saying:

I think it is good for the kids to be taught that racism is something that we should be avoiding and discouraging and that young ladies in this school should be encouraged in science, computers and technology...So I'm very happy that one of the teachers is showing interest and that, perhaps, the computer will not only be associated with boys.

For Lloyd a connection between culture and class is evident as he delineates:

We're struggling with communities that are economically disadvantaged also clashing in cultural diversity and often one leads to the other. I'm not sure which is which but I can guess that often it's the fact that there's so much poverty that it creates another venue for racial kinds of altercations to grow out of that.

Recognizing the complexities of such conceptualizations of the cultural diversity concept while clarifying that in her view the two factors should not be categorically linked, Ellen relates:

We find, very often, that families are forced to move because of family circumstance, because of poor housing and other factors connected with poverty. I don't think it has a whole lot to do with what race the people are from. I think it has a lot to do with socio-economic circumstances.

Further, ability "differences" for Jim and Lorraine are assessed as falling under the broad umbrella of cultural diversity. To Jim that means,

We want the school to be a place where, I suppose in modern terms, the 'nerd' or the 'geek' can feel comfortable. We don't see 'nerd' or 'geek' as a bad term in our school...Sometimes kids who are really gifted scholars can be in a school program and they're not admired by their peers. In fact, they're picked on by their peers. Here we value that scholastic achievement.

For Lorraine, understanding diversity in terms of ability is key to understanding diversity per se. She extends her conviction by suggesting that specific training for educators would be an asset in dealing constructively with cultural diversity. She explains her position:

A Special Education background is important. These people are more sensitive to children's and other people's needs. They learn to look at the positives of diversity...Resource teachers, for example, talk more about cultural diversity and how to blend these kids into the system without damaging their own self, their own culture, and their own identity. Their experience is so diverse and they have to look at the positive in every child in order to make progress. They build upon that more easily than someone who has not had that background. Diversity is their job on a daily basis. They look more closely at the person, at the child, and build the program around the child rather than looking at the program and building the child around the program.

Although herself not perceiving difference or diversity as a problem, Lorraine's comments are particularly instructive when difference is perceived as a problem. The basic Resource teacher's questions: "Whose problem is it?" and "Who owns the problem?" might well serve as the appropriate inquiry strategy in such situations. Rather than attempting to change the child to fit the program, it is considered advisable in collaborative resource work to change the program to fit the needs of the child. The responsibility for that change in behaviors then rests with the system not the individual; with the mainstream not the "Other"; and, some might say, with the perpetrator of the problem and injustice, not the victim. The "problem" might then become situated at the systemic rather than at the personal, interpersonal level.

Another area of assessment to which these administrators say they pay some attention is language usage. Because it can often reflect unequal power relations, it is a factor in how diversity is conceptualized. Sensitivity to the manner in which language is used in all the above-mentioned areas is part of the cultural diversity agenda for Jim. He maintains:

Education can have an impact on people regardless of their age in terms of how they use language to describe the world. I think that we use language to describe the world from a male perspective, or from a perspective of Christianity, or from a perspective of Judaism. I think language is important. I think we have to be reminded of that because so much of what we learn in our life probably comes from the small things that combine to form an attitude.

Further, he illustrates the process of embarking on some of re-conceptualizing, re-constructing, and re-structuring which he believes needs to occur:

We recently re-vamped our school handbook and some of the things we notice quickly and other things we're not sensitized to. So I hear a number of people read them and go through them and even after we adjust it three or four times, we look at it and say, 'There's another one. There's another one and another one!' because I don't think we're sensitized to it...I think sometimes when we say 'he' we mean 'he and she'...We have to be careful in our process because we want to get rid of gender bias if we can. I think that takes generations. I think it's that slow and daily information that comes in that forms our language habits.

As administrator, Jim believes he has influence on making a difference in how language is used. "It sometimes takes people like myself", he points out, "trying to make sure that when I speak to groups, I avoid gender bias."

In redefining meanings, it is concepts like "multiculturalism", "multicultural education", and "anti-racist education" which receive the most repeated attention in

the assessment phase of the monitoring process by these administrators. Some have conceptualized addressing cultural diversity in a manner similar to those in the "voiced" context with few reservations. On the other hand, similar to the "silenced" context, a number of administrators express concerns with some of the concepts inherent in such circumspection as they try to work through how cultural diversity fits into their intention for schools.

Particularly open to scrutiny is the specific concept of multiculturalism as it relates to Canadian multiculturalism and immigration policies. Some, like Martin, think "the whole idea of multiculturalism as a policy has been a significant step." He goes on to say, "not everybody buys into it" but is convinced that "more and more people are saying, 'Well, yeah it's a reality. So okay, what do we do with it, now?'" Marie, however, like many administrators in the "silenced" context, raises questions about Canadian notions of acceptance, unity, and identity embodied in the concept as she expounds:

I think we do have to say, 'Yes, we're multicultural in Canada. Yes, we'll accept all of the different groups and value them but they have to value what this country is about and they have to accept and not be each pulling towards their own and saying, 'You have to accept me as I am with everything I've brought from over there'...There's got to be a balance. You have to say, 'Retain all that's best and what values you have but also value what you're coming to and what we're trying to build together and give a little.'...Maybe we don't have a strong enough sense of who we are to do that in this country.

With similar reservations about the realities of a concept

like multiculturalism, Jerry explicates his interpretation:

I'd like to get a balance. I believe I have a bit of a view probably based on Alan Bloom's The Closing of the American Mind. His view is probably a useful antidote to the bland acceptance of all cultures and multiculturalism. He says we have to appraise cultures by valuing their strengths and acknowledging their weaknesses. An example might be the British culture from which I come which is wonderful. However, there's a class system which is a very negative side of British culture and something I could not say is a good thing about it. So I would not wholeheartedly accept every aspect of my British background. Bloom uses the example of India and asks 'What decision would you make if part of the northern Indian Hindu culture requires that the widow of the man who dies should be burned on the funeral pyre along with the deceased husband? What if you think the woman has to be preserved?' I think you have to look at this in a healthy discriminatory way and get kids to appraise some of the aspects of culture...The little Inuit girl at our school would have been left to die on the ice in traditional Inuit culture. Canadian society would rescue that child even though some of us may look at that child and say, 'Look at all the emphasis going into her with all her handicaps', but she will one day perform a very worthwhile role I'm sure and we like to have her here.

Perhaps it is in Jim's reservation that the desire for "balance" is most succinct. Questions of tokenism, nationalism, and assimilation might be evoked as he states:

My hope would be that the people can be culturally diverse, but at the same time, there should be a sense of 'We're Canadians first, and we're French second, or Hungarians second, or Germans, or Italians, or whatever we are, second.'

As Jim more explicitly moves his reservation into the arena of school programming, some aspects of definitions for "multicultural education" are challenged. In particular he discusses his unwillingness to accept Canadian multicultural policy translating into school heritage language programming:

While I agree with Canada's immigration policy, I have a problem with it. If you were to take a look at the course outlines available in some provinces, you can take courses in Yugoslavian in high school, for instance. I don't think

that's a responsibility of the school to provide that and I think we direct incredible funds toward it.

Some of the perceived "problem-relatedness" of diversity for Canadian society in cultural preservation schooling is also highlighted by Rick who queries:

I often wonder as immigration in the country shifts, are we going to start having Punjabi schools, or South African, or whatever? I see that there's also a problem when everybody has their individual rights and culturally everybody can maintain their own thing. How do you get people coming together? I don't know how you overcome all of the cultural diversity. What I see as having the potential to be something wonderful, that mosaic sense of Canada, also has the potential, through narrow-mindedness and egocentricity on many people's parts, of becoming a very closed and conflict-laden society.

Not as common as the reservations in the "silenced" context about values, funding, unity, and uniformity is the concern some administrators raise about the availability of time as a resource to carry out what might be perceived to be school "multiculturalism" programming. "It becomes somewhat difficult for me as a principal to try and maintain that clear commitment to satisfying and giving evidence to all of our cultures of how we value them", says Lloyd, "yet at the same time, not losing sight of our commitment to making sure that, academically, we're helping children become accomplished readers, writers, thinkers, mathematicians." Although not talked about often, time did surface as a concern for a few administrators.

In refining meanings, one of the common assessment debates centers around delineating what "cultural diversity" specifically means in terms of approaches to schooling and

education. Sometimes the leading question is "Will we call what we do 'multicultural' or 'anti-racist' education?". If the discussion has progressed that far, then a supplementary inquiry usually surfaces around, "Are the two the same or different and how?"

Jean in his discussion, like the majority of administrators in this study, demonstrated a preference for using derivatives of the term "multicultural" over those derived from the word "race". He states, "We try and do multicultural activities. I guess anti-racism is in there, too, when you're talking about different cultures but 'anti-racism' is not used in the school." Bringing a little more precision than Jean to his definitions, Rick deduces that the 'anti-racist' approach is the reactive approach to 'How do you solve a problem that's created?' I think 'multicultural education' has more a proactive sense of 'Here's the reality and let's work with it and let's work towards what could be rather than let's prevent what is happening.'

The two terms, according to Marie and several administrators in the "voiced" context, are conceptually linked. As she explains, that relationship is not always obvious to people:

We discussed 'anti-racism' and 'multiculturalism' at a committee level when the department of education 'anti-racism materials' arrived. Some teachers were saying, 'It shouldn't be anti-racism. It should be a positive statement. It should be 'We love multiculturalism or something' to try and say we should be highlighting what we're proud of rather than saying 'Don't be racist'. We discussed that a bit and I said, 'I don't think it's strong enough to say 'Oh, let's be proud of being Ukrainian or whatever else we are. We have to show that it's harmful to be racist.'...One person felt that 'anti-racism' was a negative approach. I thought we could do both but I said, 'Really, I think we probably should be focussing

in on racism. Kids should be looking at how we respect differences rather than just have everyone come to school in their native costume although we celebrate that, too. Anti-racism and multiculturalism are linked. It's just whichever you prioritize first at a particular time.

Understanding that linkage in a somewhat parallel fashion to Marie, Lloyd outlines the emphasis he believes is necessary in his school:

We recognize clearly that because our community is so diverse, that issues of racism and intolerance to other cultures and other peoples is something that is well rooted within our community. Having said that, we don't have a multicultural day in this building or a multicultural week. We did that the first year we were here because we thought we would give each culture a chance to show off and 'strut its stuff', if you like, and if that's what we're intending to do, multicultural weeks do that at least. They allow cultures to 'strut their stuff'. So I'm okay with that piece. What I'm not okay with is saying that that is a legitimate response to dealing with issues about racism. It's not at all. It's nonsense. What needs to happen, and what we've discussed at this school as a staff with some regularity is : 'How do we in our day-to-day relationships with our children and our community, how do we bring together a mutual kind of respect for differences and similarities?' and I challenge every teacher in this building, every adult, not just teacher, every adult to recognize that every moment that those children come together in a classroom, is a potential moment to break down some of those barriers.

While some administrators believe that multicultural/anti-racist education breaks down barriers for constructive things to happen, others perceive such to put barriers up against constructive things happening. That tension regarding concept emphasis is a consistently recognizable conflict in this study. As with the assessment involved in broadening, redefining, and refining concepts, conflict appears to be a part of the process of "deciding", of negotiating, what makes sense.

ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY

In addition to assessing cultural diversity concepts, administrators assess their community in order to determine what will or will not be appropriate in terms of school programming. The existence of discrimination in society; the perpetuation of bias in the adult world; and the potential vulnerabilities of the local community appear to be three areas of particular scrutiny by these administrators as they assess their community.

First, like many administrators in this study, most of these administrators acknowledge that discrimination in society exists. "In theory," notes Jim, "society should become more tolerant as time goes on but I'm not convinced, at the world level, that tolerance is improving and", he adds, "I'm concerned about that." Marie, too, expresses her concern about bias specifically in Canada. She observes:

When I see what's happening in Canada today, I wonder if we historically were considering ourselves smugly so tolerant when we were really a very White population. But now that there's beginning to be much more immigration to Canada from different colours and races, I wonder if the truth isn't that we can be quite intolerant given that you hear: 'Whoh, hey, I can handle one here but don't give me fifty.'

On the receiving end of such statements, Ellen can identify with such discriminatory comments. She comments:

I'm not fully accepted in the system that I work for because I'm not fully understood by the mainstream. I still experience discrimination and I can recognize it because I've seen it often enough.

She capitalizes on the opportunity to enlighten others on the problem in the larger society as she explains:

I was looking through the children's book section in a bookstore one day and in that pile of books were copies of a book about little Indians and it was about Blackfoot Indians. It wasn't even factual historically. They were talking about trying to steal something from somebody because of something else and I was quite annoyed. I put them on the counter and I said, 'Look, I just want to bring this to your attention. Firstly, as a Native person, I find this offensive. To the Blackfoot Indians in Alberta, I think it would be very offensive because it was all about black feet and they were making black tracks wherever they went.' I don't know if they were stealing this potion to eliminate their black feet or whatever it was, but it was disgusting.

Lorraine, too, is quite conscious of how the discrimination of the adult world affects the children of her homogeneous school. She reveals:

We've had experiences at the museum where we'll be first in line but they'll move us to six schools back with the Reserve kids. It tells you something about how people look at different cultures.

Such occurrences have heightened Lorraine's awareness of how widely spread and habitual discriminatory practices are in society. She tells of one instance where she was personally moved to challenge such behavior:

I see discrimination all over the place now. I get my hair cut downtown and one of the little kids came in last week. There's a candy machine at the front of the store and she came running in with a looney and said, 'Could I have change? Could I have change?' and the cashier gave her her four quarters or whatever. Then the next little child, who was Native, came running in saying, 'Lady, can I have some change?' The cashier replied, 'You know we don't give change to you. Now get out of here. I don't want you hanging around the front.' And I thought, "Discrimination is all over the place."

For many of these administrators, discrimination is perceived to be a wide-spread societal problem.

Secondly, in the assessment of community, many of these administrators cite that the learning and perpetuation of

discriminatory behaviors as they see it comes from adults in society. It is a general supposition that, as Jim puts it, "intolerance probably comes from our parents, our friends, and very much their habits." Jean speaks of one such incident:

Parents say things to kids like 'Don't play with Black kids. They're bad' and the kids come to school with that impression. The incident I'm thinking of is a grade three kid who said to another one, 'I'd like to be your friend, but my Dad doesn't want me to.'

He continues, "It is difficult when I phone a parent who is prejudiced against a nationality and tell them that this is not acceptable here at school." Further, Jean alludes to "a few incidents" with detrimental effects on second language learning which he is convinced "came from home not the students." He specifically points out:

When kids say they hate French, you really can't change the mentality of the child if he has been brainwashed by some parent or other person saying that 'French is stupid. It's not necessary. It's a bunch of frogs. You don't need to go there.' There's nothing you can do to change those attitudes...We have a few here that are in that situation and the child doesn't make any effort whatsoever. The frustration leads generally to misbehavior.

Jean does, however, make a distinction between parents and the general community in terms of the political biases expressed about language. In his school, he finds that

parents don't bring the French-English discussions to our attention but we have phone calls once in awhile from people who are not involved in the school. They ask, "Why do you teach French? Don't you know that this is an English province?" and so forth. I did have a few phone calls like that but not from our parents.

The learned nature of bias, discrimination, and racism is confirmed by Ellen who emphasizes "Children, I don't think

recognize colour or differences. They learn them. With children this age, very often, they've heard it and use things like 'faggot'." She adds,

There's racial unrest in our community. Some people don't like this particular group of people and other people don't like a particular group of people. I can't do much about that. But I can teach the kids that it's okay to be different and we work on that.

Optimism to overcome this particular response to diversity also motivates Lloyd to say:

It is a challenge, a major challenge. What I find most interesting about our community of cultural diversity is that many, many of the children, for whatever reasons have been able to figure out that different is okay. What I find interesting is that it's more difficult for the parents to accept the differences. Now, that's no surprise to anybody who works with children. Certainly, we understand clearly that, as a school, teaching or education is what we believe to be one powerful way of beginning to break down some of the kinds of conditionings that children are imparted from adults as they get older.

Ellen, further suggests that monitoring one's individual behavior as adults and administrators is important in this task. She points out:

I don't just work with Native people or Non-Native people or any other group of people...I have certain opinions about certain people but when you're working on racism and you're trying to be bias-free, you work on those kinds of things yourself because I know a lot of people of my cultural background who have very definite views about different groups of people. Sometimes it's a struggle for me but I will say to them, 'Well, in my position, I have to take everybody at face value.' So that's a way of working with parents and their attitudes.

Thirdly, in assessing the community, several of these administrators perceive segments of their local community becoming vulnerable to situations of isolation and alienation. Considering the demographics of his community, Lloyd makes

attempts to understand some of what he perceives as its isolationist or segregationist dynamics. He points out:

We need to recognize that much of what happens in this community among the different cultures and among the children in the classroom often is tied. There's a number of equilibriums that are in place that are causing things. It's very, very intricate. I mean there are all kinds of struggles that our communities face. I think about the East Asian community, observing some of the behaviors, some of the social and cultural behaviors of the Aboriginal community or the Black community. Many don't understand and value what's happening in other communities because they bring such different experiences with them to a new land. They try to struggle with that, understand it, and value it but because there's such a lot of the communication they're unable to participate in with language as a major hindrance, what they do, of course, is they begin to insulate. They go back into themselves. They go back into their tightly-knit communities and they talk among each other about a certain cultural community. They bring all kinds of values to it. Often those are disparaging kinds of value statements that they bring. It's a real tough situation for the East Asian people who don't speak English to try and understand what's happening to the rest of the us in our community. We're trying to work on understanding. I don't know when and if our school has the capacity and is built to do that, but we have a commitment to doing that.

Connecting with adults to reduce home/school isolation and alienation and to have parents participate in school experiences is rarely seen as an easy task. Historically, Paul believes, "Parents were interested and very supportive but they sort of left the business of educating the children in the school up to the teachers." This trend continued with many immigrant parents because, as perceived by Jean, "Their culture looks at the school as something kind of sacred. They're always afraid to come to school. They don't feel that they belong there." This perceived deferential attitude toward schools is one with which Rick also reports familiarity

as he states:

The Central American people have a very deferential relationship with authority. It's very easy to be a principal of a group of kids from Central America because the parents won't take you on; they won't challenge you, they won't tear a strip off you. They're very deferential. It's unnerving or uncomfortable sometimes in that you can fall into the complacency where if there's a problem with a Central American kid, you know you're not going to get any pressure from the family. They don't make your life miserable. They want to be followers and they will give you all their respect and all of those kinds of things that pump you up as a leader but don't necessarily make you a healthy leader because they put you up on a pedestal and they don't tell you what they're thinking. They don't argue with you.

For families who do not speak the language of the school at home, school appears to be even more inaccessible. Lloyd explains:

The whole issue of second language families, English as a Second Language, is certainly a predominant feature of the school. We have more families than not that send their children to this school where English is the Second Language, not the first language. It's interesting that for many of our families, they're sending to school their children and their grandchildren who are acquiring English, yet they don't have that skill. As a result, the power shifts from the adults to the children, where the children actually become, in many cases, the power brokers because they control the communication.

When the limited communication with the school is compounded by limited communication within the home, additional concerns arise. "You might see the odd case of alienation at the grade six level", says Jean, "but you see that more in junior high." Aware of this, Rick expresses his worry stating, "I'm starting to see with the junior high's now how some of the parents are really hurting and there's a rift." In general, these administrators witness much of the turmoil experienced by the families and, as Lloyd indicates,

in particular there has been for a lot of the Aboriginal community a disenfranchisement relationship between home and school and so one of the issues that I struggle with with some families within the community are issues like attendance and valuing school.

With families who have recently come to Canada, Lloyd notices that

there's lots of watching but there's lots of anxiety and apprehension and I see it in the children. Children come to school. They leave and they go directly home. They stay within the confines of that home until it's time to come back to school. There's very little intermingling with the rest of the larger community.

It is amidst these concerns about discrimination, isolation, and alienation, that administrators seek to make decisions about addressing issues of cultural diversity. To some extent, all administrators in this context are assessing various aspects of community dynamics. For some this raises concerns about discrimination in the larger society and the impact adults have in perpetuating bias and injustices and for some it does not. Some see value in preserving some of the cultural norms of the community to counteract some of the concerns and some, having concerns about ethnocentricity, do not.

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL

Assessment of the society within the school setting also occurs to some degree in this context. Except for administrators like Ellen who declare that "our kids have experienced racism and our teachers have dealt with it", it is quite common for administrators to report that there are "few problems" in relation to cultural diversity at the school. It

is just as common, however, to usually hear an addendum to that comment suggesting that there are a "few incidents" or that there is a potential vulnerability to incidents at the school. Some administrators extend this assessment and pinpoint stereotyping as a predominant problem leading to discriminatory behavior. In assessing any potential changes such as addressing cultural diversity issues in their schools, many administrators articulate their awareness of the conflicts, resistance, and risks which might be entailed in such endeavors.

"Few problems" is one of the most common assessment features of their schools brought forth by administrators in this context and the others. Although some administrators would take issue with his suggestion that "the education system promotes racial tolerance and religious tolerance and it always has", few, if any, administrators would disagree with Jim's statement that "We try not to find ourselves being intolerant to any particular group." Like Jean, several are rather proud to say, "We've never had a problem of discrimination here because we've had all kinds of nationalities and children are very open." A little less categorical in his response is Jerry who says:

In this community we have some cultural diversity but I don't have people tell me that my kid is being talked about in a bad way by other kids so I don't assume it's a very big thing here...I don't think we have problems here because I know the cases that have come to me, two in seven years, when a couple of parents complained to me that their kids were being talked to in a disparaging way by other children. This is a pretty good record.

A significant number of administrators are inclined to emphasize, like Phil, that "I don't want it to sound like there's a major problem because there isn't." Fewer would be as willing to make his statement that:

I think it's something if we ever kind of relaxed and pretended diversity wasn't part of the make-up of our school, there would be the potential for difficulty. We know that we have to keep on top of it and keep trying to make sure that we're operating as one school and not two small schools within one building...We always have to be aware that we have to deal with groups of kids in our school who have to bond together initially because there are only a hand-full of them that can speak a language. There is the potential for them to be singled-out on the playground and to be treated inappropriately but I'm not suggesting that there's any more or any less violence here than there is at any other school.

In some schools, administrators concede a "business as usual" or "kids are kids" stance. As Rick highlights, "I don't hear the staff talking about the 'Central American' or 'Latin American' kids. They've become just the kids who have brought a tremendous richness to the school." Integration, in some form along the social cohesion-cultural diversity continuum, is an objective all administrators in this study hold.

"Little incidents" is a second assessment feature described by administrators as they assess their schools. Although schools are frequently described in ways that makes them sound like quite "culturally-comfortable" environments, administrators do admit that there is a vulnerability to "incidents" of discriminatory behaviors. Jerry describes his history with such accusations:

In the seven years, we've had two incidents that I've had to follow up and talk about. It's not an easy thing to handle...They were playground incidents in both cases. We

have a couple of Black children in our school. One Mother phoned and said her son was being teased because of the color of his skin so I investigated the incident and talked to the kids involved. I haven't heard anything since then. There was another similar incident in addition to that. So there were two in seven years. I've had more complaints about head lice than about anything else. It's an emotional issue.

For several of the administrators in this study and particularly for those in the "silenced" context, the tendency to down-play the existence of "incidents" is quite common even when they are linked to specific acts. Marie iterates, "We've had 'Frogs' written on the back of the school. That's really probably just some kids who are not too keen on French." Often there seems to be an accompanying tendency to diffuse and generalize the specificity of the incident away from "racism" as in Jean's case when he says,

I don't think we have racism in this school. Oh, we'll have the odd kid calling the other one 'Blackie' but they would call a White another name. But to say that there is a group of students who are racist, no we don't have that because we've always been a group of mixed cultures.

With a number of administrators in this study, there is a hesitancy to use words such as "race" or "racism" in their schools.

Some administrators, however, admit very openly that discriminatory behaviors are occurring more regularly than randomly and question the school's responsibility in this regard as Lloyd does. He asks:

How successful have we been? Minimally. We have lots of racial kinds of issues we're still struggling with: with a Black kid calling an Indian kid something; with an Indian kid calling a Black kid something; with an EuroAsian kid or EuroAsian parent making reference to those 'Indians', those 'drunken Indians'. This is a cancer in our larger society

that we have not addressed very well. We have not had success.

Sometimes there is a sudden realization of those issues which is brought to bear upon an administrator's agenda as it was with Martin who relates:

We have very few people who are from visible minorities or that promote their own cultural identities in an open manner. But we've had a couple of little incidents already that could be classified as 'racial' twice this year. It didn't go very far but it sure shakes you. When something happens, you say, 'My goodness, this is in my school. This is in our school that this is happening.' So it brought the issue to the fore for us. We talked about it before but it's kind of an 'out there' thing. All of a sudden, it's 'here'. I think that's something that we're going to have to begin to look at a little more seriously as a staff...

The issue of racism, which is more than just multiculturalism, can come up and all of a sudden you're not ready for it. We were really not very much prepared to deal with that kind of an issue. It just started with the calling of names and it created basically two camps. There was one larger group and one very small group and actually it ended up being one kid basically being ostracized, for awhile. It was interesting because it wasn't the Dark child that was ostracized. Everybody sort of came to his defense. It was the other child who was ostracized and accused of being racist by the kids. They had the concept. They set this kid apart and they were calling him names and the names they were calling him were 'racist this' and 'racist that'. They saw racist as 'bad' and he was set apart from the group because of that. What we had to do was to talk about racism, yes, as being, a very negative kind of thing but, on the other hand, to retaliate against racism by using the same approach against someone who had probably started this out as a kind of a bit of a joke was not right.

Martin's experience points to the need for developing sensitivities to offensive discriminatory behaviors even if it is felt that they may have stemmed from something as seemingly unharmful as a joke because jokes can be a way of perpetuating stereotypes which, in turn, are a way of discriminating against the "Other"; a way of violating the "Other".

"Stereotyping" is a third assessment feature of which many administrators in this context seem to be aware as they assess their schools. Although he states that "no stereotyping on a racial basis or religious basis occurs here," Jim concedes, "but it can occur. It occurs in all schools. We have a tremendous tendency to categorize and stratify our society. Humans categorize things and we have to guard against that." Marie describes her efforts at guarding

against stereotyping: I had one incident a few years back about a little girl in grade two. She was a Black student who was very difficult and the teacher that she had found her difficult to work with. So I'm saying to myself, 'There's another teacher also who's telling me she's difficult to work with'. Then the teacher just made the slightest comment having to do with the girl 'being Black'. She said, 'You know, well those people have maybe a little more trouble.' She was talking more about a cultural group because it's easier to say, 'Well, it's just because he is _' or people will say, 'Oh they're a very tight group and that's why they're like this.' I got quite upset because I cannot handle people stereotyping groups. Then I said, 'I don't think that's the problem. You have other children in the class having difficulty socializing. This child has difficulty socializing, too. Let's get at what the problem is and deal with that.'

There was a little pull and push that whole year with that teacher and that child. The Mother came and told me she thought the kids were racist and that the teacher maybe picked on her daughter and so I really kept an eye on the situation throughout and made sure that things were alright. I spoke to the teacher in no uncertain terms about making sure that she treated that child with every respect and that she bent over backwards that there would not be that kind of feeling generated to the child or to the parent.

In some cases which are primarily evident in the "voiced" context, administrators like Marie directly confront discriminatory thinking and behavior. In that sense, they explicitly address issues of cultural diversity although in Marie's case, this was done on an individualistic and not on

a total school basis.

Ellen explains how some of that categorizing develops and is perpetuated as stereotypes:

You want to avoid the danger of saying that Native children are only visual learners. I think, historically, that that indeed was a very strong way of learning like the visual, concrete, tactile, all those kinds of things, experiential learning...Storytelling was a process rather than a learning style...Then you hear things like Native children will not look at you...People need to know we're so acculturated a lot of us, that we operate like everyone else now.

The danger of stereotyping is in its paralyzing effect because, as Rick points out, "We see people in stereotype and we, as individuals, are unable to reach out to them." The stereotyped "Other" can be detrimentally affected in terms of equity and justice as a result. In identifying a specific related concern with the portrayal of stereotypic images, Lloyd highlights:

Some stereotyping has to do with something as fundamental as witches always being women. There's a strict kind of understanding that children have about witches. Witches are always ugly. They're women who wear big black hats and they fly on broomsticks. In fact I have an article somewhere around the school here that talks about that. It is helping teachers pay some attention to how Halloween and the stereotyping of certain communities like Black children as opposed to White children; the colour black and the evilness that comes with black and Black children; and gender and race are issues. Halloween is one of these times of the year that does some reinforcing of that stuff.

Marie stresses that stereotyping is "very ingrained" behavior which does not allow people to see the "good possibilities" which may exist.

"Conflict" is a fourth assessment feature which administrators in the "deciding" context as in all others

perceive might exist as they assess the risks of change and resistance to their intentions. Some administrators have found that attempts at changing educators' attitudes and behaviors in relation to cultural diversity can be accompanied by resistance and risks if there is a perceived threat to status quo functioning.

Administrators, like Lloyd, contend that it is important to take the risk of encouraging change. Pointing out that schools are not innately invitational places in which change can take place, he elaborates:

School systems, interestingly enough, are hold-overs. We tend to be one of the last formal systems in our society, to engage in new technology, to engage in new teaching methodology. We continue to want to hold onto what was. A lot of that comes out of how we've been taught. We've been taught not to be risk-takers. It's interesting because we ask our children to be risk-takers and yet we, as school systems, are very, very afraid to be risk-takers. I don't think we know how to create an environment that allows for risk-taking to happen in an open and trusting way...If I do anything in this building, I mean to deal with the valuing of adults as well as children. There needs to be some leadership...We need to consider our own paradigms, our belief systems of what we believe to be true about learning and about education and then we need to risk. The problem always is that struggle, that tug back and forth between the risk takers and those people who have a vested interest in non-risking the status quo. I think schools work sometimes too much in the concrete. They're afraid to risk-take.

The challenge Lloyd poses appears to be most clearly taken up in relation to cultural diversity issues by administrators in the "voiced" context.

It is "individuals" in the schools who appear to shy away from risk-taking. Focussing on educators in general and not just administrators, Jerry similarly acknowledges that

making changes in what teachers do in classrooms is very hard. That's been well documented by a number of people. The norms of our profession: the isolation, the high level of personal autonomy, and the reward structure that teachers have are not geared to the principal's advantage by any means. These make it difficult to make changes.

Specifically in relation to issues of cultural diversity, Jean surmises that educators do not like to have their comfort levels disrupted and resist change as a result. He hypothesizes:

There are many reasons why some people don't do multiculturalism activities. Some don't want to put in the effort. Some may have inborn prejudices and it's very difficult for them to talk about multiculturalism...Some teachers are go-getters and they'll always be looking for something. Others are not. They're just satisfied with their program and sit comfortably in their chair. You can talk to these teachers and tell them this and that but generally it doesn't change.

In a number of cases where there is staff resistance to change, it is suggested by administrators that there is a fear of the unknown, of doing things differently. For example, when suggesting plans to change a "Christmas program", Jim recalls staff saying rather skeptically, "Well, gee whiz, you know, we've never done this before." Paul recounts the staff trauma of anticipating change in his school:

We offer the triple-track program. Right from the time when the French Immersion came to our school, there was a lot of reluctance on the part of teachers. They were wondering what was going to happen to them. Were they going to be just left without a job because French Immersion was coming in and there would be less need for the English language program?

When a need to initiate English Second Language programming at his school occurred, Rick, too, witnessed some similar resistance on his staff. He conveys that his reading about

change helped him understand that staff "were just fearful of it and didn't understand why this is happening to them." Gradually Rick saw a "critical mass", a core group, was buying into it, doing a lot of reading, and having successes with the kids. "Like with any society," submits Lorraine, "staff change takes a long time." She continues, "Openness, exposure, and reflection will bring change, eventually. If you could just force everybody to reflect. Not everybody can do that. A lot of people find that threatening."

In assessing concepts, community, and school to monitor perceptions in relation to cultural diversity issues, administrators appear to be engaged in a fair amount of reflective analysis. In thinking about what the concepts mean to them as well as to their community and school, they are preparing to make some decisions about stances. As personal clarification grows, administrators may be more ready to interact with others to orient the school and community to stances similar to theirs.

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Because these administrators are in the process of trying to make some sense of administrative behavior in cultural diverse contexts on a personal level, often their attempts at orienting others are limited or in preliminary stages of being developed. Therefore in this context, much less advocacy talk by administrators is devoted to the orienting than to the assessing process as they monitor their environment.

ORIENTING SCHOOL

Some advocacy has been focussed on developing a collective orientation in this context. Monitoring of its development may be ongoing or sporadic in nature.

Degrees of continual awareness to issues of cultural diversity is promoted by several of these administrators as it is by those in the "voiced" context. Lloyd, Lorraine, and Ellen encourage staff to be sensitive to students' histories and experiences while Robert stresses with his staff the importance of teacher trust and student success. In other settings, it appears that when situations prompt a focus on cultural diversity issues, the administrator will make some statement in that regard. It is then, for instance, that Paul reminds his staff that "this school is a triple-track school". It was when a number of families who speak English as a second language settled in the school community, that Rick felt he had to orient staff to the changes that needed to occur. "I stressed," he says, "that we were going to try and focus on the primary ESL children and I told them I was going to acquire as many support resources as possible."

Similarly, in addition to orienting staff, orienting students on occasion directly about diversity occurs by reinforcing some general statements about student behavior. The main rules in Ellen's school are that "You don't verbally or physically hurt anyone." She stipulates, "You don't abuse anybody in any way. You show respect to whomever. You don't

use bad language. You don't use hurtful behaviour and that includes language about race."

Although appearing quite consistent, the efforts of several of these administrators in the "deciding" context to orient the school to issues of cultural diversity are not yet concentrated ones. It is likely that once assessment decisions are clearer, more interaction and negotiation in this area for collective orientation will occur.

ORIENTING COMMUNITY

The messages all administrators in this study pass on to the parent community serve as an orientation to what is deemed important in the school. Sometimes these are messages of information while sometimes they are messages of correction to dispel what administrators perceive as misinformation in the community.

In informing to orient in the "deciding" context, Marie describes her efforts:

My main vehicle of communication is the monthly newsletter to parents and I do use it as an educational vehicle to keep my community or at least my parent population informed. I talk about access for the disabled and handicapped and I talk about the 'anti-racism' program. I don't just say, 'We're having an Anti-racism Day. Here it is.' I give the rationale and that 'Today's world is rapidly expanding and our frontiers are getting ever wider. We have to prepare our children for a world that is changing and we're having an anti-racism day.' So I always give a context for what we're doing. I think you have to let your people know what you're doing and why and let them know that that's what we're about so that if some of the name-calling happens or anything else, the community, the parents as well as the kids, know that's not accepted there. 'We don't do that here' kind of thing and if I ever had an incident, then I would have no problem in phoning and saying, 'You know, we just don't have that here and that is just not acceptable.' There are always people that are a little

different in their viewpoints anyway and when you phone them, if there's been a problem with their child, they say, 'Well, we allow that kind of language at home' or whatever and 'We just let them say...'. Then I can say, 'Yeah, well not here.'

Jim, too, in planning a changed format for celebrations around the Christmas season, orients his community to what the school is seeing as important. He reveals:

One of the things that I know that I do have to do is three or four weeks before our event write a detailed letter to all our parents explaining what we're doing and why we're doing it. I will write it not criticizing the old service that we had. In fact, I may not even mention the old service but simply bring out the positives of 'why' we should do this sort of thing; the fact that, as a community, we've got a lot to share. Let's do it because Christmas is supposed to be a sharing time. Hannukah is a sharing time. Let's face it, all people like to tell others about themselves. The other thing we'll do is that we will have representatives of each group do something.

Similar to the "voiced" context, the themes of adaptability, change, and inclusion are used by some of the administrators in this context to orient the community to what is perceived to be important at the school.

Many administrators choose their words carefully when talking about cultural diversity to the community to avoid conjuring up "perceptions of problems". This is most similar to concerns in the "silenced" context although it also exists in the other contexts in different degrees. Caution specifically with terms like "racism" and "anti-racism" is most frequently evident. As Jerry points out:

It may not be necessarily wrong to use the term 'racism'. We could use that term if we wanted to. It depends how it's presented to parents. I try to be careful how we present things to parents because I know that they sometimes assume that there's problems where they don't exist because when you connect it with your child's school you may be quite nervous

about some of the terms used. I mean some parents may react to it. They may look at it as a disparaging term like 'There's lots of racism here'...They may assume this which is not true. They may go off and tell people we've got a problem here. 'I'd like to continue to pursue the improvement of race relations between the youngsters of different ethnic cultural backgrounds at our school.' That's how I would phrase it if I was talking with parents. But I may use the term 'racism' when I'm talking to the parents of the PTA or staff at the school. I would want to be careful how I phrase it because I don't want to give people the perception that we have a problem here. I do not want to give the false perception that we have a big problem here because I feel as a principal, my role is to be moderate and be mediating in any of the situations we talk about with parents and the outside community. We can't be alarmists.

In Jerry's case, informing to orient also serves the purpose of informing to prevent misinterpretation.

In informing to correct for misinformation, Jean addresses skepticism regarding difficulties experienced in second language learning stating:

We don't suggest to the parent that the child should change programs because of ability. There is no guarantee. If the child was to choose an English program, the difficulties are still there or if it's a social skill that he's missing, it's still there. That doesn't change.

Paul recounts similar experiences of needing to share information regarding language learning with parents:

We try hard to discourage parents from taking their children out of the language that they've started. The prerogative is theirs but we do try to give reasons for why they should remain in the language program. For example, even in the French Immersion, if a parent wants to take a student out, we set the table, so to speak, saying, 'Okay, you want to do that. Fine, we'll do it. Now, here's some of the things in favour of taking them out. Here's some of the things in favour of keeping them in. Here is the opportunity for flexibility. Why not keep them in a little bit longer?'

What these two administrators in this context see as misinformation is to be contrasted in particular with the

perception of some of the administrators in the "silenced" and "ignored" contexts who construe and share that same information with the school community as accurate truth and reality.

Generally administrators in all contexts take advantage of times when they can speak to and orient parents in groups. Usually this occurs at regular times during the year. At his information evening in June, Paul says he stresses "'We are a triple-track school. We can meet the needs of the French Immersion child, the Ukrainian Bilingual child, and the English language child equally.'" In Rick's case, retention of the child's first language is encouraged. He emphasizes:

One of the things we do stress to the parents is 'Make sure your child doesn't lose Spanish.' When we interview parents, we ask them, 'Are you speaking to your child in Spanish? Are you reading Spanish stories to your child?' and really stressing the part that they'll pick up the English language from school but that all sorts of cultural wisdom and who they are is going to come from them at home. We really stress this with the parents and affirm the parents in that saying, 'It's okay. Don't throw away everything that you had. Don't do that because there's going to be a lot of hurt.'...I worry most about families that come in and they want to be Canadian right today...When you think of the transmission of values, if everybody stops using the language, how are you going to transmit all of that? We're going to have kids who are lost. So we try to really affirm this with parents.

It appears that it is administrators' different perceptions regarding the consequences of retention of first language and culture that is most clearly evident between the contexts. The value of language retention is advocated in the "voiced" context whereas the administrators in the other three contexts have some reservations in that regard.

In affirming and disaffirming information, administrators are taking initial action to orient their parent community to issues of importance at the school. They are building the foundations for negotiating a collective orientation to issues of cultural diversity.

REFLECTION: MONITORING IN THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT

These administrators monitor to some degree the development of the principles that have been communicated through assessing and orienting people toward their adoption. The concepts of cultural diversity, the community, and the school are scrutinized to a degree in the assessment phase while the school and community receive some initial attention in the orienting phase. Conflicts surface as administrators assess and orient the school communities in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity. Some administrators after justifying and advocating for principles related to the issues of cultural diversity rise to the challenge of this interactional advocacy process and prepare to initiate actions of endorsement where they will further assert their leadership influence and engage in staff development to that end while others will not "will" to do so.

**INITIATING THE PRACTICE OF PRINCIPLES: ENDORSEMENT PHASE I
LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT**

Two ways administrators can choose to endorse the principles and practices of their intentions is by their individual behavior as administrator, as leader in the school

in a position of power, and by their interactive collective behavior with staff in staff development initiatives. Both the philosophical and managerial emphases of leadership influence may be employed in these endeavors. In the "deciding" context, some personal leadership initiative is evident in relation to cultural diversity but staff development efforts appear limited to some initial plans and isolated short-term activities.

LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Administrators in the "deciding" context have not embarked on total school plans to address cultural diversity issues and the limited extent of leadership influence directed to such issues reflects that reality. Some, like Jerry might choose to never explicitly address some of those issues as a total school because he perceives that

as a principal, you're trying to emphasize a school as a collective group of kids and staff in the community. We are not necessarily trying to emphasize all the differences that exist among us. It's somewhat like when you bake bread, you don't emphasize all the flour, water, and salt and stuff but you talk about the loaf. As a principal, you try to emphasize the ethos of the school.

It is once again³³ pointed out that very sophisticated administrative behaviors and good school ethos appear to exist in this context as in all others. They just do not, in many

³³See page 43 which emphasizes my experiences of administrative talk about very sophisticated school operations in all interviews. Any of these which do not focus on "cultural diversity issues" are not, however, described in this dissertation because this discussion is intentionally directed at highlighting only the talk specific to "cultural diversity" within all these school contexts.

cases, provide a forum for issues of cultural diversity.

A number of administrators do, however, assert their leadership influence in some form in the school. Some do this with a philosophical emphasis to their work and some with emphasis on the managerial processes of their work. In the latter sense, they tend to respond in reactionary as opposed to preventative modes when they deal with the issues. Some administrators tend to equate disciplinary measures with their leadership influence in addressing issues of cultural diversity. That usually means that short-term one-to-one interpersonal conflict management strategies with perpetrators of discriminatory acts take precedence over long-term total school plans for addressing issues of cultural diversity collectively as a staff.

This is an individual rather than a systemic approach to addressing the issues, an approach which does not explicitly address the root causes of unjust practices. Jean reports, "If an incident does occur, it is dealt with immediately by the teacher or if it happens on the playground and I'm involved, I deal with it." Although this administrative action is not necessarily inappropriate, what might be considered less appropriate about it is its absence of follow through in addressing such issues of cultural diversity in the total proactive programming of the school. Adding a discussion for understanding as part of her approach, Ellen similarly relates:

If somebody's punched somebody else in the nose because they've been called some racial slur, I will deal with it. Then I talk to kids when they've had an incident where they've called each other names. I work those types of things through with the kids so they understand why.

Individual reprimands are often the strategy used with staff members as well but sometimes the message is reiterated for the whole staff to reinforce earlier orientation messages. This is most often "after" rather than "before" the fact when an inappropriate act has occurred. Paul describes how he handles such an occurrence:

I'm not afraid to call a staff member and say, 'Hey, what's going on?'...I've had a teacher come into my office and tell me, 'Paul, what I saw happen in the staffroom the other day makes me feel very badly for the French Immersion teachers. They felt bad and I think they were really shocked that their program would be talked about in that way.' What had happened was somebody was talking about 'Why is French creeping into the system and all that?'...

When we came to the staff meeting, I said, 'I have an item that has to be added to the agenda but it was now going to be number one. The reason it's number one is because I feel that what has happened needs to be settled now and we need to have a chance to air your views on it, either in this forum in the staff meeting, or you come and see me privately.' I told them that our school is a triple-track school. 'We teach English language instruction; we have French Immersion instruction; we have Ukrainian Bilingual. If we could, I would have Chinese and I would have German, too. But we can't because we don't have enough people for it. Nevertheless, there are some remarks and rumors going around that are put down about the French Immersion program. I won't tolerate it. If you are a staff member that cannot function in a triple-track school, please let me know and we will arrange to have you transferred.'

Exerting leadership influence in this manner is more corrective than preventative.

Beyond reactive and individualistic responses to issues of cultural diversity, some administrators, in varying degrees, attempt to develop some isolated short-term proactive

activities relating to the issues of cultural diversity. These are usually not total school approaches but "things that can be quite easily added on", either by the administrator or by a staff member, to the what's happening in the school without too much re-organizing or restructuring. Some, like Phil, are a step removed from the direct process because they delegate someone else on staff with responsibility for any such activities. He explains:

With posters and multiculturalism stuff, one of our classroom teachers has accepted the task of keeping current materials on display in the staffroom on the bulletin board...Many of the posters and things that are of general interest to the staff come on to my desk. I just forward them to her and she displays them in the staffroom. If it's something of more specific focus related to racism, for example, or anything that I think might be of particular interest to any individual in the school, I'll forward it right to them like the ESL teacher. She would have a look at them and decide whether she wanted to display them or use them right in her room as part of the ESL program. Sometimes she may want to bring something up at a staff meeting. Usually she would run that by administration first and then present it to staff for consideration.

Lloyd, too, is in favor of adding proactive activities to his school's agenda. He remarks:

Things like Third World issues, anti-semitism, foreigners in Germany haven't really become a major curriculum focus. I have a couple of teachers in this building who, because of their own interests, will certainly bring some of that to the Grade fives and Grade sixes. There are certainly some exercises at trying to move into that domain.

It would appear that in both these cases as in a few others particularly in the "considered" context, there would not be administrator disapproval of teacher initiatives to address some cultural diversity issues.

Even for those administrators who might make general

statements in support of addressing cultural diversity through adding components into programming, that actual decision is often left to the discretion of individual teachers whose individual and/or collective orientation to the topics may or may not be developed. Paul, for instance, details his procedure with cultural diversity materials saying:

I've seen different posters come across my desk. I would take that poster and I tell each teacher by way of my daily little memo: 'I've received a very interesting poster about issues that could be Social Studies, Language Arts, Health, and if you're interested, see me. The poster is entitled, *Together We Can Fight Racism*. If you're interested, see me.' If I get no callers, at a meeting or in a subsequent memo, I would say, 'I advertised this poster several days ago, nobody has responded. Maybe you've forgotten. I would like to remind you, again, this poster is here.' Then I might add a little excerpt from a reading to bring out the idea of racism—that it's there...

Every one of my staff members has a personal opinion and they're entitled to it but, if they don't want to touch something like that, they don't have to. I'll have teachers that will do something with it and I'll have teachers that won't do anything with it. That's their prerogative.

This individualistic orientation is in contrast to the collective whole school orientation of the "voiced" context.

It used to be for Marie much the same way. She, however, like a number of administrators in this context, is beginning to take some leadership in engaging her whole staff in a proactive approach on a school-wide basis at least for a short period of time during the school year. Her description provides evidence of the challenges and insights involved in even making incremental changes in school functioning:

In the past when I received material from the government about *Anti-racism Day*, we were always very "busy". I also figured, 'Well, we don't have a problem so why would we need to focus on it and maybe focussing on it creates it.' You know, maybe

if you focus on people differences, then all of a sudden kids will notice things that weren't there because we've had very little, really no problem with that except for a few years back when there was one student who was a Black student. She didn't get along well with kids and her Mother came and reported to me that the kids were calling her 'Brownie'. So I went in and had a discussion with the class about: 'This is not acceptable here. We're all the same'...

We've had a few children of visible minorities in the school but not many. No one tends to make any kind of distinction so that was kind of my reasoning. 'Maybe we shouldn't touch something that's working well.' But it was kind of maybe leaving something 'under the carpet', I thought.

This year when the material came out again, I thought, 'Maybe we should be doing something'. So I presented it to our staff and said, 'I know you're busy and everything but I would kind of like to do something like this. What do you think?' The staff kind of sat and said, 'Well, it sounds like kind of a good idea.' Then they started throwing out a few ideas and I said, 'Well, would anyone like to be on a short committee with me?' Well, there were two or three teachers that agreed to be part of it and we had an anti-racism week. We ended up doing a lot and it was very interesting. It was very positive...The overwhelming response from the teachers was that it was good...

These are things that we should be doing anyway...How you present it is important. Sometimes I present things to them as: 'Here's something that's been offered to us. So do we want to buy into it?' With things like this I give a little more rationale like the fact that it's not a guilt trip but just to say, 'I think we should be doing this. I think it's time to do something on anti-racism.'...Senior administration supports the idea and that kind of makes it much more secure to do any of these things. I would have done it anyway but it's still something that you know is being supported. Our Superintendent had a presentation on it. So from above, there was an atmosphere of encouragement to do that kind of thing but I had already presented to my staff and I'm glad I did. From the point of view of leadership in the Division it's important that those people do that.

Like Marie, a few other administrators note the leadership influence of central office administrators on their behavior to either address or not address explicitly the issues of cultural diversity.

By extending the process in which Marie's school was engaged, a few administrators in this context are taking

leadership beyond simply responding to issues through mandated programs or isolated activities or through individualistic disciplinary reactions. They are considering the possibilities of preventative action on a total school basis. To Martin, this means the staff needs to examine the issues in an attempt to develop appropriate plans. He shares his deliberation:

'How do you plan for change?' Some of it is so easy to deal with--like curricular change--just set your goals and make your plans. But then the other things, some things just creep up on you, like a racial issue flares up in your school. It's 'minor', but enough to make you say, 'Woe, we can't sit back on this one anymore. We've got to do something. We've got to start making some decision about how we want to deal with this issue when it arises.'...This is connected to staff development in the sense that it's a staff approach to looking at the school; looking at the problems that arise; looking at how we deal with some of those issues and problems; and working them out together by calling in whatever resources we may need along the way.

Leadership influence for administrators like Martin means that not only on an individual level is there a need for administrators to take philosophical and managerial endorsement action but also on a collective basis to interact more intensively with staff in relation to the issues. Staff development plays an important role in this regard when it is initiated to begin formally developing a collective staff orientation towards the issues of cultural diversity in the school.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

These "deciding" context administrators have not embarked on total school plans to deal with cultural diversity and the

limited staff development in the area to date attests to that fact. It is again pointed out, however, that some very elaborate staff development programming exists in these contexts but it is directed at topics other than issues of cultural diversity.

A few of these administrators make an effort to incorporate aspects of cultural diversity into their professional development programs but as isolated aspects not as central organizing features. For administrators, like Phil, developing a mission statement for the school is part of a professional development process. He notes his plans to make some reference to cultural diversity in it:

In terms of the mission statement I suspect that it will be fairly global and it will probably talk about the need for us to respect the rights and differences of individuals and that will reflect from our school a large part of the ESL population as well.

For others, like Robert, bringing in guest speakers is part of the staff development program. He elaborates:

One of our guest speakers is a Native person who really makes people feel comfortable about the fact that they may not be Native but it's okay to work with Native kids. His goal is to make people understand how valuable a service they are providing by spending time and helping kids. Sometimes teachers, White teachers, Chinese teachers, Black teachers, Non-Indian teachers begin to feel that they are, in fact, looked down upon because they're not Native. They have heard the message that 'If you're not an Indian, then you can't teach our kids. You don't understand our problems. You don't understand our culture.' I'm not denying that there's some truth to that but it's important to also indicate to the people who are really giving heart and soul to make things better that they're not wrong and they're not doing a rotten job. Because they just happen to be White or Black or Yellow, doesn't really sit very well. The speaker really helped to heal people last year.

In Jerry's school, an individual staff member is spearheading a group project with the support of the Superintendent that will involve staff development. Jerry supports this endeavor saying:

I think they're going to do some kind of programming at the school with the youngsters. They're trying to raise the consciousness of all of us, the youngsters and staff, to the fact that we should avoid racism and encourage people to accept one another more. I don't have all the details from the teacher responsible. She just ran it by me in a superficial way but I said 'Yes, that's what we should do.' She knows far more than I do about the area and I'm quite comfortable with that. She will present this to the staff at our staff meeting and I'm hoping she'll explain it to them with my endorsement. It doesn't mean that this is subservient to the professional development goals of the staff but it may just apply to certain ones who want to pick up on it. It will be a voluntary thing.

As in many of the settings in the study, commitment to initiating action to explicitly address issues of cultural diversity as a total school is not a major objective at this point in time. Endorsement of some elements of professional development in this regard does, however, occur in some cases.

REFLECTION: INITIATING ACTION IN THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT

Administrators in this context use their leadership influence to highlight some points perceived as important to them. They work to endorse principles and practices by putting forth their personal intention and by beginning to collectively orient others to that intention. Like most administrators in the study except for those in the "voiced" context, these administrators have not endorsed total school staff development in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity. This choice, as well as their personal leadership

influence, will be reflected in what administrators endorse in the institutionalization process.

**INSTITUTIONALIZING THE PRACTICE OF PRINCIPLES:
ENDORSEMENT PHASE II**

PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND SCHOOLING FORMATS

The ultimate phase of endorsing an intention is institutionalizing it to make it a permanent feature of the school. Two ways of doing this appear most frequently in this study's data. One is through public statements about mission, goals, or principles and another is through schooling formats such as structural, programmatic, curricular, and pedagogical considerations which highlight what is given importance and valued in a school. These endorsed features institutionalize principles and practices in the school. They bring intentions closer to realities.

In this context, the expressions of such formal permanence related to addressing issues of cultural diversity within the school is understandably limited. Administrators are in the process of making some initial decisions about the issues and incorporating some isolated components of cultural diversity into what happens in the school but formal endorsement on a school-wide basis of explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity does not exist.

PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Public mission statements, handbooks, or statements of school philosophy, goals, or objectives are vehicles administrators can use to institutionalize and validate their

endorsement of what is important in their schools. Although many appear to have the will to explicitly address cultural diversity issues in the school, these administrators in the "deciding" context distinguish themselves as a group for not having any reference to cultural diversity in any of these public documents³⁴. This is understandable because they are not at a stage where they have made definitive decisions on what those statements should be. They are in the process of making decisions to that end at the moment. That does not preclude the existence and promotion of cultural diversity program components in schooling formats.

SCHOOLING FORMATS AND ISSUES OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Most endorsing behavior of these administrators relating to cultural diversity experiences then fall into the "add on" category of schooling considerations. Structural, programmatic, curricular, and pedagogical elements may be added into the program at points in time either by mandate imposed on the administrator or by choice decided upon by the administrator but these are not connected to a total school plan dealing with the issues of cultural diversity.

Structural Considerations: Some administrators try to make some changes in the way their schools are structured in an effort to address issues of cultural diversity. Structural

³⁴See Appendix L for related details on "informal features" which give evidence to what is currently important in the school.

considerations in this context may include re-designing or refining the infrastructure of the school in relation to support personnel, specific programs, decision-making formats, and population representativeness in terms of staff, guests, and student groupings.

With respect to support personnel, many administrators in this context as in the others, in addition to using their staff components such as guidance counsellors, ESL teachers, and resource teachers, have access to support services which are available from the larger school community. For Lloyd, that means he could choose to use the resources of a Race Relations Officer. In the process of thinking through what the essentials of programming to address some issues of cultural diversity might be, he comments on the value he places on the process beyond the mandated infractural supports provided to his school:

We have a policy on racism in our division which doesn't tolerate indifference. Again, there's an obligation on the part of the system to do that; to build an infra-structure to say, 'We don't believe in it.' But that isn't good enough. If we're really serious, we need to really come right down to home base to the families, to the classroom, and begin to very gradually, very patiently, very supportively work through this. It's a tough thing to do.

An emphasis on school-initiated endeavors is suggested as a meaningful strategy to begin addressing cultural diversity issues. In his school, Robert points to the community contacts he uses to assist him:

We also have, and we work very closely with, the school division's outreach workers that they have assigned to each of the ethnic groups. There are approximately eight or nine

liaison people. We meet regularly with them to make sure that the community understands what we're doing and we're listening to what the community needs.

Supplied from his division upon request, Jean has access to Liaison officers for his Vietnamese, Aboriginal, Portugese, and Filipino populations. He clarifies, "so whenever we need interpreters, we call but we have seldom used them except for the odd case where the parent doesn't understand English." To communicate with his community which does not have such supports, Phil contacts the International Centre for translation services at times like parent-teacher conferences.

With respect to specific programs, English language acquisition and cultural preservation programming mandated by the larger system are the most common programs endorsed by these administrators. When cultural diversity issues are perceived to be impacting on the school in a problematic manner, often they are recognized as issues of English as a Second Language instruction. As Jim recounts, "the one thing we did do, especially when we started getting large numbers, we would have people coming in to teach English as a Second Language to help them adjust culturally." The implication is that ESL programs help students adjust to the mainstream. Timetables, usually for pull-out segregated programming in the English language, are adjusted accordingly as Jean describes:

We pulled them out during English Language Arts so then they wouldn't miss the French. We used to have a full-time ESL teacher but because of our numbers going down, we had a half-time teacher last year. This year our Music teacher is taking the grade one ESL and the Vice-Principal's taking the grade two so we don't have a 'qualified' ESL teacher for this group.

Phil provides a similar description of such a program at his school. "The program" he says, "is basically a pull-out program where the kids go to the ESL room and work with the teacher and a paraprofessional for one or two periods per day". The main difference between Jean's and Phil's program is that Phil's school is a designated ESL school for an entire division. He describes his school's structural arrangements:

Almost all of the ESL kids in the Division come to us for at least a couple of years until they get enough English proficiency to go back to their own neighborhood school...It was interesting earlier this year when we were handing out critical information regarding Family Life programming that the letter went home in four languages. It was in English, and German, and Spanish, and Polish. One of the unique staffing components of our school that's here largely as a result of the ESL program is the Community Liaison Worker who came to us as a result of a Compensatory funding submission a few years ago. She now does a tremendous amount of work with the community. We have an ESL teacher who is perceived as kind of the champion of the ESL kids and rightly so.

In the discussion of ESL programming, much more talk is devoted to the program itself than to how the classroom teachers integrate the philosophical concepts of ESL programming into the life of the regular classroom.

Support personnel at Ellen's school specialize in Native education issues. She describes their contributions:

I have an ELENS teacher whose program is English Language Enrichment for Native Students. Her basic responsibility is to upgrade children who are lagging in Language Arts. She also has a cultural component responsibility for the Native culture. She has the dual role of building up awareness and sensitivity amongst the staff and enhancing the children's experience or boosting the children's experience and knowledge in their culture. We also have a division-wide program on Aboriginal Awareness. It covers all areas. It's covered health, educational issues, learning styles, the situation on reserves, the Native view of the government, the Native view of systems, and issues around poverty and how that affects

people.

Efforts at cultural preservation as well as at language acquisition programming are fairly common features of many schools in this study. Decisions about such programming are sometimes made from outside the school and sometimes from within it.

With respect to the decision-making formats endorsed in the school, the power structures of decision-making as it relates to parents, teachers, and students about school issues are undergoing changes in many of these settings. Sometimes that means that issues of cultural diversity are part of those issues and sometimes not. The general notion of having power less concentrated in school people is sometimes perceived by these administrators as an initial step towards being more in touch with the "other" and others' perceptions in relation to issues of cultural diversity.

Some of these administrators are attempting to highlight the importance of parental participation in decision making on significant aspects of school life. Empowering parents, for example, to be a part of the real decisions of the school that go beyond fundraising is growing in importance in this context as it is in the "voiced" context. Issues of cultural diversity may receive some attention at least in a peripheral sense as Martin describes:

There's been a very strong Parent Council, very strong parent support. They're very much involved with the school in many ways not just from the point of view of fundraising and stuff like that because they all do that but at Parent Council

Meetings, for example, we get to talk about certain significant issues, about some of the important decisions we're making about the school in terms of our orientation whether it be related to discipline kinds of decisions or whether it be related to the whole cultural aspect of our school.

The point made by Martin is that meaningful participation in decision-making is encouraged.

Teachers, also, in some of these contexts are taking on leadership roles which allow for influence in what happens within the school. One such example occurs in Jerry's school.

He conveys:

The Equality in Education Chairperson from our teachers' association is on our staff. She's interested in raising our consciousness to some of those race things that she's programmed with the kids later on in that area. It's very formative and I'm glad she's doing it and we're looking at that...She also looks at issues regarding boys and girls and Black and White within the educational context, looking at fair representation.

Leadership to institutionalize teacher empowerment is particularly espoused in the "voiced" context.

Population representativeness such as that of staff is a structural consideration a few administrators in the "deciding" context try to address or, perhaps more appropriately, redress. Ellen emphasizes, "I think that it's important to have that representativeness. I have seven Native people on staff." This view is becoming more prominent for many administrators as Marie indicates stating, "We have a mixed staff but we don't have any staff members from a visible minority. It would be nice if we did to project a model to kids." Robert concurs saying, "There's a need to have a lot more teachers and workers in our schools that

represent the population. We've been lagging behind that for years and need to do something about that." Again, representation is part of the inclusion priority which receives attention in the "voiced" context.

This concern for fairer representation extends beyond staff members to visitors who are brought into the school as well. Ellen points out that one way to deal with discrimination is to

make sure that everyone, in some way or another, is reflected in what we do in a positive way. It's sort of an anti-racist orientation. It's sort of broadening the children's thinking on issues. When we have a 'Career Day' or we have 'Young Author's Day' we try to pick people that represent the population in the school.

In a multi-language track school, the representation issue is sometimes approached by legitimizing the use of several languages in the school. Paul reports that

we promote staff communication in French as much as possible and in Ukrainian as much as possible. We're a multicultural school and I think it's important that we promote that in our schools. So the use of French when teachers want to communicate with one another is certainly fine. We promote that and it's evident in the school. We do the same with Ukrainian Bilingual. You'll hear it in the staff room on occasion.

Student representativeness, as well, is becoming a key characteristic for grouping practices in this context and particularly in the "voiced" context. Age placement is used in a few of the contexts because, as Phil points out,

you can imagine that some of these kids are really in a tough spot trying to function in three languages...So we're constantly reassessing the placement of these kids and trying to get them whenever possible to age-appropriate placement.

Lloyd details his conceptualizations of grouping procedures at

his school emphasizing:

When we group kids, when we cluster kids around tables, we often consciously watch to see if we can mingle and intermingle so that we're not just letting cultures sort of gravitate to their own space. There's a time for that, too, and I'm going to suggest that if we don't allow that to happen, that we, in our own way, are being racist because there's always the potential for us to get caught, again, in that 'blaming the victim syndrome' but this time, when it comes to addressing racist kinds of issues, or racism kinds of issues...For me, the real challenge is to allow every teacher and every group of children to cluster together and to very gradually and very competently and very caringly just look after each other and take care of whatever needs to happen at that moment to de-mystify the issues about culture and about color and about whatever else happens in this school. In fact when we group our children, we don't group them accidentally; our groupings are often very carefully considered in terms of ratios...We try and break down some of the stereotypical kind of situations where Aboriginal kids will group together and Vietnamese kids will group together, and Black kids will group together. We're trying so hard to get passed that with limited success, but with some success.

Both Phil and Lloyd, having reservations about the potential ghettoization of students on the basis of the same language or group history not unlike some administrators in the "silenced" context, endorse representative practices in schooling formats.

There appears to be an awareness for many administrators in this context that structural considerations require attention if issues of cultural diversity are to be explicitly addressed.

Programmatic Considerations: Celebration activities, artefact displays, and awareness enrichment experiences are features of programming which receive some attention in relation to the issues of cultural diversity. Recognizing that celebrations for different cultures and faiths vary, many

administrators attempt to make some "accommodation" to acknowledge that reality. Quite in contrast to the "voiced" context, usually these changes are only slightly removed from the status quo but the will appears to be present to value differences.

With celebration activities, there is an awareness, as Jim puts it, that there is "in North America perhaps a bias in terms of how holidays were established. Our holidays do tend to follow the Christian calendar but we try to bring in the celebration of different kinds of traditions." He elaborates on his plans for responding to diversity dealing with celebrations:

What we've done is we've picked on a theme which is common, or we found to be common in just about all cultures, and that is the theme of light. So we're going to have a "Festival of Lights". We're going to try to balance representation. The Christian one is the Christmas Tree and Christmas Lights and so on. That's easy enough. Hannukah is very close and so we can have the menorah and those things. But the Hindu religion has a festival called Diwali which is their Festival of Lights so they put lights in every window and anywhere you can put a candle. We're going to try to find something similar from the Muslim group. We're going to introduce the secular, as well, because one of the things that we do know is that there is no truly religious significance to many people of any faith and so the secular component is a very important one. So what we're looking at is sharing common values and we'll see how it works. We hope that people will feel comfortable.

This endeavor to be inclusive and respectful is much like many of those in the "voiced" context. Recounting similar objectives, Lloyd describes the "Winter Concert at his school. Rather than a "Christian" theme, it has a "winter" theme because, he says, "What's happening is, teachers and community

together are becoming more respectful of the broader community but it's a slow process."

Even in a fairly homogeneous community, sensitivity to particular culturally-based details in celebrations are important as Ellen shares:

We've always been sensitive about our presentations at the concert...Our children would not have paper headdresses or any of that kind of stuff at the Christmas concert. We wouldn't make up outfits that are insulting to a culture.

Martin, too, points to his French language setting as influencing the sensitivities in regard to holiday celebrations. He explains a different perspective regarding emphasis:

Christmas has not been an issue at the school. One year we did a kind of cantata and the second year we did 'Christmas Around the World'. I think people are willing to live with the fact that this school has a French tradition. It represents a certain cultural group for which this is very much a part of the tradition. If not, it's like saying, 'Our ancestors were not Voyageurs. We don't want you to celebrate the Festival du Voyageur at school' which we do...I'm just guessing but I think that some people might question some of the things about Christmas if it was a school that wasn't tied in so directly to the notion of French and French culture.

In many cases, if there have been no strong objections to the status-quo celebrations, administrators like Phil, conclude, "With respect to the Christmas concerts, we don't get people not wanting it" and changes are not considered necessary. This is a common perspective in the "considered", "silenced", and "ignored" contexts.

Artefact displays reflecting the "celebratory" aspect of cultural diversity are commonplace in many schools in all contexts including the "deciding" context. This response to

acknowledging "cultural groups" takes many forms with many variations of highlighting language, dress, and the arts with the goal of "appreciating" or "valuing" cultural backgrounds. In Jerry's school, a limited exposure to artefacts is possible. He conveys:

We don't draw a lot of attention to the ethnic differences that take place but we do have a French assembly in which we celebrate a second language and the children can present things at the assembly from their cultural background in addition to academic things as part of the school activities.

In Paul's school, artefacts are added on to other aspects of the regular school language program. He, too, states:

We don't really make a big issue out of some cultural event. That's a matter of fact-type thing. It's part of the program. If you looked at one of our showcases here, there's a display of pysanky in that showcase. I've never had a parent come to me and say, 'Why are you doing that? There's too much religion or Christian concepts involved in it.'

Similarly in Marie's school, the "Festival du Voyageur Week", tribal dancers, and Ukrainian Easter egg painting are all a traditional part of the school agenda at different times of the year. Highlighting the history of multicultural activities and displays at his school, Jean relates:

We try to have multicultural activities in the school as much as possible and the bulletin board is the responsibility of one classroom teacher...One class went to the Ukrainian Cultural Centre for pysanky and this is why they made their bulletin board about the Ukrainian Easter. This multicultural part is quite new to us. We had started about four or five years ago to try and incorporate as much as we could as far as multiculturalism is concerned. Three years ago, we had a mini-folklorama where each classroom was a pavilion and where each classroom represented a country or different part of the country from where our children come...

During the year, we have little projects that will put an accent on multiculturalism. We have children who have explained to their classes what their Christmas was like or when they celebrate Christmas because we have all different

types here and we're always looking for multicultural activities.

Lloyd, too, elaborates on his school's experiences with celebrations and artefacts:

I remember in our first year here together, the energy and the enthusiasm. I mean we were in that honeymoon stage with the multicultural commitment that we made to go out and bring in and highlight and value all of the different cultures in a very public way: the dancing that went on, the songs that went on, and the dresses, and the pow-wows. We had our school just a buzz with all kinds of wonderful experiences for the community and for the kids just to say publically, 'We value you. You belong here.' So we have pow-wow clubs in this school. We have children in the gym yesterday doing Tagalog dancing which is a Filipino dance with the sticks, with the bamboo canes. We have the limbo dance that we do here. We have the fan dance and we have the hoop dances. We do a lot of that. We have the big new years' drum and the lion's head. So we do some of that pride-building around cultures and that sharing.

Lloyd does not conclude, however, without a critique saying, "But we need to do more than that."

The cultural awareness event-focussed approach to cultural diversity appears, in varying degrees, most repeatedly in this study. Most administrators in the "voiced" context, share Lloyd's sentiments that the school must move "beyond that" and that usually means, to them, into anti-racist education.

Awareness enrichment experiences in the form of performances or projects which supplement regular programming and which have some connection to issues of cultural diversity are sometimes also endorsed by administrators. Some in this context, as in others to some degree, take advantage of the funded programs available to do this. For example, Jean

recalls a program of four years ago where a group from "down east had a three day workshop with students about discrimination which was perfect." Detailing her endorsement, Ellen talks of such experiences as well:

When plays come out in theatres for young people, they're usually about social issues. They're usually about racism, illiteracy, or any of those kinds of things...So prior to them coming, the teachers will get a package or get some information. They'll discuss it in the classroom and then they may do a little deal after the play. We always take advantage of things like that in every way we can...We make money, we ask for money, and do whatever we can to get money to provide plays like those the Manitoba Theatre for Young People puts out. There was "Square Eyes" and several others that dealt with dealing with differences and safety and caring. We also bring artists into the school.

Special school-initiated projects, like an "Anti-racism Week" which Marie endorsed by structuring it into her school, serve to raise the consciousness of the school community to issues of cultural diversity. She comments:

We had a multicultural week. It was actually not a multicultural week. It was an anti-racism week. We did it for about two weeks. This year is the first time we've done it...I've actually hesitated to do it in the past. It turned out to be such a terrific, terrific response from the kids and the parents who saw it.

School-based initiatives regarding cultural diversity issues on a total school basis occur in a sustained manner, however, only in the "voiced" context.

Guest speakers sometimes play a role in raising awareness to issues of cultural diversity as well. Robert emphasizes that "we want to involve the community as much as possible" so they invite a Native speaker to come to the school. This person, Robert stresses,

has some excellent stuff that he does with kids around looking at dependency on drugs and looking at drugs that are bad. He has suggested 'Let's look at some traditional use of medicines that Native people have used' and so he's going to come in and talk about some traditional medicines and how they came about and what people used them for. So it's almost like a Science class on traditional medicines.

In this and other contexts but less so in the "voiced", "adding on" programming elements related to cultural diversity is not uncommon.

What is significant about the seasonal celebrations, artefact displays, and awareness experiences described as programmatic considerations in this context as in the "considered", "silenced", and "ignored" contexts is that most of these happenings are events which are perceived as the main focus of multicultural education in many schools. They are of an isolated nature and are not recognized as a fully natural part of a much wider ongoing process and orientation to addressing issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis.

Curricular Considerations: In addition to programmatic elements that are "added on" to the regular program, administrators in this context consider curricular areas in their deliberations about addressing issues of cultural diversity. The content and the presentation of curricular topics and materials are considered sometimes in a manner similar to the way they might be in the "voiced" context.

The Manitoba curriculum is the one we use but we need to adapt it because the students are ESL and because they don't have a lot of experience or background with many of the things that are in the curriculum

are comments made by Lorraine suggesting that there is a review of the total curriculum in an attempt to adapt the program to the children's needs. More frequently through these administrators, like many in the "silenced" and "ignored" contexts point out that exercises dealing with cultural diversity are integrated into the curricular programs much less deliberately. With topics like discrimination, Jean, for instance, states:

We handle slurs through our Health program. We have the unit on 'self-esteem' which is very, very good but this is just a unit and it's taught for maybe two or three lessons and that's it. I'd like it to keep on all year long...They have to learn to respect others. Things like anti-discrimination are dealt with in our Health program because they talk about self-esteem and they talk about different people, different nationalities, different colour so they know that everybody's equal no matter what colour you are, no matter what nationality you are. You're still human and you have feelings and you're an ordinary person.

The diffusion theme prominent in the "silenced" context appears to be reflected in Jim's perspective.

Similarly in some cases as is particularly common in the "considered", "silenced", and "voiced" contexts, issues of cultural diversity are intellectualized and integrated into the academic subjects. Jim indicates that in his school, this happens in geography classes where students do "international projects" and in history classes where "Holocaust education" is a topic. For Robert and many administrators in the "voiced" context, integrating concepts in the history curriculum, for instance, does not come without some dilemmas as he explains:

One of the things that we find in the school is that there are some difficulties when you talk about culture, separating culture from the notion of a faith, of a spirituality, so we're pretty careful to make sure that our students are taught the history of Native people blended in with their English and their reading and so on. We try to integrate the history because we can talk about things like pow-wows in the historical sense and we can talk about missionaries' influence in a historical sense. We can talk about medicines and traditional spirituality in a historical sense providing a framework for people to understand why things are the way they are. But we don't offer it as a 'right' or a 'wrong' because we do have a number of people who live in our community who very strongly believe that we should be doing as much traditional teaching as possible.

We don't try and blend the culture because we also know that we have to be open to everybody. We have Native people who, in fact, don't follow that way of thinking. They come from a background that is Pentecostal, or Christian of some sort, and they really don't believe that powwows and sweetgrass and drums are acceptable to them. And we also have a number of Metis people who don't see some of the aspects of traditional culture as fitting them. They have other aspects of culture that they've developed over that last one hundred and fifty years that they see suits them. So we present that in optional ways. We try and have things that kids can take part in but we don't have that as something that takes place in the classroom, other than in a historical sense.

In addition to inclusion and respect, the danger of stereotyping all people perceived to "belong" to a certain group with certain values is highlighted by Robert.

Moving away from the cross-cultural emphasis, one of the offshoots of Marie's "Anti-racism Week" was a discussion with staff members about curricular integration on a regular ongoing basis in the school. She relates:

A couple of my teachers came and said, 'Well, you know we do similar things during the year. It's part of the program' and I said, 'That's good. I'm glad. This just makes it kind of special and everyone's involved.'...It is in their curriculum when they study their communities and looking at our home and who we are. Teachers are aware of that kind of thing now. If a child is going to draw himself with his family, if he's Black, it's Black.

Reaching out and accepting the child's experience and history as part of the teaching-learning act is an anti-racist strategy commonly employed in the "voiced" context. Lloyd further conveys that "the content of the various curricula enterprises and the integration can very often become very community-based." Ellen sees that as very important in her school and recommends:

Our materials should reflect the culture. They should reflect a community like this. They should reflect all kinds of people rather than the typical book with that family which lives in this place and the Father does this, the Mother does that. We try to look at all of those kinds of things like family structures because we certainly have many different family structures, racial groups, neighbourhoods that depict a lot of activity.

Ellen's perspective is similar to the "voiced" context perspectives on inclusion, equality, and respect. Using resources like Indian Legends and fairytales from all around the world is recommended by Lloyd as a way to further curricularly address cultural diversity issues.

In general, it appears that scrutiny of curricular and supplementary materials for negative bias is left to the individual teacher. As Jerry indicates, "I leave that to the judgment of staff to a large extent. We have a material selection policy being developed and we have a policy handbook largely developed because of the Keegstra affair." It is in the "voiced" context that negative bias gets discussed to some extent on an ongoing basis. In no context, it needs to be noted, did talk focus on the potential for negative bias in assessment materials and procedures.

A few administrators in the "deciding" context are in the process of thinking about how curricula dealing with cultural diversity might be integrated on a school-wide basis. Martin shares:

Teachers do things in their classroom whether it be in their Social Studies or in their Language Arts program where there are elements that refer to various cultural groups but there's not been at this school a concerted effort to say, 'Well, how do we make sure that we integrate in an organized way to achieve certain very specific goals? How do we integrate the whole concept of multiculturalism?' I think it's going to become an expectation and either we wait for it to drop on us or we begin to prepare for it...

I think this 'thinking it through' is something that we maybe do not give ourselves enough of a chance to do. When you go into a staff meeting for example, and when you make up your agenda, you've got all these things you want to touch on but there's never really that much time that you allow for 'Well, let's talk about this for the next forty minutes. Let's just talk about this because well, it's an issue and we really haven't resolved it. We need to talk about it somewhere down the line so let's just talk, brainstorm.'...We do a little more brainstorming now. We've started to do these kinds of things.

To date, however, as with programmatic considerations, those dealing with curriculum are not perceived in this context to be a part of a total school plan to address issues of cultural diversity.

Pedagogical Considerations: With respect to pedagogical or methodological considerations which focus on the "how" and "why" of teaching, many administrators use the term "cooperative learning" to describe the pedagogical changes which they would like to endorse in their schools. There appears to be some ambiguity in how that term is defined and what it actually means in the school setting. While most in the "voiced" context understand it to mean a total school

outlook on how schooling and education are organized for students--a philosophy of teaching and learning, others in the "considered", "silenced", and "ignored" contexts see it as a tool available for use at the discretion of an individual for specific times and purposes, an isolated strategy or instrument. Insights into the former definition can be gleaned from Lloyd's comment: "We work very hard in our classrooms to try and organize our rooms in such a way that co-operative learning is a major focus in this building." Insights into the latter are highlighted by Jerry's description:

Last year we worked on cooperative learning in the primary grades. This happened partly because this was a divisional emphasis and finances were available for people to go on inservice and partly because the division itself took some initiative in setting up workshops after and during school time so the teachers went to that. It was met with moderate success I think. There were some teachers who found it useful and some didn't. I leave the practice of it with them. Some are very keen on it. Some of them said, 'Well I'll do a little of it but it's not a great deal different from group work' and that's true. There is a connection between cooperative learning and group work but cooperative learning is a much higher level of teaching kids how to cooperate on things...The cooperative learning here is not as sophisticated as it might be. Sometimes its simply group work of a form where kids do collaborate on something...The literature would say I guess that that is a technique that one could use to foster an understanding against the differences that exist amongst students whether that is academic or other.

Resistance on the part of some educators to adopt cooperative learning as a way of doing things differently appears to be not uncommon in contexts outside the "voiced" context.

Most administrators in the "voiced" and some in the "deciding" context such as Ellen, are convinced that

activity-based learning, group learning, co-operative learning, and all those kinds of things seem to be very effective with all children and, I think, especially, for Native children.

Often the challenge is to design such programming effectively.

Robert tells of his efforts in this regard and stresses that

"options" and "individualization" in learning are important:

We have a mixture of cultures and a mixture of histories. There's no one way of doing things so when we have a chance to have some art, to have some artefacts, to have some programs for kids that they can volunteer to get involved in, whether that be the medicine wheel; whether it be healing ceremonies; whether it be sessions in our TV classroom; whether it be some activity designed to look at the Metis culture, we do that as often as we can to offer something that kids can buy into on their own...

We're struggling with what culture is for Native people. We try and provide options for kids by having sharing circles; by teaching the medicine wheel; by having our teepee used as a classroom; by bringing in elders; by trying to focus on the kinds of culture that kids may identify with...We're doing some basic Salteaux and Cree language, but again optional for those kids who want to do some of that...

Mostly, we come down to an individualized kind of approach because our kids cover the spectrum in terms of skills and interests. Our academic approach is kind of a family grouping. We team-teach. We keep our kids with the same teachers most of the day and we try to follow the kids through their grades.

Administrators in the "voiced" context, too, stress the relationship between learning and students' experiences as an important dimension in wholistic education.

Participation, alternatives, and individualization surface as important pedagogical considerations to be endorsed for many of the administrators in the "deciding" context. In many ways, the meaning they attach to these concepts are similar to those used in the "voiced" context but in some ways meanings from the "considered", "silenced", and "ignored" are

relevant such as in some administrators' understandings of cooperative learning.

REFLECTION:

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES IN THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT

The absence of formal public statements regarding cultural diversity in this context does not reflect the absence of thinking about some of the issues of cultural diversity by these administrators. The acceptance of mandated programs from the larger system with few school-initiated and school-wide programs may suggest that decisions about what will be deemed important to endorse formally beyond what is imposed by mandate are not yet complete. When and if this occurs, institutionalizing public statements and schooling formats may take on different agendas.

REFLECTION: ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT

As administrators continue processing decisions in this context, it might be assumed that more clarity to their intentions on addressing issues of cultural diversity will emerge. They are in a transition phase in which there is a fair amount of scrutiny, of asking the "right questions" as Lloyd puts it, about what is appropriate administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts.

In that transition, administrators like Paul are pondering:

We don't have people of colour in our school. We have children of Chinese and East Indian descent and concerns do arise. We talk about it at staff meetings. We talk about it in program development. I think it might be an item that we have to look at. I think maybe we don't do it as well as we

should have.

In that transition, administrators like Robert are pondering:

We don't have a lot of any one culture so we have to try to allow kids to also see something of their culture. That's not something we're doing very well. That's not something that we've had as much success with...I think we felt kind of pushed to make sure that we do everything that we can do to give some 'show time' to culture because I think sometimes we don't understand how to deal with culture except to look at it in a 'Folklorama' kind of perspective. I don't know how else to do it either...With cultural diversity that's something that's ongoing and probably we'll have to develop. Where we don't do a good job, I don't think, is in providing a lot of the cultural enhancement to our school. We need to look at more ways of getting more people involved from the community.

In that transition, administrators like Martin are pondering:

We've talked about cultural diversity and multiculturalism a number of times. We've had a presentation on it. We've had a group of teachers who, as part of their coursework, did a study of multiculturalism and talked to us about some of the things we could think about doing to better reflect that reality in our schools. It's got to be in my mind a little bit more maybe than once or twice a year having a mini-folklorama. That's part of it if you want. That's the celebration aspect of multiculturalism but I think it's got to be a little more basic, a little more fundamental than the question, 'Do you introduce a course on multiculturalism right away?' My own personal feeling is if you want to kill something, you teach it. You make a course out of it and that then really gets people. No, it should just be something that becomes a part of the way we are in our school and part of the things we talk about in our classrooms.

In that transition administrators like Lloyd are pondering:

I'm not sure what we need to do next but I believe we need to do something. Something needs to be done and I'm not sure I have the where withall to come together and understand that.

This transition process in the "deciding" context may include reflection on engaging the school explicitly in cross-

cultural and/or issue-based action or on engaging it in no explicit way in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity. In this "deciding" context administrators are working at thinking through their administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts without having yet come to a definitive stance as to how that might be realized. They are experiencing some transitions in thinking and, perhaps in behaviors, in this "liminal phase" of their administrative lives in relation to the cultural diversity. Their idiosyncratic perspectives are representative of what in reality administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts appears to be about, and that is, about individual behaviors of administrators with particular intentions for schools in culturally diverse society. It is important to emphasize, as Greenfield (1973) states that each administrator's position is an invented social reality, which holds for a time and then vulnerable to redefinition through changing demands and beliefs among people (p. 560).

Principles and practices of intentions in the culturally diverse contexts of schools are rooted in the justification, advocacy, and endorsement processes carried out by administrators in schools. It is in the behaviors of administrators in the "deciding" context, which could be described as anomalous to the imposed structure of the typology, that some of the intricacies and complexities of such processing are most clearly evident. Essentially, what commonly makes these administrators anomalous to the criteria

of the typology is that they do not all talk about the personal will to address explicitly cultural diversity issues and the collective way to do it but, instead, they talk about how they are currently giving thought to their own values and principles in relation to cultural diversity and making some decisions in this regard. For the most part, consideration of school-initiated practices reflecting those principles have not to any noticeable extent been decided. These administrators are, therefore, deciding their justification, advocacy, and endorsement stances with most of the attention at this particular point in time centered on the justification of their particular intention as it relates to issues of cultural diversity.

In one sense and to varying degrees, administrative behavior in the "deciding" context reflects a sampling of the different behaviors found in all four typological contexts. Many of these administrators come closest to sharing commonalities with contexts where administrators have given consideration to addressing issues of cultural diversity in thought--in principle, at least, if not in word and deed. None of these administrators, however, have designed public statements indicating attention to cultural diversity issues. These administrators raise many of the issues of cultural diversity pertinent to all contexts of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts.

CHAPTER 12

"IT'S NOT THE SCHOOL: IT'S THE PRINCIPAL OF THE THING": ADMINISTRATIVE TALK ABOUT PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS IN CULTURALLY DIVERSE CONTEXT

SUMMATION

This study is about the perspectives of forty Manitoba school administrators who work in the "culturally diverse contexts" of Canadian society. In Manitoba, this cultural diversity is recognized in the Manitoba Multicultural and Multicultural Education policies and in the Manitoba Educational Administrators' Handbook.

Although "culturally diverse contexts" may indeed be interpreted as any or all schools in Canada because of the heterogenous nature of the entire Canadian population, some administrators in this study found it meaningful to frame their perspectives in relation to their immediate geographical demographics which, in some cases meant that administrators identified their settings as "not culturally diverse contexts". Further, although "culturally diverse" may be taken by many to refer to the diversity in race and ethnicity of Canadian society, some administrators in this study found it meaningful to frame their perspectives in relation to diversity by including all forms of perceived "difference" such as that based on class, creed, gender, ability, age, and lifestyle. The idiosyncratic ways in which administrators make sense of their administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts are central to this study.

The presuppositions for the content of this study are derived from the fields of educational administration and multicultural/anti-racist education. An integral premise of the study is that school administrators have the power to make a difference in schools. They make a difference in how the school population, and by logical extension, the larger society perceive some aspects of cultural diversity. In both the historical and contemporary context of schools, diverse conceptualizations of definitions, policies, and practices related to issues of cultural diversity exist. Administrators talked about many such meanings in this study.

The presuppositions for the methodology of this study are derived from a grounded theory approach to qualitative research. This method allows the diverse personal experience perspectives of administrators to be used as foundational subjectivist data for developing an interpretive theory of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts.

In the analysis of data, the major phenomena, concepts, and properties of that theory suggest that each administrator values a particular intention for the school. Each administrator engages in the processes of justification, advocacy, and endorsement as ways of "valuing" that intention. Each administrator negotiates that particular intention in a school. With respect to addressing issues of cultural diversity in the school, the intention of each administrator was unique.

How the justification, advocacy, and endorsement processes relate to addressing issues of cultural diversity is interpreted in this study as an indication of the administrator's particular values related specifically to cultural diversity. The values underpinning each administrator's intentions contribute to the construction of a particular version of schooling and administrative behavior in a school within the context of culturally diverse Canadian society in Manitoba.

For purposes of describing some of the commonalities within the varieties of school contexts about which administrators talked, I chose to design a typology to highlight two criteria of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts which surfaced most repeatedly in administrative talk. The two criteria providing a frame for the typology are: the administrator's perception of personal will (personal significance attached) and the administrator's perception of a collective way (collective orientation established) for explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity on a school-wide basis. When these two criteria are matched, they allow for the description of four general versions of schooling and administrative behavior specifically related to cultural diversity issues in these particular contexts.

The administrators' intentions for the "world taken for granted" in schools in any one of these contexts can be

identified as quite different from the intentions for the "world taken for granted" in schools in another context of the typology. Further, the individual intentions within each context are different from each other and are only bound together in this study heuristically for the purpose of illustrating some common themes. Some of those themes refer specifically to cultural diversity issues and some do not. All data about behavior within different contexts of the typology, as well as about behavior which did not "fit neatly" into the typological structure, is rooted in the subjectivist interpretations of the forty Manitoba school administrators.

The uniqueness of each administrator's principles of practice surface when the administrator justifies the valued intention. The administrator identifies the values which inform her/his administrative thinking and behaviors. In a sense, the justification process identifies the valuable, the important, in terms of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. The typology serves as a device for describing the different values administrators in this study place on explicitly addressing issues of cultural diversity in their schools. Those different values mirror different wills and intentions of the individual administrators.

The context in which administrators "will" to justify, advocate, and endorse issues of cultural diversity is called the "voiced" context; the context in which they consider those

processes is named the "considered" context; the context in which they do not "will" to address those issues explicitly in school programming is referred to as the "silenced" context; and the context in which issues of cultural diversity have virtually not been considered as an integral aspect of the school programming is called the "ignored" context.

Basically, in the "voiced" context, cultural diversity issues are said to be "voiced" because there is dialogue and action on a school-wide basis with respect to them. They are valued as part of total school programming and a collective orientation is perceived to be established with this in mind. In the "considered" context, cultural diversity issues are considered without being given much voice in the school because what is valued more is establishing survival strategies that deal with other areas of school programming. As a result, a collective orientation to explicitly addressing the issues on a school-wide basis is perceived to not be established. In the "silenced" context, the issues are silenced and not given voice because the maintenance of the status quo is deemed more important than raising issues of cultural diversity. Addressing issues of cultural diversity explicitly is not valued as part of the total school programming and an orientation to not addressing cultural diversity issues is perceived to be established at the school. In the "ignored" context, issues are ignored and not given voice because what is valued are areas of specialty

programming within the school with which administrators are preoccupied. A collective orientation to explicitly addressing cultural diversity on a school-wide basis is perceived to not be established. Within each of these general contexts, administrators work idiosyncratically to construct different intentions and cultures in schools. In each school within culturally diverse society, administrative behavior varies with the individual.

Reflecting a particular justification of intention, the administrator's principles of practice are evident in the advocacy of priorities. This is described by administrators as a highly interactive part of their work often involving much negotiation with others who may value different intentions. The administrators talk about taking opportunities to communicate, to advocate for, certain priorities.

In relation to issues of cultural diversity, administrators in the different contexts promote different priorities. In the "voiced" context, the priorities are change, inclusion, justice, respect, and adaptability. In the "considered" context, survival programming to establish stability within schools experiencing crisis is a priority and issues of cultural diversity are not necessarily a part of that survival agenda. The priorities of continuity, conformity, and diffusion in relation to cultural diversity issues are paramount in the "silenced" context. In the

"ignored" context, specialty programming is a preoccupation which seemingly is unchallenged by any agenda which might be related to cultural diversity. In each context, these priorities illustrated some of the common advocacy themes which are communicated to varying degrees by individual administrators.

Intertwined with the communication of the principles as priorities in the advocacy phase is the process of monitoring. This occurs through assessment and orientation. The appropriateness and acceptance of priorities in the school audience is assessed and favorable orientation to the priorities is encouraged. The administrators talk about assessing the concepts, the community, the school, and in some cases, their administrative work in relation to issues of cultural diversity. Questions which arise in the context where most of the talk about cultural diversity occurs, the "voiced" context, are: "What is meant by 'multiculturalism', 'multicultural education', 'anti-racism' and 'anti-racist education'?" "What are the issues embedded in these terms?" "What are the perceived attitudes and needs of the community in this regard?" "At what level of collective readiness is school personnel for addressing the issues and how will that proceed?" and "To what extent will this be perceived as the administrator's agenda or the total school's agenda and in what ways will that become evident?" To a significant degree what follows in orienting the school and community depends on

the answers to this assessment.

More formal action to "inculcate values" occurs as the advocacy transforms into endorsement. Direct leadership influence and staff development are two strategies about which administrators speak most when they talk about initiating action to endorse a principle into a practice. In relation to cultural diversity, where the administrator risks challenging established ways and takes action to break new ground in developing a concept or approach, explicit philosophical and managerial leadership influence is directed at changing the status quo. Where the administrator is engaged in primarily disciplinary and managerial processes in the school in relation to cultural diversity issues, it can be said that the task of leading is directed at the maintenance of established ways. Where survival and specialty are preoccupations as priorities for administrators, leadership influence appears not to be directed to addressing cultural diversity issues but to some other areas.

Related to the explicit acts of leadership influence are the collective acts of staff development in explicitly addressing cultural diversity issues. Staff development plans in each of the contexts may be long or short term; they may or may not take recruitment into account; and they may or may not have addressing cultural diversity issues as objectives either as isolated events or as total ongoing school programming.

In its ultimate form, the practice of principles of an

intention is endorsed when it is made permanent, at least until revision, by institutionalizing its properties into the "regular" daily practice of the school. Principles are transformed into practices. These are the practices which make schooling and education experiences that occur in a certain manner in one place and time different from the ways they occur in another place and time.

Two of the most obvious features of institutionalizing practices are public statements and schooling formats. With public statements, the administrator highlights the important principles and practices of an intention in the form of statements about mission, goals, or philosophy. The format for the way to carry out that statement in the daily life at the school is characterized by structural, programmatic, curricular, and pedagogical considerations. These are the "blueprints" for schooling and education which impact most directly on students' experiences in each of the contexts. They are part of the school culture created for life in school.

Administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts is described in this study as diverse idiosyncratic behavior. Only some of this individual behavior can be tentatively connected for descriptive purposes to other idiosyncratic behavior of other administrators in some common themes to some degree under certain conditions or criteria. Examining the presence and absence of the will and the way to explicitly

address issues of cultural diversity in that behavior highlights some of the values and value conflicts inherent in administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts that relates specifically to cultural diversity issues. Such has been undertaking of this study.

REFLECTION

Although technical literature was used to provide an informed point of departure for this study of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts, this subjectivist inquiry which examined the views of forty Manitoba school administrators has been grounded primarily in the data of their experiences about which they talked.³⁵ To capture their meanings and interpretations was the intention of this study. Such a goal was in keeping with Greenfield's (1984) conviction that

our penchant for thinking about organizations as entities, as things with a life of their own, blinds us to their complexity and to the human actions which constitute the facade which we call organization. It leads us to believe that we must change some abstract thing called 'organization' rather than the beliefs of people about what they should do and how they should behave with each other. The more closely we look at organizations, the more likely we are to find expressions of diverse human meanings. The focus of our efforts to improve organizations should not be, 'What can be done to change the structure of this organization?' but, 'Whose intentions define what is right to do among people here involved with one another?' and 'How might these intentions be changed?'. The task of changing organizations depends, first upon the varieties of reality which individuals see in existing organizations, and second, upon their acceptance of new ideas

³⁵A concerted effort has been made to infuse the technical literature into the discussion of this study only in the final phases of analysis and only to a limited degree in order that administrative talk reflect the core organizational and substantive ideas presented.

of what can or should be achieved through social action. We know little about either, but it is clear we should understand the first before we attempt to direct the second (p.79).

It is about the first of these to which the focus of this study basically speaks. Indeed this study documents expressions of diverse human meanings and varieties of reality perceived by administrators regarding their administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. This thesis argues that through the processes of valuing an intention, each of these administrators is justifying, advocating, and endorsing different intentions and beliefs which, to a great extent, define the moral domain--what is "right" and "important" to do--in their particular schools in relation to addressing issues of cultural diversity. If we accept Greenfield's contention that studying individual intentions should be a central focus of efforts to improve schools, then administrative behavior provides a focal point of analysis in that endeavor.

Although the intentions of individual administrators differ in this study, each has made a choice about explicitly addressing cultural diversity issues as part of their administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. This is so whether the administrator has chosen to explicitly address those issues or not because as Sleeter and Grant (1994) point out, "One cannot choose not to choose, because to accept the status quo is also to make a choice" (p. 250). That that choice is rooted in an individual administrator's

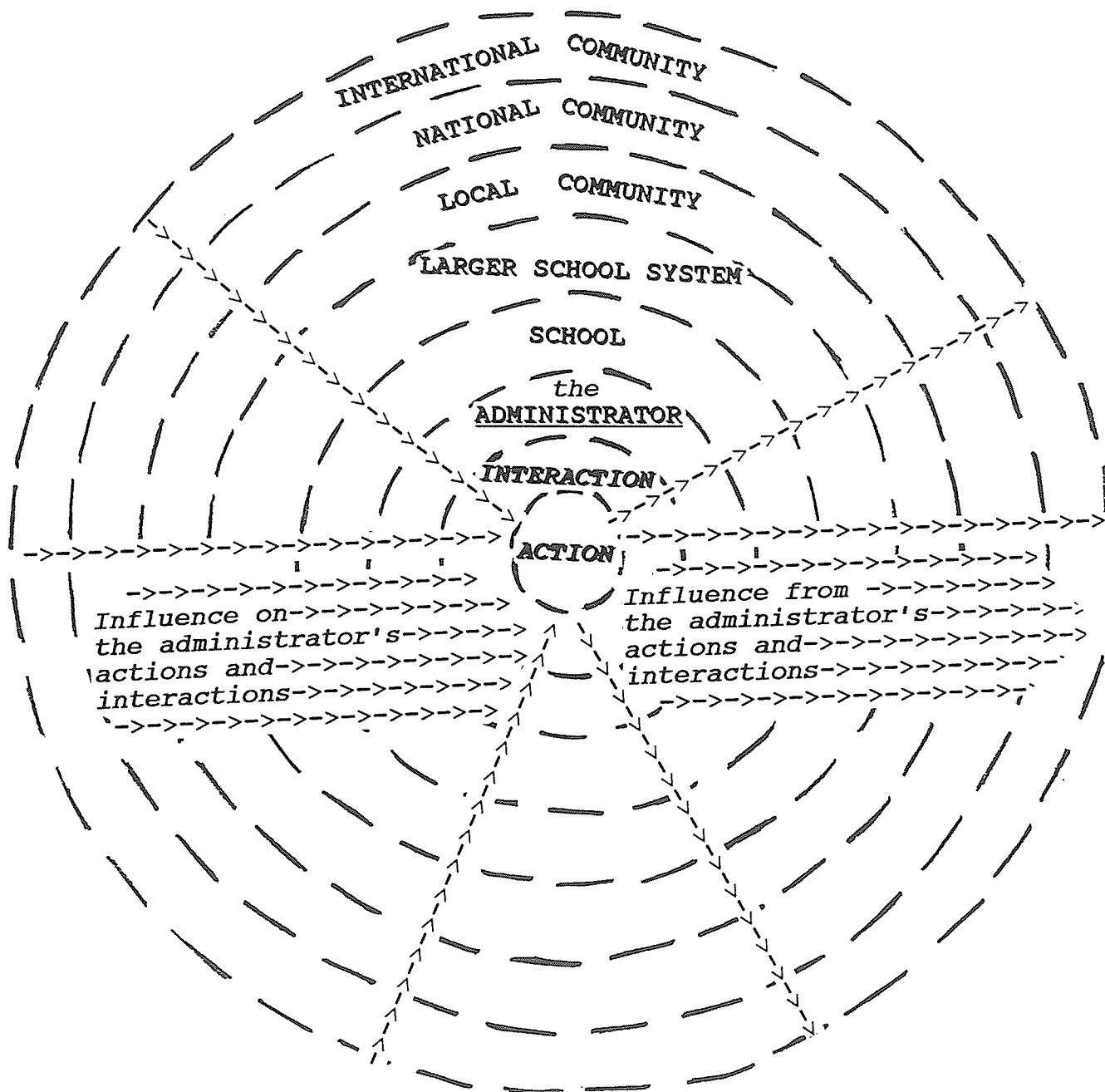
values and intention is a major argument in this study. In each of the varieties of reality which are talked about by administrators in culturally diverse contexts, administrative behavior appears to be motivated to a significant degree by individual administrator's intentions. It is for those intentions, those visions, which administrators justify their advocacy interaction and ultimately their endorsement of practices relating to those intentions.

The rootedness of values, will, and intentions in an individual administrator's behavior, in her/his actions and interactions, can be illustrated visually through the use of a conditional matrix (*Table 31*). An administrator's behavior as action in endorsement and as interaction in advocacy is essentially bounded by and encompassed within the individual administrator as person with values and intentions that are justified. Although the individual administrator's behavior can be also be influenced by the school, by the larger system, by the local community, and by national and international politics and events as "outside" variables, that individual's behavior is most directly influenced by the individual as person. The "inside" variables, the individual's values, will, and intentions, encircle the administrator's interaction and action. The advocacy interaction and endorsement action are bound by the administrator's intention and values as person.

As is indicated by administrators' talk in the study,

TABLE 31

CONDITIONAL MATRIX: INFLUENCES ON AND FROM THE ADMINISTRATOR'S
ACTIONS AND INTERACTIONS (adapted from Strauss & Corbin, 1990,)



those intentions are constructed somewhat and sometimes due to the impact of "outside" variables but almost invariably

administrators talk about them being intimately connected to their personal value perspectives on concerns and consequences which are related to an individual's personal life experiences.

Some of those life experience "inside" variables, as Lee (1985) points out, are ethnic background, geographic origin, religious background, gender, ability, cultural influences, family influences, race, economic class, and age. Administrators in their justification process regarding cultural diversity issues did talk about these internal variables of "self" as being factors integral to their intentions and to the interaction and action they carried out. Administrators talk about individual intention and will as central to their justification, advocacy, and endorsement behaviors in culturally diverse contexts.

All administrators in this study say they believe their intentions, as ones that are appropriate and "right", have some influence on what happens in their schools. By logical extension, and again with the use of the conditional matrix, it can be illustrated that they also have some power to influence society through what it is they say and do as "right" in schools.

By their leadership influence, staff development endeavors, public statements, and schooling formats which they justify, advocate, and endorse at their schools, administrators are influencing staff, students, and the

community to socialization experiences of the kind that they value. They construct a culture of a particular kind. This socialization within schools, as cultural influence on an individual's values and intentions, can influence others and their interactions and actions in the larger school system, or the local, national, and international communities in relation to cultural diversity issues. Hence, each of the school administrator's idiosyncratic intentions along with their justified principles and concomitant practices construct value messages for and in schools and society which can have influence on what happens in relation to cultural diversity issues in school and society.

Although negotiated in various ways and to varying degrees, administrator's individual intentions are central to the commitment they have to addressing cultural diversity issues as part of their administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. The values which inform their intentions are at the core of their justification, advocacy, and endorsement stances in the school. Some of the general similarities and differences among the themes justified, advocated, and endorsed in relation to cultural diversity issues are illustrated in this study by using the typology as a heuristic device.

My argument in this thesis is that the intentions of administrators regarding cultural diversity issues in the "voiced" context of the typology are focussed on explicitly

addressing those issues on a school-wide basis. I suggest that in various ways and to varying degrees, each chooses to address issues of cultural diversity such as racism, injustice, discrimination, and negative bias by emphasizing change, inclusion, justice, respect, and adaptability as important priorities to advocate and endorse in their schools. From interpreting the talk of these administrators, it can be said that they give the issues of cultural diversity a voice in their schools. There is an effort to socialize adults and students to thoughts, words, and deeds that will give the issues a voice. The culture created in the school promotes a kind of social action stance to address issues of cultural diversity on an ongoing basis.

The intentions of administrators in the "considered" context are primarily focussed on things other than cultural diversity issues. I suggest that each chooses to address the perceived concerns of crisis in their schools by emphasizing, in various ways and to varying degrees, stability as a priority to advocate and endorse. From the talk of these administrators, it appears that they consider, but do not actively promote giving issues of cultural diversity a voice in their schools. Adults and students in the school community do not live in a school culture which promotes an active stance toward addressing issues of cultural diversity.

The intentions of administrators in the "silenced" context are focussed on not explicitly addressing cultural

diversity issues in the school. I suggest that each chooses to address concerns of status quo maintenance by emphasizing, in various ways and to varying degrees, the priorities of continuity, conformity, and diffusion in their advocacy and endorsement. From the talk of these administrators about not giving voice to those issues, it appears that those issues are silenced in these schools as students and adults are not socialized to think, speak, and act in ways that would raise the profile of cultural diversity issues in the school. There is a school culture in which being passive about cultural diversity issues is the norm.

The intentions of administrators in the "ignored" context are primarily focussed on things other than cultural diversity issues. I suggest that each administrator chooses to address concerns of refinement in their schools by emphasizing, in various ways and to varying degrees, specialization as a priority to advocate and endorse. From the talk of these administrators, the issues of cultural diversity appear to not be given a voice because such issues appear to be ignored as issues of significance to the school agenda. Students and adults are not encouraged to take active stances regarding the issues of cultural diversity. The culture constructed in the school does not appear to provide a forum for such.

In a sense, then this study provides some insight into the first of Greenfield's criteria for understanding organizations--that of understanding something of the

varieties of reality individuals perceive in their schools and the varieties of messages which are relayed in and from the school regarding the different intentions relating to issues of cultural diversity.

Through the use of individual profiles to highlight each administrator's justification of values and intention and through the use of the typology as a heuristic tool to highlight some of the general common themes of the justification, advocacy, and endorsement stances regarding cultural diversity issues, this dissertation contributes to laying out some of the specific and general intentions and values that inform different orientations of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts. For the most part, I have made an attempt to empower the reader by leaving to the reader the judgment of the appropriateness of each of the intentions for the school and for administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts.

As for Greenfield's second criteria,--that of directing the change of intentions--this study contributes to that objective basically by putting forth, first, some general implications stemming from the data and, secondly, some specific questions for reflection regarding administrative talk about administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts.

IMPLICATIONS

Reflecting on some of the talk in this study dealing with

administration, schools, and cultural diversity issues, the following general implications surfaced:

1. **POLICY:** Regardless of Canadian federal proclamations such as the Multiculturalism Act and similar provincial ones such as the Multicultural and Multicultural Education policies in Manitoba, this study demonstrates the gulf between policy and practice in the area of cultural diversity. Who gets hired as administrator of a school becomes crucial to what intentions become part of the reality in a school.

2. **EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION DEBATES:** The varieties of reality that emerged in the study reflects the varieties of values and philosophies by which individual administrators are guided. Indeed what administrative behavior in these culturally diverse contexts appears to be is varieties of philosophies in action (Hodgkinson, 1983). The inclusion of a philosophical orientation to administration in programs of study and in inservice experience would serve to provide forums in which administrators could legitimize reflection on philosophies as a regular aspect of administrative work. Such might allow for growth in critical analysis skills regarding values, intentions, will, and risk-taking in decision-making. If individual intention guides administrative action, administrative preparation and ongoing development in the habits of self-reflection appear imperative.

3. **MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION DEBATES:** The ambiguity in the conceptualization of multicultural education is often reflected in the ambiguity with which administrators say they are trying to come to terms with it in practice. Where cultural diversity issues are explicitly addressed such as in the "voiced" context, these challenges of clarification, however, are understood to be a part of ongoing, lifelong learning. Clarification grows most evident where total school dialogue regarding the issues is planned, sustained, and integrated into all areas of school life. Decisions made appear to be well-informed decisions. Collaborative collegial structures appear to promote transactional, transformative behaviors but require support from within and beyond the confines of the school.

4. **QUALITATIVE SUBJECTIVIST METHODOLOGY:** A number of administrators in the study commented on the newness and the value of the dissertation topic and method to them as a way of thinking about and describing their work (Appendix M). This suggests opportunities for research of this type might be welcomed by people in schools. Further, the apparent novelty of this experience for many administrators also suggests that such opportunities for regular interaction could serve to weaken the critique of administrators being committed to

practice but not theory.

5. PROCESSES OF ADMINISTRATION: The processes of administration identified in this study as justification, advocacy, and endorsement are said to be rooted in individual intention, interaction, and action. This suggests that a reflective analysis orientation involving ongoing examination of self and values would be a critical element of individual and collective preservice and professional growth for administrators, teachers, and support staff who work in schools.

6. CULTURAL DIVERSITY ISSUES: Issues of cultural diversity stemming from demographic, ideological, sociological, psychological, or political interpretations are talked about in this study as being inevitable features of the larger society. In particular, that adult society is sometimes identified by these administrators as having negative attitudinal and behavioral influence on young people regarding cultural diversity. The way administrators choose to explicitly address or not address these issues as societal matters with all students, staff, and community members of their school is a moral matter. Hence, administrative behavior in cultural diverse contexts is a moral and educative endeavor (Hodgkinson, 1983; Greenfield, 1991) involving both home and school as meaningful participants.

7. VARIETIES OF PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES: The varieties of different principles and practices within and between contexts reflect the varieties of different intentions administrators hold for realities in schools. Given that several administrators in the study provided a critique on administrator hesitancy to look beyond their immediate environments at alternative intentions and realities, some functional mobility or exchange experiences may serve to provide administrators, staff, and communities with other meanings and ways of understanding reality in schools. As part of such an interchange, alternative choices regarding the issues of cultural diversity can be debated and, perhaps, lived out in schools.

QUESTIONS:

Reflecting on the major headings in this dissertation dealing with administration, schools, and cultural diversity issues, the following questions regarding the examination of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts surfaced for me:

PRESUPPOSITIONS: If schools are agencies of value contestation, construction, and transmission and if administrators are key people in schools, to what extent is importance placed on critical literacy (Foster, 1986) and on administration as a educative moral art and science (Hodgkinson, 1978; Foster 1986; Greenfield, 1991) in schools?

VALUING AN Intention: To what extent have administrators deliberated the core questions: "Education in Multicultural Society: What Sort of Education? What Sort of Society" posed by Young (1984) a decade ago?

JUSTIFYING PRINCIPLES: To what extent have administrators pondered the debates regarding cultural diversity brought forth by Banks (1988, 1989) on levels of cultural awareness and curriculum integration; Cole (1989) on monocultural, multicultural, and anti-racist education; Cummins (1988, 1990) on heritage language issues; Lee (1985, 1989) on anti-racist education; Lynch (1987) on prejudice reduction; Mallea (1989) on multicultural education goals; McCarthy (1990) on racism and justice; McLaren (1989) on knowledge and power relationships; or Sleeter and Grant (1994) on education that is multicultural and reconstructionist?

ADVOCATING PRINCIPLES: How do administrators engage in the advocacy process and its inherent tensions and conflicts dealing with the concepts of stability/reform movements; academic/social agendas; personal/public expectations; intuition/research orientations; staff maintenance/staff development objectives; and short term/long terms agendas?

COMMUNICATING PRIORITIES: What do administrators communicate is important in relation to cultural diversity issues? To what extent does that message value the experiences of those in the school?

ASSESSMENT OF CONCEPTS: To what extent do administrators critically examine ideals regarding issues of cultural diversity set out in policies? To what extent do administrators critically examine what is included and excluded in the mandates and programs in which they engage?

ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY: What are the parameters within which the community is assessed--local and/or global? What is valued as "community involvement"? What forum is available for the community to be heard on school concerns?

ASSESSMENT OF SCHOOL: To what extent do administrators consciously analyze the school culture in relation to issues of cultural diversity to which students and staff are being socialized? To what extent is equality of opportunity,

access, and outcomes for all evaluated? To what extent is the student-teacher-administrator relationship examined?

ASSESSMENT OF SELF: To what extent do administrators engage in reflective analysis; in the development of a critical literacy regarding cultural diversity? To what extent is there a value placed on self-knowledge and cultural diversity? To what extent are value stances acknowledged, beliefs and conflicts addressed, and practices of principles analyzed in relation to issues of cultural diversity? To what extent do administrators seek out continued professional growth regarding educational administration and issues of cultural diversity, formally and informally?

ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL: To what extent do administrators facilitate the development of a critical consciousness among educators regarding issues of cultural diversity? To what extent are educators expected to reflect on their beliefs and self-knowledge as part of a lifelong learning process? To what extent is there an acknowledgement that teaching does not occur in a social vacuum and so practices need to be examined for negative bias in relation to cultural diversity?

ORIENTATION OF COMMUNITY: To what extent do administrators nurture participatory relationships with all members of the community? To what extent is the formal and informal language used invitational? To what extent is there a forum for issue-raising regarding issues of cultural diversity?

ENDORISING PRINCIPLES: How do administrators engage in the endorsement process and its inherent tensions and conflicts dealing with concepts of cultural pluralism/assimilation; traditional/multicultural anti-racist approaches; similarities/differences emphases; language/culture debates; inclusion/exclusion options; containment/liberation approaches; tolerance/acceptance definitions; focussed/diffused strategies; isolated/integrated activities; and process/event implementation?

INITIATING ACTION: How do administrators' philosophical and managerial leadership acts of commission and omission in relation to cultural diversity issues influence attitudes within and outside the school? What is the relationship between personal leadership influence and the establishment of a collective staff orientation? What is validated by the administrator's behavior in culturally diverse contexts?

LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE: What do administrators justify, advocate, and endorse in relation to addressing cultural diversity issues at the school? Why? How? In whose best interests? To what end?

STAFF DEVELOPMENT: To what extent do administrators facilitate a growth in the sophistication of staff development levels which empower staff to make informed decisions about issues of cultural diversity? To what extent are long-term process-oriented programs in relation to cultural diversity valued? To what extent is collective ownership taken for continuous professional development with respect to issues of cultural diversity?

INSTITUTIONALIZING PRACTICES: To what extent do administrators initiate dialogue about the political nature and structure of school programming and action with respect to systemic injustices in relation to cultural diversity? To what extent are alternative approaches to schooling and education validated?

PUBLIC STATEMENTS: What do administrators publicize as being important in their schools? To what extent are those statements integrated into the everyday life experiences of people in the school? To what extent does regular individual and collective evaluation of those statements occur with respect to the meaningfulness of the statements?

SCHOOLING FORMATS: To what extent are administrators aware of whole school policy guidelines like those set out by Lynch (1987) about governance, staffing, communication, material, language, regulations, extra-curriculum, staff development, curriculum, assessment, and evaluation which are available for use as resources in addressing issues of cultural diversity as a school?

IDIOSYNCRATIC BEHAVIOR OF ADMINISTRATION: To what extent is reflection on principles and practice of administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts encouraged and valued by the larger society and by self? To what extent is the resultant self-knowledge accepted as valid and valuable for use in responsible and accountable administrative behavior in culturally diverse contexts by the larger society and by self?

Such circumspection takes on a particular and somewhat urgent air of importance when, as MacKinnon, Young, & Hansen (1990) indicate,

in education and the administration of it, the relation between knowledge and practice is not simply a matter of hypothetical interest. Given the 'commitment to practice' (Foster, 1986, p. 11) characteristic of educational administrators, the knowledge base and values (Hodgkinson, 1978) that inform and transform administrative practice should be regularly examined and clarified. Specifically, judgments

about what constitutes valid knowledge should be reviewed and assessed (p. 40).

In this study each administrator talked about the valid knowledge they chose to be valued and deemed important in the school. Some administrators talked much about how they go about reviewing and assessing what constituted that valid knowledge and some much less so. There is a challenge in such an examination of values as Greenfield (1986) points out:

The acknowledgement of clearly chosen values...enables us-both leaders and followers-to reflect upon our values. And in thinking about our lives, we may come to recognize that our decisions represent something beyond the decisions themselves; they bespeak a value and perhaps a commitment.

Administrators in this study justified particular values in their intentions and committed themselves to making them important in their schools through their advocacy and endorsement actions.

The differences in the administrative behavior within, between, and beyond the typological contexts in this study, I interpret from the administrators' talk, are largely due to differences in values that guide each of their intentions for schools. In talking about some of the values which inform their administrative behavior, their intentions and actions, in culturally diverse contexts, these administrators have provided constructive insights into that behavior.

The meanings these administrators attached to their behavior extends in some ways Goodlad's (1984) proposition that "understanding schools is basic to improving them" (p. 3). I argue as Greenfield suggests that understanding some of

the meanings of administrative behavior in schools is basic to improving them. In that sense, the meanings and understandings about which administrators talked in this study contribute to what Greenfield (1991) terms the "new phoenix" in educational administration taking shape. That shape, he says,

has education at its core and values: values in all their complexities, their dilemmas, and their unrelenting challenges to attain what is good, the challenge for us to be better administrators, to do better for ourselves and for our organization, to make ourselves better and to strive for a better world (p. 28).

In our world of culturally diverse contexts, "it's not the school, it's the principal of the thing", the administrator of the set of human relationships which exist within a school building, who might indeed make a difference in the school and between schools as s/he engages in the important moral and educative task of leadership in constructing a better, just, and caring world in schools and society.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A-1

DETAILS OF DATA COLLECTION

<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>PERCEIVED DIVERSITY</u>
K-9	English	Suburban city	Yes
10-12	English	Suburban city	Yes
K-8	English	Inner city	Yes
K-9	English	Suburban city	No
K-8	English	Suburban city	Yes
7-12	French Immersion Milieu	Suburban city	No
K-6	English	Inner city	Yes
9-12	English	Suburban city	Yes
K-6	English/Heritage Language	Suburban city	No
K-12	English	Rural	Yes
K-6	French Immersion Milieu	Suburban city	No
K-6	French Immersion Milieu	Suburban city	Yes
N-6	English	Inner city	No
7-9	Triple Track Language	Rural	No
K-6	Triple Track Language	Suburban city	Yes
K-6	English	Suburban city	No
K-6	French Immersion Milieu	Inner city	Yes
N-6	English	Inner city	Yes
K-9	English/Heritage Language	Rural	No
7-1	English	Suburban city	Yes
10-12	English	Inner city	Yes
K-8	English	Suburban city	Yes
7-9	English	Rural	No
K-6	English	Suburban city	No
K-6	English	Inner city	Yes
10-1	English	Inner city	Yes
K-6	English	Suburban city	No
N-6	English	Inner city	Yes
10-1	Triple Track Language	Suburban city	Yes
7-9	Triple Track Language	Suburban city	Yes
9-12	English	Rural	No
K-6	French Immersion Dual Track	Suburban city	No
K-6	English	Suburban city	Yes
K-6	English	Rural	No
K-9	French Immersion Dual Track	Suburban city	Yes
K-6	French Immersion Milieu	Suburban city	No
K-6	English	Suburban city	No
K-6	French Immersion Dual Track	Suburban city	No
K-9	English	Suburban city	Yes

*NOTE: SC=Suburban City; IC=Inner City; R=Rural; F=Female; M=Male; E=English; FID=French Immersion Dual Track; FIM=French Immersion Milieu; HL=Heritage Language; TT=Triple Track Language.

**NOTE: In the pre-fieldwork stage, two administrators declined participation because the topic "did not concern them" as they "did not have a 'diverse' population"; one declined because the topic was felt to "not be concrete enough"; one because of "lack of time"; and one denied the researcher access to interviews on the grounds that the administrator presupposed that the researcher did not "match" the cultural background of the school clientele (The researcher was told that the topic for this study was "good" and was being "saved" for a researcher of the "same background" as that of the school clientele). In the fieldwork stage, one administrator, after reading the verbatim transcript of the interviews, asked "not to be quoted" in the report. All were public school administrators.

APPENDIX A-2

DETAILS OF DATA COLLECTION (Percentages)

INTERVIEWEES

Female.....	22.5%*
Male.....	77.5%

SCHOOL SPECIALTY TYPE

English.....	62.5%
Heritage Language.....	5.0%
Triple Track Language.....	12.5%
French Immersion Dual Track.....	7.5%
French Immersion Milieu.....	12.5%

SCHOOL GRADE LEVELS

N/K-6.....	47.5%
K-8/9.....	20.0%
7-9.....	7.5%
7-10/12.....	25.0%

SCHOOL LOCATION

Suburban City.....	60.0%
Inner City.....	22.5%
Rural.....	17.5%

SCHOOL FUNDING TYPE

Public schools.....	88%
Non-Public schools (including Band-Operated Reserve Schools).....	12%

*NOTE: Young (1990) points out that the representativeness of women in administration does not reflect the number of women teachers. That appears to be the case in this study. Further, Shakeshaft, (1990) highlighting that underrepresentation, emphasizes:

Educational administration...has not seen the world from a female perspective and, thus, presents only a partial picture (p.404)...It appears that for a number of reasons women possess characteristics conducive to good schooling. Women enter teaching with clear educational goals supported by a value system that stresses service, care, and relationships (p.407)...Taking the world of women into account in research and practice means a complete reshaping of the field. What, who, and how we study organizations will change (p.408).

APPENDIX B

B-1

SCHOOL TYPE AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

SCHOOL TYPE

PERCEIVED DIVERSITY

	YES	NO
ENGLISH	16	9
FRENCH IMMERSION MILIEU	2	3
FRENCH IMMERSION DUAL TRACK	1	2
HERITAGE LANGUAGE		2
TRIPLE TRACK LANGUAGE	3	1

B-2

SCHOOL LOCATION AND ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEIVED DIVERSITY OF SCHOOL

LOCATION

PERCEIVED DIVERSITY

	YES	NO
RURAL	1	5
SUBURBAN	11	11
INNER CITY	10	1

RESEARCH PROPOSAL
"ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR IN CULTURALLY-DIVERSE SCHOOL CONTEXTS"

OVERVIEW: Administrative behavior in Canadian culturally-diverse school contexts is informed by a profusion of differing orientations. Out of the plethora of thoughts on the subject, school administrators, who have been identified as key people in education (Sergiovanni, 1984), must make some sense of their role and work in relation to the culturally-diverse nature of their environment.

PROBLEM STATEMENT OF THE STUDY: The foreshadowed problem postulates that administrators conceptualize education and schooling in culturally-diverse settings in a variety of different ways. This study will explore how these conceptualizations come about and how they are taken up in particular schools by particular administrators.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY: With the use of qualitative research methodology techniques such as ethnographic interviews supplemented by participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Jaeger, 1988; Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Spradley, 1980 & 1988; Shwartz & Jacobs, 1979; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), the GROUNDED THEORY study is intended to investigate influences on administrators' perspectives about schooling in a culturally diverse society.

Specifically, the purpose of the study will be to provide an account of how administrators combine views regarding cultural pluralism in education with their role as educational administrators to form a vision for the school and how administrators make sense of what is appropriate school practice in these contexts.

This study is intended to bridge the practical "lived" experiences of administrators with the "abstractions" in theoretical formulations that describe their work. Insights into the real world of administrators in culturally-diverse settings will assist in a more accurate understanding about such behavior and about its present and future impact on and implications for schools and society.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY: Data collection will be guided by the following open-ended inquiry:

- 1.) How do administrators come to understand a particular version of schooling in culturally-diverse settings?
- 2.) How do administrators understand, interpret, and operationalize their role as educational leaders within such schools?
- 3.) On what bases are such understandings and interpretations constructed?

APPENDIX D-1

PRE-INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT for
"OUTSIDE CONTROLLED" VARIABLES: PROVINCIAL BASELINE DATA COLLECTION

496

AREA	SOURCES OF DATA		
	THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACT	MANITOBA EDUCATION INITIATIVES	THE MANITOBA TEACHERS' SOCIETY INITIATIVES
I. CURRICULUM	PSA 79(1)-(10) " 41(4)-(5) " 259	MR 250/80(1)-(11) " 250/80(17)-(20) " 5/81(1)-(18) AHMS 1.1.00-.02 " 1.2.00-.05 " 1.3.00-.04-6 " 1.4.00-.03 " 1.6.00-.01-2 " -.07-8 " 1.7.00-.01-3 " -.05-7 " 1.8.00-.02 " -.09 " 1.9.00	CURRICULUM COMMITTEE REPORTS
II. FINANCE	PSA 178 " 41(1)d,e " 42 " 200 " 1(21.1) " 60(4) " 173(1) " 199	MR 1/86 " 1/86(21)-(32) " 1/86(36)-(53) " 190/81(4) " 190/81(5)-(7) " 2/81	
III. POWERS OF ADMINI-STRATORS	PSA 97(1)j " 56(4) " 91(2) " 266(2) " 96(e)	MR 250/80(12)-(16) " 250/80(28)-(40)	
IV. SUPPORT SERVICES	PSA 91(2)	MR 13/85 " 90/85 " 195/83 " 6/81(1)-(7) AHMS 1.3.01-.03 " 4.1.03 " 4.2.00	TASK FORCE REPORTS SPECIAL COMMITTEE REPORTS
V. OTHER PERTINENT SCHOOLING MATTERS	PSA 85 " 84(1)-(8) " 41(1)(k) " 258-274 " 259 " 52 " 80(1)-83	MR 247/80 " 246/80	PSA CHAPTER T30(4) AN ACT RESPECTING THE MANITOBA TEACHERS' SOCIETY MTS POLICY-"RACE RELATIONS"
<p>* SEE ATTACHED KEY FOR DESCRIPTIONS ** PSA=THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS ACT MR=MANITOBA REGULATIONS AHMS=ADMINISTRATIVE HANDBOOK FOR MANITOBA SCHOOLS</p>			

PRE-INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT for "OUTSIDE CONTROLLED" VARIABLES: PROVINCIAL BASELINE DATA COLLECTION

I. CURRICULUM:

- LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION PSA 79(1)-(10)
- INSTRUCTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF SCHOOL BOARDS PSA 41(4)-(5)
PSA 259
- CORRESPONDENCE COURSES MR 250/80(1)-(11)
- MANITOBA TEXTBOOK BUREAU MR 250/80(17)-(20)
- LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION AND LANGUAGES OF STUDY MR 5/81(1)-(18)
- THE GOALS OF LEARNING AHMS 1.1.00
- THE NATURE OF GOALS AHMS 1.1.01
- LEARNING GOALS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AGES 5 to 18 AHMS 1.1.02
- THE SCHOOL PROGRAM AHMS 1.2.00
- PROVINCIAL CURRICULUM REQUIREMENTS AHMS 1.2.01
- THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SCHOOL PROGRAM AHMS 1.2.02
- CURRENT SUBJECT/COURSE STRUCTURE AHMS 1.2.03
- CULTURE AND LANGUAGE AHMS 1.2.04
- VALUES IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AHMS 1.2.05
- SCHOOL PROGRAM RESPONSIBILITIES AHMS 1.300
- TIME ALLOTMENTS AHMS 1.3.04
- PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL COURSES AHMS 1.3.05
- LEARNING MATERIALS AHMS 1.3.06
- EARLY AND MIDDLE YEARS K-9 AHMS 1.4.00
- EARLY YEARS AHMS 1.4.01
- MIDDLE YEARS AHMS 1.4.02
- PROGRAM REQUIREMENTS K-9 AHMS 1.4.03
- THE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM AHMS 1.6.00
- BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM AHMS 1.6.01
- CREDIT SYSTEM AHMS 1.6.02
- GUIDANCE AHMS 1.6.06
- STUDENT-INITIATED PROJECTS AHMS 1.6.07
- SCHOOL-INITIATED PROJECTS AHMS 1.6.08
- HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM REQUIREMENTS AHMS 1.7.00
- CORE REQUIREMENT FOR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION AHMS 1.7.01
- SUMMARY LIST OF MANITOBA EDUCATION-DEVELOPED COURSES AHMS 1.7.02
- ELECTIVE COURSES AHMS 1.7.03
- VOCATIONAL/INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION PATTERN AHMS 1.7.05
- OCCUPATIONAL ENTRANCE PATTERN AHMS 1.7.06
- SPECIAL LANGUAGE CREDITS AHMS 1.7.07
- GENERAL PROGRAM INFORMATION AHMS 1.8.00
- CURRICULUM DOCUMENTS AHMS 1.8.01
- CURRICULUM PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE AHMS 1.8.02
- IMMIGRANT EDUCATION AND ESL AHMS 1.8.09
- PROGRAM REVIEW STRUCTURE, JOINT COMMITTEE ON EVALUATION, WORKING PARTIES, CURRICULUM COMMITTEES, AND TASK FORCES AHMS 1.9.00

II. FINANCE:

- ANNUAL ESTIMATES OF EXPENSES AND REVENUE PSA 178, PSA 40
- ANNUAL FINANCIAL REPORTS PSA 41(1)d,e
- GRANTS TO EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PSA 200
- FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO SCHOOL DIVISIONS PSA 1(21.1)
- FINANCIAL SUPPORT RE:PRIVATE SCHOOLS PSA 60(4)
- PAYMENT OF GRANTS AND SUPPORT TO DIVISIONS PSA 173(1), PSA 199
- SUPPORT TO SCHOOL DIVISIONS MR 1/86
- VOCATIONAL INDUSTRIAL SUPPORT MR 1/86(21)-(25)
- IMMIGRANT PUPIL SUPPORT MR 1/86(26)-(27)
- LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT FOR NATIVES MR 1/86(28)-(29)
- CURRICULA MATERIALS SUPPORT MR 1/86(30)-(31)
- COMPENSATORY SUPPORT MR 1/86(32)
- EARLY IDENTIFICATION SUPPORT MR 1/86(36)
- HERITAGE LANGUAGE SUPPORT MR 1/86(37)-(38)
- BILINGUALISM SUPPORT MR 1/86(39)-(41)
- BLOCK SUPPORT MR 1/86(42)-(44)
- EQUALIZATION SUPPORT MR 1/86(45)-(46)
- VARIABLE BLOCK MR 1/86(47)-(48)
- CAPITAL SUPPORT MR 1/86(49)-(53)
- GRANTS FOR INSTRUCTION IN ESL MR 190/81(4)
- GRANTS FOR THE USE OF SCHOOL FACILITIES MR 190/81(5)-(7)
- PAYMENTS TO SCHOOLS FOR TREATY INDIANS MR 2/81

III. POWERS OF ADMINISTRATORS:

- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PSA 97(1)j
- SCHOOL FUNDS, RESPONSIBILITY OF PRINCIPAL PSA 56(4)
- DELEGATION OF PUPIL CARE PSA 91(2)
- REPORT RE:CHILD'S ABSENCE PSA 266(2)
- REPORT RE:CHILD'S HEALTH PSA 96(e)
- EVALUATIONS AND PROMOTIONS MR 250/80(12)-(16)
- DUTIES OF TEACHERS MR 250/80(28)-(41)

IV. SUPPORT SERVICES:

- AIDES: CARE OF PUPILS PSA 91(2)
- QUALIFICATIONS FOR SPECIAL EDUCATION CERTIFICATION MR 13/85
- CLINICIAN CERTIFICATES AND QUALIFICATIONS MR 90/85
- TEACHING CERTIFICATES AND QUALIFICATION MR 195/83
- PERSONS, OTHER THAN TEACHERS, HAVING THE CARE AND CHARGE OF PUPILS MR 6/81(1)-(7)
- SCHOOL PROGRAM RESPONSIBILITIES AHMS 1.3.00
- MANITOBA EDUCATION PROGRAM RESPONSIBILITIES AHMS 1.3.01
- SCHOOL DIVISION PROGRAM RESPONSIBILITIES AHMS 1.3.02
- CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES AHMS 1.3.03
- DIRECTORY OF MANITOBA EDUCATION PERSONNEL AHMS 4.1.03
- INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES AHMS 4.2.00

V. OTHER PERTINENT SCHOOLING MATTERS:

- PATRIOTIC OBSERVANCES PSA 85
- RELIGIOUS EXERCISES PSA 84(1)-(8)
- ATTENDANCE PSA 41(1)(k), PSA 258-274
- RIGHT TO ATTEND PSA 259
- DELEGATION OF POWERS AND DUTIES TO SUPERINTENDENT PSA 52
- INSTRUCTION IN RELIGION PSA 80(1)-83
- PATRIOTIC OBSERVANCES MR 247/80
- RELIGIOUS EXERCISES IN SCHOOLS MR 246/80

APPENDIX D-3

PRE-INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT for "OUTSIDE SEMI-CONTROLLED" VARIABLES: SCHOOL DIVISION AND SCHOOL BASELINE DATA COLLECTION

498

AREA	SCHOOL BOARD DOCUMENTS	SCHOOL DOCUMENTS
I. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -FORMULA -FORMAT -ROLE DESCRIPTIONS -ACCOUNTABILITY PROCEDURES -CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -FORMULA -FORMAT -ROLE DESCRIPTIONS -ACCOUNTABILITY PROCEDURES -CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
II. BUDGET	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1991-92 ALLOCATIONS -PREVIOUS ALLOCATIONS -FUNDING FORMS -ESTIMATES -REVENUE -EXPENDITURES -BUDGET PROCESS -SUMMARY REPORTS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -1991-92 ALLOCATIONS -PREVIOUS ALLOCATIONS -FUNDING FORMS -ESTIMATES -REVENUE -EXPENDITURES -BUDGET PROCESS -SUMMARY REPORTS
III. CURRICULA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -MISSION STATEMENT -PROGRAM OUTLINES -COMMITTEES -PRIORITIES -COURSE OFFERINGS -SPECIAL PROGRAMS -ASSESSMENT PROTOCOL -CONSULTANT DOCUMENTS -DIVISIONAL HANDBOOK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -MISSION STATEMENT -PROGRAM OUTLINES -COMMITTEES -PRIORITIES -COURSE OFFERINGS -SPECIAL PROGRAMS -ASSESSMENT PROTOCOL -CONSULTANT DOCUMENTS -SCHOOL HANDBOOK
IV. DEMOGRAPHICS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -COMMUNITY SIZE -COMMUNITY HISTORY -COMMUNITY LOBBIES -PARENT COMMITTEES -DIVISIONAL MAP -CENSUS DATA -DIVISIONAL NEWSLETTER 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SCHOOL SIZE -SCHOOL HISTORY -SCHOOL LOBBIES -PARENT COMMITTEES -CATCHMENT AREA MAP -SCHOOL BULLETINS -SCHOOL NEWLETTERS
V. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -NEEDS ASSESSMENTS -TOPICS -PRIORITIES -LONG TERM PLANS -EVALUATIONS -COMMITTEES -GUIDELINES 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -NEEDS ASSESSMENTS -TOPICS -PRIORITIES -LONG TERMS PLANS -EVALUATIONS -COMMITTEES -GUIDELINES
VI. STAFFING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -PERSONNEL FORMULAE -MOBILITY POLICY -DIVISIONAL DEPARTMENT HEAD RESPONSIBILITIES -COMMITTEE REPORT -SPECIALIST DISTRIBUTION -DIVISIONAL STAFFING MAP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -PERSONNEL ASSIGNMENTS -STAFF TURNOVER -SCHOOL DEPARTMENT HEAD RESPONSIBILITY -COMMITTEE REPORTS -SPECIALIST USE -SCHOOL STAFFING MAP
VI. OTHER PERTINENT DOCUMENTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -"RACE RELATIONS"/ "MULTICULTURALISM" POLICIES -FUTURE PLANS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SCHOOL RULES AND REGULATIONS -PREVIOUS COMMUNICATION -FUTURE PLANS

APPENDIX E-1

LETTER OF REQUEST

TO DIVISIONAL SUPERINTENDENTS

I am currently contemplating fieldwork sites in relation to my University of Manitoba doctoral research on "Administrative Behavior in Culturally-Diverse School Settings". It is my hope that you will see fit to grant me permission to approach several school administrators in your Division regarding participation in this research project.

The study I plan to conduct during the 1991-92 school year is focussed on exploring some of the ways in which administrators in various schools throughout Manitoba make sense of their work in a culturally-diverse society. Respondents will have the opportunity to review the data they have provided for the study. The final report will be made available to them as well. Confidentiality will be a key feature throughout the study. Attached please find a brief description of the research intent and design.

I anticipate that, upon receiving your approval to do so, I might approach individual administrators in the next few weeks for their consent to participate in the study. Having had sixteen years of classroom and resource teacher experience in the Manitoba school system, I most fully appreciate how valuable time is for school personnel. With this concern in mind, I am co-ordinating my study to avert as many as possible undue intrusions into the school timetable. For instance, I will accommodate administrators' preferences for interview times and I will respect their decisions to reschedule interviews to times that are perceived by them to be more appropriate than those previously chosen. Approximately two weeks of contact time per administrator is to be expected. Researcher flexibility will be a priority in the study.

Thank you for your willingness to consider participating in my University of Manitoba doctoral research on "Administrative Behavior in Culturally-Diverse School Settings". As per our recent telephone conversation, I am forwarding this brief overview of the project.

The study I plan to conduct during the 1991-92 school year is focussed on exploring some of the ways in which administrators in various schools throughout Manitoba make sense of their work in a culturally-diverse society. Approximately two weeks of contact time per administrator is to be expected. Respondents will have the opportunity to review the data they have provided for the study. The final report will be made available to them as well. Confidentiality will be a key feature throughout the study. Enclosed please find a short description of the research intent and design as well as a copy of a letter from your Assistant Superintendent, _____, granting me permission to approach you to inquire about participation.

Having had sixteen years of classroom and resource teacher experience in the Manitoba school system, I most fully appreciate how valuable time is for school personnel. With this concern in mind, I am co-ordinating my study to avert as many as possible undue intrusions into the school timetable. For instance, I will accommodate administrators' preferences for interview times and I will respect their decisions to reschedule interviews to times that are perceived by them to be more appropriate than those previously chosen. Researcher flexibility will be a priority in the study.

LETTER OF REQUEST
TO SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

I am currently contemplating fieldwork sites in relation to my University of Manitoba doctoral research on "Administrative Behavior in Culturally-Diverse School Settings". Your Superintendent, _____, has granted me permission to approach school administrators in your Division regarding participation in this research project. Specifically, your name has been recommended as a potential participant. It is my hope that you will consent to being involved in this research.

The study I plan to conduct during the 1991-92 school year is focussed on exploring some of the ways in which administrators in various schools throughout Manitoba make sense of their work in a culturally-diverse society. Approximately two weeks of contact time per administrator is to be expected. Respondents will have the opportunity to review the data they have provided for the study. The final report will be made available to them as well. Confidentiality will be a key feature throughout the study. Attached please find a brief description of the research intent and design.

Having had sixteen years of classroom and resource teacher experience in the Manitoba school system, I most fully appreciate how valuable time is for school personnel. With this concern in mind, I am co-ordinating my study to avert as many as possible undue intrusions into the school timetable. For instance, I will accommodate administrators' preferences for interview times and I will respect their decisions to reschedule interviews to times that are perceived by them to be more appropriate than those previously chosen. Researcher flexibility will be a priority in the study.

It is my intention to make a telephone contact with you in August, 1991 as a follow-up to this letter. In the interim, should you wish more detail regarding my proposed study, please feel free to call my advisor

Dr. Jon Young
Doctoral advisor
Department of Educational Administration and Foundations
Faculty of Education
The University of Manitoba
(474-9859)

or me

Marcella Derkatz
Doctoral student
Department of Educational Administration and Foundations
Faculty of Education
The University of Manitoba
(474-8548) (Home:334-7509).

Your anticipated assistance in supporting this study is very much appreciated. Thank you for considering my request.

Sincerely,

Marcella Derkatz

LETTER OF CONSENT

This letter is to indicate my willingness to be interviewed and observed in connection with my perspectives on "Administrative Behavior in Culturally Diverse Contexts". This research project is seeking to understand how school administrators make sense of their work role in Canadian multicultural/multiracial society.

I understand that my testimony will be of a voluntary nature and that my personal experience will be used as a primary source by Marcella Derkatz in her University of Manitoba Doctoral Study on "Administrative Behavior in Culturally Diverse Settings".

I am aware that the researcher may be present at the school for a total time span not exceeding two weeks. During this period, I will be expected to participate in approximately three structured interviews—an orientation interview at the commencement of the stay, an elaboration interview midway through the stay, and a summary interview at the conclusion of the contact time. Each of these interviews will last no longer than ninety minutes. In addition, I understand that informal interviews, observations, and document examination regarding my work experiences will take place throughout the researcher's stay in the school. For clarification purposes, it may be necessary that supplementary telephone or short site visitations occur beyond the original time spent at the school.

The right to confidentiality of personal information is assured throughout the project. Because this is a "Grounded Theory" study in which the analysis is focussed on concepts rather than on people and sites, participants are non-identifiable in the reporting format. Where illustration in the writing occurs to illuminate a concept, pseudonyms and contextual information will be used so that the anonymity of the participants is protected.

I am aware that I can withdraw from the research process at any time. I can also make corrections on the interview tapes after the recording sessions. I further understand that I shall have access to the results of the study.

Additional information about the study may be obtained from:

Dr. Jon Young
Doctoral advisor
Department of Educational Administration and Foundations
Faculty of Education
The University of Manitoba
(474-9859)

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER: _____

PARTICIPANT

"SIGNATURE OF CONSENT": _____

PARTICIPANT FEEDBACK ON REPORT

Your contribution to my research study was very much appreciated.

As previously discussed with you, I am forwarding a copy of the transcript. I would appreciate your comments on its:

- A.) accuracy
- B.) clarity
- C.) potential improvement (revisions) in portraying the circumstances.

Thank you once again for your time, effort, and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Marcella Derkatz

PRELIMINARY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

AREA	EMPHASIS OF INQUIRY		
	IDENTIFICATION	ISSUES	RESPONSE
I. UNDERSTANDINGS/ MEANINGS (vision)	-Tell me about your understanding of schooling in our culturally diverse society.	-Tell me about the issues which you perceive as significant in this understanding.	-Tell me about how you address the issues and concomitant concerns.
II. POWER/WILL/ INFLUENCE (leadership/ administration)	-Tell me about how you operationalize this understanding in your role as educational leader in your school.	-Tell me about the issues which arise as you exercise your power, will, and influence in your leadership role.	-Tell me about how you deal with the issues and resolve the concerns.
III. PRIORITIES (ideology/ values)	-Tell me about what you think is most important about that understanding and why it is that you perceive it as important.	-Tell me about the issues which arise from your justification of that understanding and its importance.	-Tell me about how you come to terms with such issues and justification

TENTATIVE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1.) WITH RESPECT TO THE ADMINISTRATOR'S ORIENTATION TO SCHOOLING/EDUCATION IN A CULTURALLY DIVERSE SOCIETY:

- A. What is your conceptualization/understanding/interpretation of appropriate schooling/education in our culturally diverse "multicultural/multiracial" society?
- B. How does this conceptualization become implemented into school practices?
- C. On what bases are your conceptualizations constructed?
- D. What issues arise as a result of this conceptualization and implementation and what responses occur?

2.) WITH RESPECT TO THE ADMINISTRATORS'S INTERACTION WITH STAFF:

- A. How does the conceptualization become exemplified in considering the needs/expectations of staff?
- B. How are the perceived needs/expectations assessed and addressed?
- C. By what criteria is staff development guided and monitored?
- D. What issues arise and what responses occur?

3.) WITH RESPECT TO THE ADMINISTRATORS' INTERACTION WITH THE PARENT COMMUNITY:

- A. How does the conceptualization become exemplified in considering the perceived needs of parents?
- B. How are these needs assessed and addressed?
- C. How is communication with ethnocultural groups within the community established and maintained?
- D. What involvement do community members have in school activities?
- E. What issues arise and what responses occur?

4.) WITH RESPECT TO THE ADMINISTRATOR'S INTERACTION WITH CENTRAL OFFICE:

- A. How does the conceptualization become exemplified in communication with the Board Office?
- B. What issues arise and what responses occur?

5.) WITH RESPECT TO THE ADMINISTRATOR'S INVOLVEMENT WITH THE CURRICULUM:

- A. How does the conceptualization become exemplified in considering the needs of students?
- B. How are the perceived needs assessed and addressed?
- C. By what criteria is program planning and implementation guided and monitored?
- D. What issues arise and what responses occur?

ADDITIONAL PROBES

Additional detail may be generated on how administrators:

- define education, schooling, multiculturalism, administration, culture, race, ethnicity
- relation meanings to practices and behaviors
- influence others
- address issues arising in a multicultural setting
- understanding the problematics of education
- rationalize the acceptance and rejection of their vision
- relate the dominant vision to gender, age, and other biases
- decide on what issues are significant
- talk about negotiation
- resolve clashes of priorities and agendas
- perceive their role as change agents
- consider whose knowledge is legitimated in the school
- explain their priorities
- construct a meaning and a view of what it takes to implement it
- perceive the significance of schooling with its key aspects of language, testing, streaming, parental involvement, teacher recruitment, and curriculum
- understand the role of school in society
- describe the role of the school in the production of culture, cultural politics, and cultural pedagogy

APPENDIX J

ASSIMILATION IN MANITOBA SCHOOLS: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The following statements regarding assimilationist movements in Canada's early history have been taken from "Ukrainian Language Education in Manitoba Schools: Reflection on a Centenary" (Derkatz, 1993):

The influx of settlers from many countries has given rise to problems of a serious and far-reaching character as affecting the schools....with a board of trustees who cannot understand the aims, nature and ideals of the Canadian schools, there is little to be hoped for and much to be dreaded (School Principal Cressey, 1909 Sessional papers #2, pp. 482-3).

I have come to the conclusion that in the years to come the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people will do their share in making Canada a great nation, and will say as Britishers, 'One King, one Empire, one Race, and one Flag' (School Principal Cressey, 190, Sessional papers #8, p. 383).

They should not only be educated but Canadianized, so that all the citizens of Canada should have for their ideal the building up of a nation within the Empire whose people shall conform to the best traditions of morality and justice (School Principal Cressey, Sessional papers #9, p. 551)

Surely our task is a great one.... One of the great problems in our national life will be to draw the people of different races, creeds and languages closer together, to form a united and loyal nation, and the most powerful factor to accomplish this work will be the school (School Principal Cressey, 1913, Sessional papers #12, p. 680).

We wish to teach them the history of that old glorious flag, and at the same time Canadian and British history...Our chief aim is character building and to show them the true principles of 'how to live'...If the large communities of Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and Poles were left to grow up in ignorance, they would eventually become a menace to the state (School Principal Cressey, 1919 Sessional papers #2, p. 482-3).

An earnest and successful effort is being made to Canadianize the non-English speaking immigrant (Report to Deputy Minister of Education, 1919, p. 12).

It is not safe to leave a teacher in a non-English school who is more at home speaking the language of the community than speaking English ; or one who is not impressed with the necessity of thorough instruction in the English language and Canadian citizenship (School Inspector Bartlett, 1919, p. 83).

The greatest agency in racial assimilation is the common or public school. This is the great melting pot into which must be placed these diverse racial groups, and from which will eventually emerge the pure gold of Canadian citizenship (Anderson, 1918, p. 114).

Shudder as we Anglo-Saxons may at the thought of it, our descendants are more than likely to marry Poles or Bohemians or Ruthenians (Ukrainians) or Russians, as we now call them (Anderson, 1918, p. 158).

Ukrainian children are deficient in a sense of moral responsibility, a defect which is admittedly not confined to them, nor either for which they are to blame, but which nevertheless calls loudly for correction. This can best be accomplished through the school (Young, 1931, p. 197).

APPENDIX K-1

STAFF DEVELOPMENT: RECRUITMENT IN THE "VOICED" CONTEXT

Considering recruitment as part of her concern about staff understanding the needs of the local community, Alice highlights her recruitment criteria. She explains:

When teachers and staff are interviewed, they're automatically committing themselves to our mission statement. They have to take the time to understand what our community is about before making strong decisions... 'You know, you're coming to a band school. What do you expect there? What are your feelings about Indian people?' I need to know that in an interview right up front.

Believing that schools are too subject-centered, Art searches out teachers who will carry out student-centered programming. He describes his experience with recruitment:

When we've done our hiring, we've tended to hire teachers who have those kinds of interests that see kids as kids and don't see content as the only thing that they're supposed to be doing like delivering content and forgetting about the fact that they've got a wide range of ability groups in their classroom and ethnic backgrounds. So increasingly our staff is becoming more trained, more aware, and more willing to deal with kids from a variety of backgrounds and to work as hard as they can to help those kids become the best they possibly can be with the ability that they have... We've made the transition to heterogeneous classrooms...

I think all of us can learn from each other. So I think if you've got a staff that's varied in its teaching style; varied in its gender balance; varied in its ethnic balance, varied in its experiential balance--that kind of a team is easier to mesh and bring together than a group that's really homogeneous... After individual interviews were held with each staff person before I came, I made some transfers... They'd been based on what we had gleaned from the staff in terms of direction and some staff members were saying, 'There's no way that I want to move in that direction. There's no way I'm going to put up with these kind of changes' so these were people who would have been unhappy with some of the things that were going to probably transpire.

Hiring staff appears to be a critical part of developing an environment where a particular orientation can be established. Sharing her thoughts on staffing her school, Anne states:

I think as a Principal you end up hiring staff that has the same philosophy as you do and hopefully fairly liberal minded or open minded. I know I have. It's my fifth year and I have been able to draw upon a staff that are more like me in my thinking. I mean that's power... As a Principal you think about moving and you think 'Oh God, I have to change the staff again.' You know it will take 5 years to develop another staff... Once you can work with people, you can be above board and you can have fun because everyone feels comfortable.

Not unlike Anne in his thinking about staff recruitment, Armand reinforces

the notion of preference for selectivity in hiring, a selectivity to help endorse a particular intention. He states:

I guess you go out there and you get the people who fall within the certain parameters of how you feel about things. My Vice-Principal is the same. A large part of my staff is the same so it's obvious that as I go get people and hire people on staff, I'm looking for those qualities, people who are going to make that happen.

Although the opportunity is not always present to do so, many of these administrators talk about how staff recruitment is an important component of their staff development plan.

APPENDIX K-2

STAFF DEVELOPMENT: RECRUITMENT IN THE "SILENCED" CONTEXT

Claire points out how a match between teacher and school community occurs:

Generally, I think a lot of it is when you're hiring people. You try and hire people that sort of reflect attitudes towards kids and to programs that you like and you want them to be in sinc...I have had nothing but disasters with teachers from Quebec. I have yet to have one in this building that was worth it. The teachers that I found most effective in our Immersion program have been teachers that were trained here.

Corey extends that notion pointing out that what recruitment might not accomplish, socialization will. Highlighting the negotiated nature of such socialization, he reveals:

I suppose a local person would have a slight advantage over somebody from outside but generally speaking it's very much on the basis of their resumes and experiences and all the rest of it that people get hired...Most staff, of course, do adjust and they recognize that that's part of a teacher's mandate to work within the realm of what the board or the community basically feels they should be.

Specifically, Clinton highlights how homogeneity in his school is valued stating:

Most of our staff are from the community. I think that there is very much of a deliberate position taken by our administration, by myself as a principal, that we want teachers on our staff who will be in tune with the community.

APPENDIX K-3**STAFF DEVELOPMENT: RECRUITMENT IN THE "DECIDING" CONTEXT**

Interestingly, when administrators talk about staff recruitment as part of a staff development long-term plan, they often refer to issues of cultural diversity as having an impact in their decision making. Lloyd reveals:

My challenge in building this staff was to see whether or not somewhere in the makeup in each of those people was a commitment to trying to make this world a little less-segregated in terms of culture; in terms of religion; in terms of social and economic status-recognizing it's a reality. One of the issues I tried to address very clearly was whether this individual that I was interviewing had the capacity to embrace a larger community than just the White Judeo-Christian community that he or she might represent. So I would clearly articulate in the interview what the circumstances and conditions were going to be that these people would find themselves working in.

Rick, in much the same vein, states "one of the criteria in the interview process was, not necessarily courses in English as a Second Language, but I wanted to be convinced that they had sensitivity to cultural differences." Ellen, too, was searching for some particular characteristics in staff members. She says,

Most of my staff have worked in other situations where they've worked with a lot of Native children. A lot of them have worked in Native communities. We need people who are sensitive and aware of the issues around the children and who don't patronize or downplay their role as a teacher because of those difficulties. You don't want someone to come in here who is not comfortable or has a whole lot of ideas that are not conducive to good teaching in the school because we have so many Native children.

On the other hand, there are some administrators like Jim who insist:

We would never ask a staff member, for example, 'How do you feel about or what do you feel about cultural diversity?' It wouldn't even come to our minds but I think we sense it in a process...I know in so many ways, it's human nature to surround yourself with people who are like-minded. We're always attracted to like-minded people and I think we hope that 'like-minded' here does mean acceptance, tolerance, and a worldview which takes an intellectual perspective on an issue.

APPENDIX L

INFORMAL STATEMENTS: "DECIDING" CONTEXT

It is important to mention that, as is the case in this context, sometimes informal features of the school speak to a level of endorsement of things of value as well. Often the decorative features, when they are part of a larger continuous effort to give evidence, can provide immediate clues as to what is endorsed within the school. Lloyd describes his efforts in this regard saying:

We basically state that we value difference and similarity and we try and provide for children and for their parents opportunities to experience that. How do we do it? Well, we try and give evidence. How do you give evidence? Well, in our first year, we tried to bring together a lot of the multicultural things. We have a pow-wow club in the school. We have a Vietnamese language evening and we're going to continue to expand that as we go along. We're looking at building on that component. We look at translating a number of our communications home to parents in Vietnamese or in some other language as necessary. We have an Aboriginal awareness committee within our staff that has planned out a number of professional development opportunities for our staff to become more aware of some of the conditions of the Aboriginal community, that they bring into the school and how we respond to that, how we become a participant in that...

We try very hard to value each culture. If you look around this office as you're sitting here, you'll see very clearly even the pictures on my wall are an attempt on my part to give parents and children a very clear message. 'We value you. We value your children. We value differences.' So you'll see some evidence in this building of the more public statements about giving evidence-portraits, pictures. You'll see that throughout the building and in the classrooms... That's the kind of evidence we're trying to give.

Those things which give evidence convey messages. Paul seems to think that the language programs have become the 'norm' in his school. After time, they are "life taken for granted" and not highlighted as much. Giving less evidence presumably would mean that the concept is so internalized that it is "the way things are here". He explains:

We used to have three signs in the school: 'Welcome', 'Bienvenue', and 'Bitamo'. When you walked into the building that sort of brought out the focus of what kind of a school it is. Those signs aren't there anymore. They used to be prominently displayed. We still display them but not as prominently anymore. It's not necessary.

Many administrators engage in much less deliberate attempts to give evidence of the significance of cultural diversity issues in the school.

A common posture is reflected in Jim's comment:

The poster literature like 'Fight Racism' and those sorts of things

usually end up on a bulletin board some place just because it's appropriate to hang those things. It's not with a great deal of comment or focussing but it's enough to make kids kind of aware on the periphery that these things are happening around.

APPENDIX M

EXAMPLES OF ADMINISTRATORS' COMMENTS ON THEIR EXPERIENCE
OF THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

- "You know, people in our everyday situation don't often get asked about this topic. People might ask you your professional opinion but you're not very often asked to relate your personal experiences as something that's important."
- "This is good for me to articulate this for the first time."
- "It's good to sit down and have an opportunity to think through what I'm doing and talk it out. We don't do that enough."
- "Thank you for getting me to think about this."
- "I think I'm getting more out of it than you are. This process makes one think."
- "This made me able to refresh my own thinking. I think I gained as much as you did."
- "In talking, it forces sense and thinking clarity. It has value for me in cleaning my head and it's therapeutic."
- "This is a valuable thinking experience for me."
- "The discussion we're having is broadening my outlook on this."
- "I'm glad you're asking about this topic because many administrators are not interested in talking about it."
- "I'm interested in your problem because it's a very complex thing. It's looking into the inner workings of people."
- "There is value in probing for differences in how people think about what they're doing."
- "Now we're intimate in this sharing but these are just partial thoughts as I never talked about this before."
- "I'm just thinking through this as I'm speaking. It's good for me to reflect on this."
- "This process is causing me to have questions, too, and that's alright. It's making me think that maybe we should be doing more in the global/moral issues area. Are we doing our job in this area? Should we be discussing some of these issues?"
- "This was an interesting experience for me."
- "You ask really good questions."

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